00083140

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018

TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

E3140
ae

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. II

U-C-55

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1910

392.3
Fra/Tot
83140
Ref
392-5
00083140

CONTENTS

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF TOTEMISM (*Continued*) Pp. 1-640

CHAPTER V.—TOTEMISM IN TORRES STRAITS . Pp. 1-24

CHAPTER VI.—TOTEMISM IN NEW GUINEA . Pp. 25-62

§ 1. Totemism at Mawatta in Daudai, pp. 25-34.

§ 2. Totemism of the Bugilai and Toro, pp. 34 *sq.*

§ 3. Totemism in Kiwai, pp. 35-40.

§ 4. Totemism in the Toaripi or Motumotu Tribe of the Elema District, pp. 40-42.

§ 5. Totemism in the Central Division of British New Guinea, pp. 42-46.

§ 6. Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea, pp. 46-55.

§ 7. Totemism in Dutch and German New Guinea, pp. 55-62.

CHAPTER VII.—TOTEMISM IN MELANESIA . . Pp. 63-150

§ 1. Melanesia and the Melanesians, pp. 63-65.

§ 2. Exogamous Classes in Melanesia, pp. 65-69.

§ 3. Totemism and Exogamy in Southern Melanesia, pp. 69-101.

§ 4. Totemism and Exogamy in Central Melanesia, pp. 101-118.

§ 5. Totemism in Northern Melanesia, pp. 118-134.

§ 6. Totemism in Eastern Melanesia (Fiji), pp. 134-150.

CHAPTER VIII.—TOTEMISM IN POLYNESIA . . Pp. 151-184

§ 1. Traces of Totemism in Samoa, pp. 151-167.

§ 2. Traces of Totemism in Rotuma, pp. 167-172.

§ 3. Traces of Totemism in Hawaii and Tahiti, pp. 172-175.

§ 4. Traces of Totemism in Ponape and other parts of Polynesia, pp. 175-177.

§ 5. Traces of Totemism in Tonga, pp. 177-179.

§ 6. Traces of Totemism in Tikopia, pp. 179-183.

§ 7. Totemism in the Pelew Islands, pp. 183 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX.—TOTEMISM IN INDONESIA . . Pp. 185-217

§ 1. Totemism and Exogamy in Sumatra, pp. 185-197.
§ 2. Totemism in the Moluccas, pp. 197-202.
§ 3. Analogies to Totemism in Borneo, pp. 202-213.
§ 4. Alleged Sexual Communism in Indonesia, pp. 213-217.

CHAPTER X.—TOTEMISM IN INDIA . . . Pp. 218-335

§ 1. Totemism in Central India, pp. 218-230.
§ 2. Totemism in the Madras Presidency, pp. 230-251.
§ 3. Exogamy and the Classificatory System among the Todas, pp. 251-269.
§ 4. Totemism in Mysore, pp. 269-275.
§ 5. Totemism in the Bombay Presidency, pp. 275-278.
§ 6. Totemism in North-West India, pp. 278-284.
§ 7. Totemism in Bengal, pp. 284-318.
§ 8. Totemism and Exogamy in Assam, pp. 318-328.
§ 9. The Classificatory System of Relationship in India, pp. 329-335.

CHAPTER XI.—TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE REST OF ASIA Pp. 336-353

CHAPTER XII.—TOTEMISM IN SOUTH AFRICA . Pp. 354-393

§ 1. Totemism among the Herero, pp. 354-368.
§ 2. Totemism among the Bechuanas, pp. 369-380.
§ 3. Totemism among the Ama-Xosa and Ama-Zulu, pp. 380-388.
§ 4. A Theory of Bantu Totemism, pp. 388-392.
§ 5. Hints of Totemism among the Bushmen and Hottentots, pp. 392 *sq.*

CHAPTER XIII.—TOTEMISM IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA Pp. 394-542

§ 1. Totemism in Central Angoniland, pp. 394-401.
§ 2. Totemism among the Wagogo, Wahehe, and Waheia of German East Africa, pp. 402-407.
§ 3. Exogamy and the Classificatory System of Relationship among the Masai, pp. 407-417.
§ 4. Totemism among the Taveta, pp. 417-419.
§ 5. Totemism among the A-kamba, pp. 420-424.
§ 6. Totemism among the Mweru, pp. 424-426.
§ 7. Totemism among the Suk, Maragwetta, and Kamasia, pp. 426-431.
§ 8. Totemism among the Nandi, pp. 431-446.
§ 9. Totemism in Kavirondo, pp. 446-451.

§ 10. Exogamy among the Bageshu, pp. 451-454.
§ 11. Totemism among the Bakene, pp. 454-457.
§ 12. Totemism among the Basoga, pp. 457-461.
§ 13. Totemism among the Bateso, pp. 461-463.
§ 14. Totemism among the Baganda, pp. 463-513.
§ 15. Totemism among the Banvoro, pp. 513-530.
§ 16. Totemism among the Batoro, pp. 530-532.
§ 17. Totemism among the Bahima, pp. 532-540.
§ 18. Exogamy among the Gallas, pp. 540-542.

CHAPTER XIV.—TOTEMISM IN WEST AFRICA . Pp. 543-630

§ 1. Totemism in Senegambia, pp. 543-547.
§ 2. Totemism on the Ivory Coast, pp. 547-553.
§ 3. Totemism on the Gold Coast, pp. 553-576.
§ 4. Totemism on the Slave Coast, pp. 576-587.
§ 5. Totemism in Southern Nigeria, pp. 587-600.
§ 6. Totemism in Northern Nigeria, pp. 600-608.
§ 7. Totemism in Congo and Angola, pp. 609-630.

CHAPTER XV.—ANALOGIES TO TOTEMISM IN MADAGASCAR Pp. 631-640

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF TOTEMISM (*Continued*)

CHAPTER V

TOTEMISM IN TORRES STRAITS

Totemism and exogamy among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits.

FROM the foregoing survey we may infer that totemism and exogamy, in one form or another, are or have been practised by all the aboriginal tribes of Australia. Passing now from Australia to the islands of Torres Straits, which divide Australia on the north from New Guinea, we shall find both totemism and exogamy in vogue also among the Western Islanders; for these people are, like the Australians, divided into exogamous totem clans and believe themselves to be united by certain intimate ties to their totems. Our knowledge of the social and totemic system of the islanders is due to the researches of Dr. A. C. Haddon and his colleagues, whose writings furnish the materials for the account which follows.[1]

The islands of Torres Straits.

The islands of Torres Straits fall roughly into three groups, namely, the Western, composed of ancient igneous rocks, which support a somewhat sparse flora; the Central, which are mainly banks of coral sand overgrown with vegetation; and the Eastern, consisting of modern volcanic

[1] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders* (Cambridge, 1904). Compare A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901), pp. 132 *sqq.*, 171 *sq.*; *id.*, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 175-188. For reports of Dr. Haddon's earlier researches among these islanders, see A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 297-440; *id.*, "Legends from Torres Straits," *Folk-lore*, i. (1890) pp. 47-81, 172-196; *id.*, "The Secular and Ceremonial Dances of Torres Straits," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vi. (1893) pp. 131-162.

rocks and possessing a fertile soil and usually abundance of food, though here also a deficient fall of rain during the north-west monsoon results in a scarcity of garden produce, which sometimes ends in famine. In physical appearance, temperament, and culture the islanders are typical Western Papuans. Yet there is a remarkable difference between the languages of the Eastern and Western Islanders; for while the affinities of the language spoken by the Eastern Islanders are Papuan, the affinities of the language spoken by the Western Islanders are Australian, and there is no genealogical connection between the two languages. It seems probable therefore that the original stock of the Western Islanders was Australian, and that a gradual infusion of Papuans from New Guinea has assimilated their features to the Papuan type without materially affecting their speech.[1] It is only in the Western Islands, where the original native stock appears to be Australian, that totemism has been found in practice, though traces of its former existence may perhaps be detected in the Eastern Islands.[2] The Western Islands in which the totemic system has been specially observed are Mabuiag, Badu, Moa, Muralug, Nagir, Tutu and Yam, and Saibai.[3] The native word for a totem is *augŭd* (plural *augŭdal*).[4] In the following table all the known totems of clans in the Western Islands are arranged

The islanders.

[1] A. C. Haddon, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 175; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume iii. *Linguistics*, by Sidney H. Ray (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 509-511.

[2] A. C. Haddon, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 178. For fuller details, see W. H. R. Rivers and A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume vi. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Eastern Islanders* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 173-177, 254-257. Amongst the possible traces of totemism enumerated by Dr. Haddon is the belief that the ghosts of the dying or dead appear to the living in the form of various animals; when a group of people is named after a species of animal, the ghost of the departed usually presents himself or herself in the likeness of an animal of that particular species. Women are thus represented by flying animals, bats and birds; which, adds Dr. Haddon, "looks suspiciously like what has been termed a 'sex-totem'" (*Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 178).

[3] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders*, pp. 154 *sq.* For the sake of brevity this volume will be cited as *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v.

[4] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 153.

according to their natural kinds, with the native names for them printed in italics.[1]

TOTEMS OF THE WESTERN ISLANDERS OF TORRES STRAITS

The totems of the Western Islanders.

Natural Kinds.	Totems.
Mammals	dog (*umai*), flying-fox (*sapor*), dugong (*dangal*).
Birds	fish-eagle (*ngagalaig*), hawk (*aubu*), a sea-bird (*kiak*), frigate-bird (*womer*), a wading-bird (*sawi*), a yellowish bird (*gòt*), reef-heron (*karbai*), cassowary (*sam*).
Reptiles	crocodile (*kodal*), monitor (*karum*), gecko (*sis*), snake (*tabu*), sea-snake (*ger*), green turtle (*surlal* or *waru*), turtle-shell turtle (*unawa*), *maiwa* (a turtle ?).
Fishes	sucker-fish (*gapu*), *saker*, *wad*, shovel-nosed skate (*kaigas*), various kinds of ray (*tapimul*), a species of ray (*tolupai*), hammer-headed shark (*kursi*), shark (*baidam*), a kind of shark (*kutikuti*), *uzi*.
Invertebrates	a sea-snail (*wiag*).
Plants	a tuber (*diabau*), hibiscus (*kokwam*).
Inanimate objects	a stone (*kula*), a stone (*goba*), a star (*titui*).

Thus out of thirty-six recorded totems no less than thirty-one are animals, two are plants, and three are inanimate objects. The two plant totems are found only in Saibai, an island off the south coast of New Guinea.[2]

In each island there were a number of totem clans, all the members of each clan having the same totem or totems. Most of these clans had more than one totem, but one totem was more important than the others and might be called the chief totem, while the rest were subsidiary. In some cases two or more clans might have the same chief totem, while their subsidiary totems differed. For example,

Principal and subsidiary totems.

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 157.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 157.

in Mabuiag there were two clans which had the dugong for their chief totem, but in one of them the subsidiary totem was the crocodile, and in the other it was the sucker-fish.[1]

Local segregation of the totemic clans.

The members of each totem clan generally lived together in one district; at least this was so in Mabuiag. At present all the people of that island live in one village, but they still acknowledge that each clan has its established place, and the members of a clan were often spoken of by the name of its place; thus the Dugong-Crocodile clan of Mabuiag, living at Panai, was often spoken of as the Panai people. A man did not change his totem by changing his district: if a Panai man went to live elsewhere, he did not cease to be a Dugong-Crocodile man. This definite connection between clan and district has now ceased, and at the present time members of different clans may even live in the same house.[2]

Exogamy and descent of the totem clans.

Descent of the totem clan is, and, so far as the genealogical records go back, always has been, in the male line. A man has the same totem or totems as his father. A wife keeps the totem which she has inherited from her father: she does not take her husband's totem. The clans were exogamous; sexual intercourse, as well as marriage, was prohibited between members of the same clan. However, marriages might take place between clans that had the same chief totem, but different subsidiary totems. In the genealogies such marriages are found to occur most frequently between persons whose chief totem was the crocodile. The two or three Crocodile clans of Mabuiag probably arose by fission, one original Crocodile clan splitting up into several, which distinguished themselves from each other by their subsidiary totems. There is definite evidence that the two Dugong clans of Mabuiag—the Dugong-Crocodile clan and the Dugong-Sucker-fish clan—originated in this way. But these clans are now regarded as quite distinct, and the possession of the same chief totem is not considered a bar to marriage, or only so to a slight extent. But the prohibition to marry a woman of the same totem clan did not extend to women of other

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 159. [2] *Ibid.* v. 159 *sq.*

islands: thus a Dugong man of Mabuiag might marry a Dugong woman of Moa or Parema.[1]

The totem clans appear to have been grouped in two exogamous classes or phratries, called respectively the Children of the Great Totem and the Children of the Little Totem.

Further, it appears that the totem clans of the Western islands of Torres Straits were formerly grouped in two exogamous classes or phratries.[2] In the island of Mabuiag these two classes were called "the Children, or People, of the Great Totem" and "the Children or People of the Little Totem" respectively. The Children of the Great Totem were the clans of the Crocodile, the Cassowary, and the Snake, with whom were associated the members of the Dog clan. The Children of the Little Totem were the clans of the Dugong and Shovel-nosed Skate, with whom were associated the clans of the Shark, the Ray, and the Turtle (*surlal* or *waru*). It is interesting to observe that this grouping of the totem clans corresponds to the mode of life of the totem animals. The totems of the first group (the Children of the Great Totem) are all land animals, the four legs of the crocodile clearly outweighing in the native mind the amphibious habits of the reptile. On the other hand the totems of the second group (the Children of the Little Totem) are all marine animals; or, as a native said, "They all belong to the water, they are all friends."

Local segregation of the two classes or phratries in Mabuiag.

Further, the two groups or classes of clans, the Children of the Great Totem and the Children of the Little Totem, appear formerly to have inhabited separate districts of Mabuiag. Thus the Dugong clan used to live at Panai and the Shovel-nosed Skate clan at Sipungur and Gumu, all of which places are on the windward, or south-east side of the island. On the other hand Wagedugam, on the north-west side of the island, was regarded as the district of the clans which had land animals for their totems (the Children of the Great Totem), and one of the Crocodile clans and one of the Snake clans certainly lived there. But the other Crocodile clan or clans and the other Snake clan lived on the south-east side, close to the district of the Children of the Little Totem. If, as has been suggested,[3] clans with the same chief totem arose through the subdivision of one original clan, it is possible that all the Crocodile and Snake

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 159-161, 236.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 172-179, 241.

[3] Above, p. 4.

people originally lived together at Wagedugam. However, the old geographical separation of the two groups of totem clans has been obliterated by the missionaries, who have persuaded the people to gather together in one village, where there is no segregation of totemic groups.[1]

Local segregation of the totemic clans in Tutu and Saibai.

In the island of Tutu the Crocodile and Shark (*baidam*) clans formed one group, while the Hammer-headed Shark (*kursi*), the Cassowary, and the Dog clans formed another group. The first of these two groups owned the northern half of the island, and the second group owned the southern half of the island.[2] In the island of Saibai the single village formerly consisted of a double row of houses separated by a long open space or street, and the houses of each clan were placed side by side in the following order:—

Snake.		Wild tuber (*daibau*).
Crocodile.	Dog.	Cassowary.

The people who lived on one side of the street were friends, but were constantly quarrelling with the people on the other side of the street, though they generally took their wives from their neighbours over the way. Finding that this division of the clans on opposite sides of the street led to faction fights, a South Sea teacher mixed the houses up, and the old grouping of the clans has disappeared.[3]

Probably each of the two groups or classes of totemic clans was formerly exogamous.

It is probable that the two groups into which the totem clans of Torres Straits thus fall were originally exogamous classes or phratries, in other words, that the members of one group might only marry members of the other group. It is true that the evidence of the genealogies in the island of Mabuiag does not support this view; but on the other hand in Saibai nearly two-thirds of the marriages take place between the two groups, which seems to shew a decided tendency to exogamy of the groups. On the whole we seem to be justified in assuming that the distribution of the totem clans of the Western Islands of Torres Straits into two exogamous classes or phratries was an ancient feature of their totemic system, although the old rule of

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 172 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* v. 173.

[3] *Ibid.* v. 174 *sq.*

exogamy of the classes has partially broken down in Saibai and completely broken down in Mabuiag.[1]

The exogamy of the totem clans seems to be decadent, for it is subject to certain exceptions.

Thus in the islands of Torres Straits exogamy of the classes or phratries has proved less lasting than the exogamy of the totem clans; for we have seen that a man is still bound to seek his wife from another totem clan. Yet even in the totem clans the rule of exogamy appears to be decadent, since a man is free to marry a woman of the same totem as himself in two cases. In the first place, he may marry a woman of the same totem as himself provided she belongs to another clan, which has indeed the same chief totem as his own, but different subsidiary totems. In the second place, a man may marry a woman of the same totem as himself, provided she belongs to another island.[2] This last case proves that it is deemed more essential to marry a woman of another locality than of another totem; in other words, that local exogamy is superseding clan exogamy, as it has done among the Kurnai of South-East Australia.[3] In short, totemism as a system for the regulation of marriage is in a state of decay in these islands. At the present time in Mabuiag and probably throughout the Western Islands marriage is regulated more by kinship than by clanship; a man is forbidden to marry not only women of his own totem clan, but also women of other totem clans if they are connected with him by certain ties of kinship.[4]

Marriage is regulated rather by kinship than by clanship.

"The general result of the analysis of the genealogical record confirms the marriage laws as stated by the natives. It certainly shows that marriages between people nearly related to one another never occurred, while marriages between people related to one another even remotely were rare. No single case occurs in Mabuiag or Badu in which marriage has taken place between own brothers and sisters, and no definite case between *babat*[5] of the same clan. Only one case is recorded of marriage between first cousins, and that is one in which it is almost certain that the

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 175-179, 241.

[2] See above, pp. 4 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 494.

[4] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 160 *sq.*, 235.

[5] *Babat* are brothers and sisters in the group or classificatory sense of the terms. See *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 129, 131 *sqq.*; and as to the classificatory relationships in general, see above, vol. i. pp. 289 *sqq.*

genealogical record is incorrect. On the other hand, sixteen cases at least are recorded in which marriage has taken place between people related to one another by some degree of cousinship more remote than that of first cousin. In nearly all these marriages the relationship is either very remote (third cousins or second cousins once removed) or there are extenuating circumstances."[1]

Solidarity of the totem clans.

The solidarity of the totem clan was a marked feature in the social life of the people: it took precedence of all other considerations. Nor was the bond limited to the people of the clan who dwelt together; an intimate relationship existed between all people who had the same totem, whatever the island or the district might be which they inhabited; even warfare did not affect the friendship of totem-brethren. Any man who visited another island would be cared for and entertained as a matter of course by the residents who were of the same totem as himself. But if there happened to be no people of the same totem as himself on the island, he would stay with a clan which was recognised as being in some way associated with his own. Thus a Dog man of Tutu would visit the Shovel-nosed Skate people of Mabuiag, because they had the dog for one of their subsidiary totems.[2]

Mystic affinity between members of a clan and their totem: the members of a clan resembled their totemic animal in character.

A close relationship or, as Drs. Haddon and Rivers put it, a mystic affinity is held to obtain between the members of a clan and their totem. "This is a deeply ingrained idea and is evidently of fundamental importance. More than once we were told emphatically, '*Augud* [totem] all same as relation he belong same family.' A definite physical and psychological resemblance was thus postulated for the human and animal members of the clan. There can be little doubt that this sentiment reacted on the clansmen and constrained them to live up to the traditional character of their respective clans."[3] Thus the Cassowary, Crocodile, Snake, Shark, and Hammer-headed Shark clans are said to love fighting; while the Shovel-nosed Skate, the Ray, and the Sucker-fish clans are

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 239.

[2] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 161.

[3] A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 184.

reputed to be peaceable. The reason of the distinction is no doubt to be found in the ferocity of the one set of animals and the gentleness of the other. The cassowary, which ranks with the truculent creatures, is a bird of very uncertain temper which kicks with extreme violence. Intermediate between the fierce and the gentle clans is the Dog clan, which is thought to be sometimes pugnacious and sometimes pacific, just like real dogs, which sometimes fawn and sometimes snarl and bite. So it is precisely with a Dog man. At one time he will be glad to see you, at another time, when you least expect it, he will whip out his stone-headed club and hit you a swingeing blow. Men of the Dog clan are also believed to have great sympathy with dogs and to understand their habits better than do other people. When men of the Snake clan are angry they loll out their tongues and wag them, just like real snakes; and when they are fighting, they cry out, "Snake bites!" which is a charm to make the reptile sting. Crocodile people are said to be very strong and to have no pity, just like real crocodiles. Cassowary men are thought to have long legs and to run fast, just like real cassowaries. When a cassowary man went out to fight, he would say to himself, "My leg is long and thin, I can run and not feel tired; my legs will go quickly and the grass will not entangle them."[1]

The affinity which was supposed to exist between people and their totems was indicated by certain outward emblems which men and women either wore or had impressed on their persons. Thus the members of a totem clan sometimes carried a piece of their totem (*augud*) or a carved representation of it; sometimes the badge of the totem was cut in their flesh.[2] For example, likenesses of dugongs, crocodiles, snakes, and shovel-nosed skates were sometimes cut on the loins of women of these totem clans; but the custom was not universal.[3] In Mabuiag girls of the cassowary totem might scarify the calf of each leg with a mark like an arrow-head (⍭), which represents the footprint of the bird; or they

The affinity between members of a clan and their totem animal was indicated by certain outward emblems or badges, sometimes by scars cut in the flesh.

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 164, 165, 166, 168 *sq.*, 184 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* v. 158.

[3] *Ibid.* v. 158, 163, 164, with plate ix.

might have an appropriate mark cut on the loins.[1] In the same island men of the snake totem were said to have a coiled snake cut on the calf of each leg, while the women had two coiled snakes cut on the loins. Further, the men of that clan were reported to have also had two small holes in the tip of the nose, which were evidently intended to represent the nostrils of their totem the snake.[2] Men of several clans, particularly the Dugong and Shovel-nosed Skate clans, were said to have had their totems (*augud*) cut on their right shoulder, but Dr. Haddon and his colleagues never saw any indication of it, though complicated marks were often cut on that part of the body.[3] In Mabuiag men who had the shovel-nosed skate for their totem carved a likeness of that fish on their tobacco-pipes.[4] In the same island men and women of the Crocodile clan might wear as a badge a piece of crocodile skin or two or three scales of a crocodile fastened by a string round the neck and hanging down either in front or behind. Usually instead of this badge the men would put some kind of leaf in their hair over the forehead, when they walked in the bush; and on certain occasions they would dab a round spot of red paint on the pit of their stomachs.[5] Men of the Dog clan in Mabuiag wore no badge, but would ornament their tobacco-pipes and bamboo bows with figures of their totem the dog.[6] Men of the Shark and Ray clans in Mubuiag are also said to have worn no badges, but to have carved sharks and ray-fish respectively on their tobacco-pipes or other objects.[7]

As a rule people did not kill and eat their totemic animals.

Standing in a relation of mystic affinity to their totems and in a sense identifying themselves with them,[8] people naturally abstained from killing and eating their totems, but they were free to kill the totems of other clans. If a

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 166.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 168, with plate ix. fig. 2.

[3] *Ibid.* v. 159, 163, 164.

[4] *Ibid.* v. 164.

[5] *Ibid.* v. 165.

[6] *Ibid.* v. 169.

[7] *Ibid.* v. 169.

[8] "Individuals identified themselves with their totem (*augud*) by decorating themselves or their belongings with representations of the totem. A psychical affinity was supposed to exist between the totem and its human kin" (A. C. Haddon, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 177).

Crocodile man killed a crocodile, the other Crocodile men killed him; if a man of another clan killed one of the reptiles, the Crocodile men would not molest him, but they mourned for the death of their relative the crocodile. If a Cassowary man were seen killing a cassowary, his fellow-clansmen would injure or kill him, they felt so sorry for the death of the bird. They said, "Cassowary (*sam*) he all same as relation, he belong same family." If a Dog man killed a dog, the other Dog men would fight him; if a man of another clan killed a dog, the other Dog men would let him alone, though they felt sorry. However, there were two exceptions to the rule that a member of a totem clan might not kill or eat his totem. Members of the Dugong and Turtle (*surlal*) clans were allowed to kill and eat their totems the dugongs and turtles respectively. The reason for this special indulgence is no doubt the importance of the dugong and turtle as articles of diet. In all the islands flesh-meat, with the exception of fish, is very scarce, and it would be too much to expect the members of these two clans to abstain entirely from eating their respective totems. Indeed the Cambridge anthropologists, to whose researches we owe our knowledge of the totemic system of these islanders, were told that the totem was eaten in Mabuiag because the island is a "poor place" and "men hard up." So Dugong men were allowed to catch dugong, but might not eat the first one they caught on a fishing expedition: the second and following ones they might keep. The Turtle men observed the same regulation with regard to turtles. The same rules applied to people who had the dugong and turtle for their subsidiary totems.[1]

But members of the Dugong and Turtle clans were allowed to kill and eat dugongs and turtles.

At the present day, through the influence of foreigners, the old totem taboos are falling into desuetude. In the island of Saibai people now kill and eat their totems.[2] But never even in the old days, so far as can be ascertained, was there any religion or worship of the totems. On this subject Dr. Haddon observes: "The totem animals of a

The totems were not worshipped.

[1] A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 392 *sq.*; *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 185, 186.

[2] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 186.

clan are sacred only to the members of that clan; but the idea of sacredness is very limited, merely implying a family connection, a certain amount of magical affinity and the immunity of a totem animal from being killed by a member of that clan. No worship or reverence, so far as I know, was ever paid to a totem. Animals are not treated as rational beings or talked to more than with us, perhaps not so much so."[1]

Members of the Turtle and Dugong clans performed magical ceremonies to ensure a supply of turtles and dugong.

In Mabuiag men of the Turtle and Dugong clans performed magical ceremonies in order to ensure a supply of turtles and dugong. Thus these ceremonies correspond exactly to the magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) which the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia perform for the multiplication of their totems. The men of the Turtle clan might not go turtle-fishing until a turtle had been caught by members of some other clan. But the first turtle caught during the turtle-breeding season was handed over to the men of the Turtle clan. It was taken not to the village, but to the *kwod* of the clan, that is, to the general meeting-place of the men which no woman might enter.[2] Here the animal was smeared all over with red ochre (*parma*), after which it was known as the Red Turtle (*parma surlal*). The clansmen painted themselves with a red mark across the chest and another across the abdomen, evidently to represent the anterior and posterior margin of the plastron, or under-shell, of their totem the turtle. They wore head-dresses of cassowary feathers and danced round the turtle whirling bull-roarers (*bigu*) and shaking as rattles the nutshells of Pangium edule (*goa*). A length of the *gawai* creeper was cut off and slightly sharpened at one end: this was then inserted in the cloaca of the turtle and pushed up and down several times. This was an act of pantomimic magic to "make him (that is, all the turtle) proper fast,"[3] in other words, to cause the turtles to multiply. The turtle was then given to the Dugong men, who ate it. This ceremony was performed in daylight without any

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 363 *sq.*

[2] As to the *kwod*, which may perhaps be described as the forum of the men, the social, political, and religious centre of their public life, see *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 3, 365-367.

[3] "Fast" in the English jargon which is spoken by these islanders means the act of copulation.

attempt at secrecy; but neither women and children nor even men of other clans came near while it lasted.[1] Thus we see that the men of the Turtle clan, like men of the Witchetty Grub, Emu, and other totems among the Arunta, were credited with the power of magically multiplying their totem for the benefit of the community in order to increase the general food-supply; and this imaginary power they endeavoured to exert by performing a ceremony which was clearly based on the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic, since they painted themselves to resemble turtles and mimicked the act of copulation on the body of the dead turtle.

Ceremony of the Dugong clan to make dugong come and be caught.

Again, the Dugong clan in Mabuiag used to perform a magical ceremony to compel the dugong to swim towards the island and be caught. This rite they observed in the sacred meeting-place (*kwod*) of the men, close to the shore at a place called Dabungai, which faces northward to the reefs where the dugong chiefly feed and abound. The Dugong men who officiated were painted with a red line from the tip of the nose, up the forehead and down the spine to the small of the back, in order to resemble the wake of mud that streams behind the dugong when it is browsing upon the Cymodocea, which grow on a soft bottom. A wooden model of a dugong, which was used as a charm to attract the fish, was painted in like manner. Further, certain plants were twisted round the waists and arms of the Dugong men who took part in the ceremony; their forehead was decked with upright leaves to represent the spouting of the dugong when it comes to the surface of the water to breathe, and leaves were inserted in the arm-bands of the performers to simulate the water splashing off a dugong when it is floundering in a shoal. A medicine or charm for the dugong was compounded out of certain plants, including the *Sesuvium Portulacastrum*. These plants were put on the ground and the dugong was laid on the top of them. Several men hoisted the dead dugong up by its tail so as to make it face towards the rest of the island, thereby indicating to the living dugong in the sea the way they should come from the reefs to the island in order that they

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 183 *sq.*

might be caught and eaten.[1] This ceremony, like the turtle ceremony just described, clearly involves the principle of imitative magic, since the Dugong men paint themselves to resemble dugong. But whereas the turtle ceremony is intended to breed turtles, the dugong ceremony is intended merely to attract, not to multiply, the fish.

Subsidiary totems.

We have seen that most of the totem clans of these islands had several totems, namely a chief totem and one or more subsidiary totems. Thus in Mabuiag the most important clan had the dugong for its chief totem and the crocodile for its subsidiary totem;[2] the Shovel-nosed Skate clan had the green turtle (*surlal*) and the dog for its subsidiary totems; a Crocodile clan had for its subsidiary totems the snake, a blue-spotted fish (*wad*), and the sucker-fish;[3] the Cassowary clan had for its subsidiary totems the dugong and the snake;[4] the Turtle (*surlal*) had for its subsidiary totems the frigate-bird and the flying-fox; one Snake clan had for its subsidiary totem the dugong, and another Snake clan had for its subsidiary totems the turtle (*surlal*) and sucker-fish;[5] and the Dog clan had for its subsidiary totem the turtle.[6] All these examples of clans with subsidiary totems are drawn from the island of Mabuiag. In the island of Badu the Crocodile clan had for its subsidiary totems the turtle and the sucker-fish; the Dugong clan had for its subsidiary totem the cassowary; and the Cassowary clan had for its subsidiary totem the ray-fish.[7] In the island of Muralug one clan was said to have no less than seven totems. In Nagir the shark totem was found associated with the dugong totem, the gecko with the turtle, and a small fish (*saker*) with *maiwa* (a turtle?). In Tutu also clans were found with more than one totem; thus the hammer-headed shark was associated with the frigate-bird in one clan and with the turtle (*waru*) in another; while another clan had for its totems the crocodile and the frigate-bird.[8]

What is the origin and meaning of this custom of

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 182 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* v. 162.
[3] *Ibid.* v. 164.
[4] *Ibid.* v. 166.
[5] *Ibid.* v. 167.
[6] *Ibid.* v. 168.
[7] *Ibid.* v. 170 *sq.*
[8] *Ibid.* v. 180.

associating totems together? How comes it that a man has generally more than one totem? When the question was put to the people of Mabuiag, the usual answer was that a man sometimes took the totem of his mother as well as of his father. It is in favour of this explanation that the subsidiary totems of one clan were generally the chief totems of other clans. At the present time, and as far back as the genealogical record extends, the subsidiary totems belong to every member of the clan, and have not changed from individual to individual, except in a few cases. Now there are good grounds for thinking that the practice of maternal descent instead of paternal descent once prevailed in the Western Islands,[1] and it is a plausible hypothesis that the existence of subsidiary totems is a survival of the change from one mode of descent to the other, the man who first adopted his father's totem inheriting his mother's totem and then transmitting both to his descendants.[2] On this theory the possession of two or more subsidiary totems by a clan would be explained by supposing that the practice of taking the mother's totem in addition to the father's had been continued for two or more generations. This explanation of subsidiary totems is supported by the evidence of the natives, who actually derive these secondary totems from the custom of taking the mother's totem;[3] and moreover it is confirmed by the analogy of the practice in some tribes of North Australia, among whom a man has to respect his mother's totem in addition to his father's.[4]

Subsidiary totems may have originated through people taking the totems of their mothers in addition to those of their fathers.

[1] Amongst the grounds for this conclusion are the close relations which in Mabuiag exist between a man and his sister's child; for under the system of mother-kin a man's sister's sons stand to him in the position in which under the system of father-kin his own sons stand to him. In Mabuiag the relationship of *wadwam*, that is, the reciprocal relationship of sister's son and mother's brother, carried with it some remarkable privileges resembling those which in Fiji were enjoyed by the *vasu* or sister's son. For example, in Mabuiag a sister's son (*wadwam*) might take, lose, spoil, or destroy anything belonging to his uncle and the uncle would utter no word of reproach or anger. Again, a boy's guardian at his initiation was not his father but his mother's brother, and it is said that as a lad grew up to manhood, he cared more for his mother's brother (*wadwam*) and less for his father. Once more, when two men were fighting, the *wadwam* (mother's brother or sister's son) had the right to make him desist by a mere word or by simply holding up his hand. See W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 144-147, 150 *sq.*

[2] A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 180.

[3] *Ibid.* v. 180.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 233-237.

Or subsidiary totems may have originated through the absorption of several subordinate clans in a more powerful one.

Another possible explanation of subsidiary totems is that they indicate the absorption of one or more clans into another. On this hypothesis the chief totem would be the original totem of the powerful clan which absorbed the others, while the subsidiary totems would be the original totems of the weaker clans which were absorbed, but which were allowed after the union to keep their old totems in a subordinate position.[1] On the other hand there is evidence, as we have seen, that some of the existing totem clans have arisen not by amalgamation but on the contrary by subdivision, the new clans so formed retaining the original totem of the old undivided clan, but tacking on to it different subsidiary totems for the sake of distinction.[2] Whatever explanation be adopted of these subsidiary totems, they seem to differ in kind from those subtotems of Australian tribes which have already been considered.[3]

Classificatory system of relationship.

As usual, we find that in the Western Islands of Torres Straits totemism and exogamy go along with the classificatory system of relationship. Thus, for example, a man applies the same term *tati* to his father and to his father's brothers; he applies the same term *apu* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *kazi* to his own children and to the children of his brothers, but he applies quite a different term (*wadwam*) to the children of his sisters.[4] Thus a man may have and commonly has many "fathers" and "mothers" who neither begat nor bore him; he has many "sons" and "daughters," some or all of whom he never begat.

Rules of avoidance between persons connected by marriage.

A man never mentioned the personal name of his father-in-law, his mother-in-law, his son-in-law, or his daughter-in-law, and a woman was subject to the same restrictions in regard to the personal names of her husband's relations. If a man did use the personal name of his brother-in-law, he was ashamed and hung down his head. The shame was only relieved when he had made a present to his offended brother-in-law. He had to make similar presents for

[1] A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 181.

[2] See above, p. 4.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 427 *sqq.*, 431 *sqq.*, 451 *sqq.*, 470 *sqq.*, 540, 567.

[4] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 129, 133, 134, 135, 141.

mentioning the personal names of his mother-in-law and his father-in-law, his sister-in-law, and his son-in-law and daughter-in-law. This disability to use the personal names of relatives by marriage was associated with the common custom which forbids a man or woman to speak to these relatives. If a man wished to speak to his father-in-law or mother-in-law, he spoke to his wife, and she spoke to her parent. But if any direct communication between them became absolutely necessary, it was said that a man might talk a very little to his father-in-law or mother-in-law in a low voice. On the same conditions he might be allowed in case of necessity to speak a very little to his brother-in-law. Sometimes the two communicated through the wife of one of them.[1] Nevertheless brothers-in-law were bound together by certain mutual obligations which rendered the tie between them a close one. For example, the chief performer at the death-ceremonies was the brother-in-law of the deceased; and when a man went in his canoe on a fishing expedition, his brother-in-law had to go with him and perform certain definite duties, such as heaving the anchor, hoisting the sail, lighting the fire, and cooking the food, in fact he had to work very hard. Again, brothers-in-law had the privilege of wearing each other's masks; and further, if a number of canoes were going out to fight, and one man's canoe turned back, his brothers-in-law would turn back also. In short, a man had the right to demand certain services from his brother-in-law. The whole group of customs may be a survival from a condition of society in which a man used to take up his abode with his wife's family and was bound to render them services. This custom of a husband living with his wife's family is known among anthropologists as *beena* marriage and is naturally associated with the system of mother-kin. Thus the mutual obligations of brothers-in-law in the Western Islands of Torres Straits furnish another indication of a time when descent among these people was traced in the maternal instead of in the paternal line.[2]

Relations between brothers-in-law.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 142 *sq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* v. 148-150. For other evidence of a former custom of maternal descent in these islands, see above, p. 15, note[1]. In

The Levirate.

A widow was not obliged to marry again, but if she did marry again she generally, at least in Mabuiag, followed the custom of the Levirate by marrying the brother of her deceased husband. That custom appears in Mabuiag to have been observed as a means of keeping the property within the clan; for even when the brother of the deceased did not marry his widow, he still looked after her, the children, and the property.[1] At all events the custom of the Levirate seems in these islands, as in Australia and Africa,[2] to have no connection with polyandry; for there is no evidence that polyandry was ever practised in Torres Straits.[3]

Exchange of sisters in marriage.

The practice of exchanging sisters in marriage was common in these islands, as it was among the aborigines of Australia. Indeed the genealogies seem to shew that in the Mabuiag-Badu community the majority of marriages were brought about by men giving their sisters to each other to be their wives. The natives apparently think that the practice originated in the custom of purchasing a wife; for the price paid for a wife is high, and a poor man could avoid the expense by giving, or promising to give, his sister in marriage to his wife's brother instead of a payment for his wife.[4]

There are signs that in Torres Straits totemism was developing into a worship of heroes or gods.

Although in the islands of Torres Straits the totems were not worshipped, as indeed they never are worshipped in true totemism, yet signs are not wanting that in this region the totemic system, if it had been left to itself, might have developed into a higher form of faith with anthropomorphic heroes or gods in place of the old totem animals. Thus the people of Yam told the story and shewed the shrines of two brothers named Sigai and Maiau, who seem to have been hovering on the borderland between animals and men. The brethren, it is said, first appeared in the island in the likeness of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. The natives went to receive them

Ceylon when a wife goes to live with her husband, it is a *deega* marriage; and when he goes to live with her, it is a *beena* marriage. See J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), p. 101.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 244-246.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 501.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 243.

[4] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* v. 241 *sq.*

in two parallel columns, and each line of men adopted one of the animal-shaped heroes as its collective totem (*augud*). Having received the august visitors they escorted them to a sacred place (*kwod*) of the men and there installed them in two shrines set side by side. The hallowed spot may still be seen about the middle of the island of Yam: it is in an open glade surrounded by rocks and trees. A fence of mangrove stakes, with two doorways at one end, enclosed a space of ground about thirty-three feet square. Within the enclosure were the two shrines, consisting of two long low huts with thatched roofs of palm leaves, each of them with an opening that faced towards one of the two doorways in the outer fence. Each hut was about twenty-five feet long by four feet wide and four and a half feet high. Within the two huts were two large models or images of the two totems (*augud*) made of turtle shell and representing a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. The tail of each of these effigies was supported by a forked stake, and on the back of each were a couple of crescentic objects made of turtle-shell and decorated with imitation eyes and a fringe of cassowary feathers, which simulated eyebrows. Several reddened rods, decorated with white feathers of the reef-heron and terminating in the red plumes of the bird-of-paradise, projected vertically from the image, while festoons of bird-of-paradise plumage, shells, and seed-rattles were stretched between the red rods. The figure of the crocodile was painted with yellow ochre, and the scales on its body were indicated. The hammer-headed shark was painted black on the back and white on the belly, and its body was further adorned with tufts of feathers of the bird-of-paradise. Under each of the two images was a stone in which the spirit of that particular totem (*augud*) was believed to reside, and outside of the sacred enclosure were two heaps of shells which were called the navels of the totems. The hammer-headed shark in the one hut represented the hero Sigai; the crocodile in the other hut represented the hero Maiau. So sacred were these two shrines with their images of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile that no woman or other uninitiated person might visit them. Such persons had indeed heard of Sigai and

Shrines and effigies of Sigai and Maiau, the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile.

Maiau, but they did not know that the former was a hammer-headed shark and the latter a crocodile; this mystery was too sacred to be disclosed to the uninitiated.

Annual dances of the Shark men and the Crocodile men in honour of the Shark-hero and the Crocodile-hero.

Food used to be piled in two heaps on the ground, one for the shark and one for the crocodile; and every year, when the north-west monsoon was blowing, the men danced totem dances and sang, the men of the hammer-headed shark on one side and the men of the crocodile on the other, all of them painted with red paint and wearing coronets of feathers on their heads, but the feathers of the hammer-headed shark men were white, while the feathers of the crocodile men were black. They danced and sang at evening, several times during the darkness of night, and again when the day was breaking. As they sang they stretched out their arms, holding the palms outwards and moving the hands sideways. These songs brought fine weather, no matter whether the wind howled and the rain beat on the singers. The very same songs were sung by the men when they were going out to war. They danced and sang in all their warlike accoutrements, the men of the hammer-headed shark in one long file and the men of the crocodile in another, while the black and white plumage on their heads nodded to the wind. A few men danced in a third row for the sea-snake (*ger*), who had also a shrine within the sacred enclosure; his shrine was a heap of Fusus shells with an image of the sea-snake on it. If any man fell asleep while the rest were dancing and singing, they poured water over him to rouse him from his slumber; for it was believed that for every man that slept at such a time a man would be killed in the battle. By singing these songs on the holy ground the warriors fancied they would be able to go where they liked. When they were about to deliver an attack, they prayed, "O totem Sigai and totem Maiau, both of you close the eyes of those men so that they cannot see us." After that the enemy were slaughtered like sheep, for they could not stand to their arms.[1]

[1] A. C. Haddon, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 64-66, 373-378; *id.*, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 178-180; *id.*, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 185.

Thus in the island of Yam the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile seem to have been on the point of sloughing off their animal skins and developing into purely anthropomorphic heroes or gods, while in the food offered, the prayers prayed, the songs sung, and the dances danced in their honour we see the rudiments of religious worship. The sacred enclosure also with its shrines and images of the animal-shaped heroes is not far removed from a temple. In these things and these customs we have passed beyond the limits of true totemism and are standing on the borders as it were of a new country, in which we may descry afar off the beast-gods of ancient Egypt and still further away the human gods of Greece with their animal familiars. The stones too in which the souls of the shark-hero and the crocodile-hero were supposed to reside outside of their bodies have their analogies in the customs and the stories of many peoples.[1] With these two stones, embodying the souls of the shark and the crocodile, may we not compare the sacred stones (*churinga*) of the Central Australians which are intimately associated both with the totem animals and with the souls of the men of the totem?[2] Such stones may perhaps form the missing link between the animals on the one side and their human kinsmen on the other.

The hammer-headed shark and the crocodile seem to have been on the point of developing into anthropomorphic heroes or gods.

The island of Mabuiag had also its warrior-hero in the person of Kwoiam. From the accounts given of him, this personage appears to have been an Australian by descent, either a pure-bred or a half-bred native of North Queensland, who so signalised himself by his prowess, that myths gathered round his memory, blurring and transfiguring the man into a cloudy being of fairyland. He is said to have had for his totem the shovel-nosed skate or the shovel-nosed skate and the turtle. Moreover, he made

The warrior-hero Kwoiam and his two magical crescents of turtle-shell.

[1] "The unique features of the totem cult of Yam were the representation of the *augud* in a definite image, each of which was lodged in its own house, and the presence of a stone beneath each effigy in which resided the life of the *augud*. I believe this materialisation of a totem has not been met with elsewhere and is so important a development of totemism as practically to place it beyond the realm of true totemism. The animal kindred are now replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero" (A. C. Haddon, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 377 *sq.*). As to the customs and stories of the external soul, see *The Golden Bough*,[2] iii. 351 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 189, 193 *sqq.*

two crescents of turtle-shell, which he fed with the savour of cooked fish, and which blazed with light when he wore them in the dark. These crescents were made by Kwoiam one night at the new moon, and their shape was copied by him from the silver crescent in the sky. One of them he wore on his upper lip and the other on his chest, and adorned with them he capered about, brandishing his javelin and throwing-stick and chanting a song. The crescents possessed magical properties: they led the wearer straight to the enemy and gave him the victory. Both of them were called *augud*, which was the name regularly given to a totem, and they became the emblems respectively of the two classes or phratries into which the totem clans of Mabuiag were divided. The Children of the Great Totem, who formed one of these classes or phratries, had for their emblem the turtle-shell crescent which Kwoiam wore on his lip, for that was deemed the more important of the two; while the Children of the Little Totem had for their emblem the crescent which Kwoiam wore on his breast, because that was reckoned the less important of the two. These two precious objects were kept in a cave in the sacred isle of Pulu, a little rocky islet on the reef to the west of Mabuiag. Dense bushes and rocks of fantastic shapes surround and lend an air of mystery to this most hallowed spot, where, in the recesses of the cavern, were stored not only the magical crescents but also the heads of all the men, women, and children who had been slain in war. Each crescent was deposited, along with a star-shaped stone-headed club, in a large basket full of skulls. These grinning trophies were usually painted red, and some of them had artificial noses made of beeswax and eyes made of the opalescent nacre of the nautilus shell. More skulls were also piled in the inner corners of the cave. The men of the two classes or phratries vied with each other in their efforts to procure the skulls of enemies for the sacred basket in which their particular crescent, the emblem or ensign of their class, was kept. When it was deemed necessary to strengthen the magical virtue of the two crescents, they were placed on two heaps of Fusus shells which were called "the large navel of the

Shrine of the two magical crescents.

totem" (*augud*) and "the small navel of the totem" (*augud*) respectively. These heaps, however, were not at the cave but at a meeting-place (*kwod*) of the men beside the shore of the sacred isle. Like the ark of God, the two magical crescents were carried forth to war and inspired their votaries with hopes of victory. Before the expedition set out, the sacred emblems were washed and decorated with red paint, flowers, and cassowary feathers. The headmen of the two classes or phratries bore each the particular crescent that belonged to his class, the one wearing it over his mouth and the other on his chest. Thus arrayed they marched at the head of their respective columns. They might neither speak nor be spoken to. Behind them came two men who touched the leaders with an arrow, if they took the wrong road. The *augud* had to be treated with respect. We hear of a certain man who in the excess of his zeal outran the column of warriors, but he stumbled and almost broke his leg because he went in front of the holy relics, which ought always to lead the way. The possession of these magical emblems had a great effect in raising the spirits of the men; indeed without them they hardly dared to fight. Thus the crescents were in a sense the standards of the two groups or classes of totem clans and led them to battle. The hero Kwoiam, who made them, was sometimes spoken of in Mabuiag as himself an *augud* or totem; indeed in the group of islands round Muralug he was regarded as the "big *augud*" and even as "the *augud* of every one in the island." On his death he was raised by the people of Mabuiag to something that approached to the rank of divinity, and there and in the islands to the south he is still held in honour; even the natives of Cape York peninsula in Queensland still speak of Kwoiam.[1]

The two magical crescents were carried forth to war and served as sacred standards to the totemic clans, inspiring them with hopes of victory.

The ruins of Kwoiam's house are shewn in Mabuiag near the top of a hill, and on the other side of the crest, looking westward towards the sacred isle of Pulu, is the low cairn that marks his grave. To this day the leaves of

Scenes associated with the legend of Kwoiam.

[1] *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 4 *sq.*, 70 *sq.*, 79 *sqq.*, 153 *sq.*, 367-373; A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 136-147; *id.*, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 184.

A far-spreading landscape.

the bushes that grow on the hillside are dyed red with his sacred blood. The hill-top commands a fine view of the scenes associated with his legend and of the neighbouring islands. It was visited by Dr. Haddon, who has rescued the dusky hero and his story from oblivion. He has described for us the far-spreading landscape that met his gaze. Below him stretched a grassy plain studded with pandanus and other trees where Kwoiam was born and where he had his gardens, the gardens that are now tilled by alien hands. Far way beside the sea, under the shadow of a grove of palms, appeared the village with its church, telling of altered times. Further off, bounded on the north by wooded hills, was spread out the pale green water of the bay, fringed with white where the surf broke in foam on the sands, but passing into caerulean blue where it deepened beyond the bounding reef into the open sea. From the brilliant colouring of the foreground, where the red rocks and verdant foliage of the palms and gardens contrasted with the sear hues of the parched plain and the peacock tints of the bay, the eye ranged away over a waste of waters to where, far in the south, the long serrated crest of the islands of Moa and Badu rose up against the sky and all colour was lost in the dull monotonous grey of a moisture-laden atmosphere.[1]

Seeds of heroic fables.

Thus in these Western Islands of Torres Straits we may detect, amid the ruins of totemism, the seeds of a mythology which might in time have grown up and blossomed into a body of heroic legends and divine fables like those which still invest with an eternal charm the mountains and islands of Greece.

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 144-147; *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 82 *sq.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VI

TOTEMISM IN NEW GUINEA

Totemism and exogamy in New Guinea.

WHEN we pass from Torres Straits to the great island of New Guinea which bounds them on the north, we still meet with a combination of totemism and exogamy like that which we have found in Australia and in the Western Islands of Torres Straits. Unfortunately our information with regard to the totemic and exogamous systems of New Guinea is very meagre; it is probable that the systems are much more widely spread there than appears from the brief and scanty notices of them which are all that we have to hand at present. We must hope that future researches will supply the many blanks in our knowledge of these interesting tribes.

§ 1. *Totemism at Mawatta in Daudai*

Mr. Beardmore's account of totemism at Mawatta.

On the southern coast of New Guinea, in the western part of British territory, totemism has been observed in the tribe which inhabits the village of Mawatta (Mowat) on the river Katau, in the district of Daudai. The first to report their totemic system was Mr. Edward Beardmore, who says: "The Mowat tribe is divided into different clans each having its own totem, the animal being held sacred and the flesh not partaken of by the members of that clan. A representation of the totem is not cut on any part of either men or women, but the latter have some mark made to denote the clan. . . . The child is named by the father with one name only, according to his fancy, without any regard to his tribe or family."[1] "Everything is eaten with-

[1] E. Beardmore, "The Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) p. 459.

out regard to persons or occasions, except the flesh of the porpoise. The porpoise is no more sacred than anything else; souls of the departed having it as a totem enter into it only in the same way as souls of others go into other animals."[1] "There appears to be no restriction as to marriage within or without the same tribe or clan. Adultery is commonly though not openly practised. I cannot find out for a certainty what are the forbidden degrees of consanguinity in relation to marriage, but as far as practicable the members of one family or descendants of one forefather, however remote, may not intermarry. Polygamy, but not polyandry, is practised: their reason for this custom is that the women do the principal part of the work in procuring vegetable or fish food. Marriage is arranged by the respective parents when the children are growing up, or in infancy and by exchange, thus:—if a man has sisters and no brother he can exchange a sister for a wife, but in the case of both brothers and sisters in a family the eldest brother exchanges the eldest sister, and the brothers as they are old enough share equally, but if the numbers are unequal the elder takes the preference. It sometimes happens that a man has no sister and he cannot obtain a wife. Sometimes a wife is procured by purchase. It may also happen that a woman will have the man of her choice in spite of all laws to the contrary. The wife goes to the husband's house. . . . Men do not exchange wives. A widow becomes the wife of the deceased husband's brother. A man may not look at nor speak to his mother-in-law."[2]

Marriage customs.

Exchange of sisters in marriage.

A fuller account of totemism in the Mawatta (Mowat) tribe was afterwards obtained by Mr. B. A. Hely, who gives the name of the tribe as Kadawarubi, that is, "the men (*arubi*) of Kadawa."[3] He found nine septs or totem clans among the people, of which the totems were as follows:—

Mr. Hely's account of totemism at Mawatta.

[1] E. Beardmore, *op. cit.* p. 462.

[2] E. Beardmore, *op. cit.* pp. 460 *sq.* The writer's account of the exchange of sisters in marriage is far from clear. For Mr. Hely's account of the custom, see below, pp. 28 *sq.*

[3] B. A. Hely, "Totemism of the Kadawarubi Tribe," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136. Mr. Hely's account is reprinted with additions in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders*, pp. 187 *sq.*

Cassowary (*diware*).
Alligator (*hibara*).
Dog (*umu*).
Tortoise (*pomoa*).
Rock snake (*gera*).
Shark (*baidamu*).
Kangaroo (*usara*).
Stinging ray (*topimoro*).
Ground shark (*komuhoro*).

The researches of Dr. C. G. Seligmann have since extended the list, for in addition to the foregoing he discovered a number of other totems as follows :—[1]

Banded sea snake (*obopera*).
A plant with edible tubers (*tomani*).
A swamp tree (*hae*).
A particular kind of banana (*ibubu*).
A plant like a yam (*audi*).
Dugong (*momoro*).
A marsupial (*apatiri*).
A fish (*kueti*).
Sago (*do*).
A fruit (*hibuomere*).
Hawk? (*wario*).
Bamboo (*gagari*).
A creeper or parasite (*omere*).
Pig (*boromo*).
A shell, *Triton* sp. (*tuture*).
A fish (*bidari*).
A red fruit (*kakiwari*).
Catfish (*duomo*).
Coconut (*oi*).

Respect for the totems.

The following is Mr. Hely's account of Mawatta totemism: —"The people may neither kill nor eat their totems. Many village squabbles arise from the killing of the totem of one sept by the people of another. A man killing a kangaroo, for instance, and carrying it past a house inhabited by people of the kangaroo sept, may be reviled or insulted in some way. His friends side with him, and a general slanging match ensues, and often sticks and stones are resorted to. The septs have always intermarried; the parties to a marriage, however, retaining their own totems, but observing each other's to some extent. For instance, a woman of one sept marrying a man of another sept may not eat his totem or handle it. If she does so he will not use food prepared by her, nor cohabit with her for a period. In the same way the husband must not eat or kill the wife's totem under similar penalties."[2] From a later statement of Mr. Hely's it appears that in saying "The septs have

Rules of marriage and descent.

[1] For this list and other particulars as to Mawatta totemism I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. C. G. Seligmann, who liberally placed his manuscript materials at my disposal.

[2] B. A. Hely, "Totemism of the Kadawarubi Tribe," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 187.

always intermarried" he meant to affirm that the men and women of the same clan were free to marry each other, in other words, that the rule of exogamy did not apply to the totem clans; he supposed that the people, "being so much advanced in civilisation, have broken through old laws relating to marriage." But this statement was contradicted by the informants of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition, who distinctly declared that "members of the same clan (*gu*) may not intermarry as 'belong same family,' but they may marry into any other 'family.'"[1] According to Mr. Hely, "totems are hereditary: an only child invariably follows his father's totem. Where there are two or more children they may be divided between the septs of their parents." But the members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition were told that children follow the totem (*ibihara*) of their father only.[2] "Of old each sept lived under one roof; this accounts in a way for the size of the original houses of these people. There appears not to be, nor to have been, any punishment for wrongful assumption of a totem—probably the necessity never arose. In battle and dance, members of various septs painted effigies of their totems on their backs and chests for the guidance of their fellows should aid or attention be needed. No permanent totem marks are carried. All the septs appear to be equal, none being of more importance or distinction than others."[3]

Communal houses.

Exchange of sisters in marriage.

In this tribe we are told that "it is a fixed law that the bridegroom's sister, if he has one unmarried, should go to the bride's brother or nearest male relative; she has no option. . . . Except in cases where the bridegroom has no sister no payment is made to the parents of the bride until a child is born, when the husband presents his wife's father with a canoe or arm-shells, tomahawks, etc. . . . In these comparatively civilised days at Mawatta and elsewhere, it is becoming customary for men and women to marry

[1] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 187 *sq.* The members of the expedition were also told that people now eat their own totem (*ibihara* or *ɛbɛ̌hari*).

[2] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

[3] B. A. Hely, in *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136; *id.*, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

without the exchange of sisters or payment. The customs above stated, however, generally prevail in the district." [1]

Totem clans grouped in two classes or phratries.

The members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition learned that in the Mawatta tribe the totem clans appear to be grouped in two classes or phratries, of which the one has for its chief totem the crocodile (*hibara*) and the other the cassowary (*diwari*). A man told them that his father's totems were cassowary and dog, and that his mother's were crocodile and shark, and he volunteered the information, that the former totems "stop ashore," while the latter "stop in water." Associated with the crocodile are also *komuhoro* (described as "crank shark") and a small insect *apidi*. At Mawatta two fences are erected for the ceremonies of initiation, one fence for the Crocodile-Shark group of clans and the other for the Cassowary-Dog group of clans. The women sit on one side of the fence and the boys to be initiated (*kerenga*) on the other. The ceremonies last three days. No bull-roarers are used. The boys are told about their totems, and masks of turtle-shell, representing human faces, are shewn to them. When a Dog (*umu*) man goes out to fight, he ties a red poisonous seed round his neck, and paints in white mud a representation of his totems the cassowary and the tortoise on his right and left chest respectively.[2]

From the foregoing account we gather that the Kadawarubi tribe of Mawatta (Mowat) is divided into a number of totem clans, which are perhaps exogamous, with descent in the male line, and further that these clans are grouped in two classes or phratries. Moreover, it appears that in this tribe men and women may have several totems, and that husband and wife respect each other's totems in addition to their own.

Dr. Seligmann's information as to totemism at Mawatta.

The totemic system of Mawatta was again investigated by Dr. C. G. Seligmann during a short visit in the year 1904, and he has kindly communicated to me the following particulars on the subject. The members of a totem clan have

[1] B. A. Hely, "Native Habits and Customs in the Western Division," Appendix P to *Annual Report on British New Guinea, 1892-1893* (Brisbane, 1894), p. 57.

[2] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

Respect shewn for the totemic animal.

a number of totems, usually, if not always, animals and one or two plants. A man objects to the killing of his totem animal by others and would protest against it; he would "bury"[1] his totem if he found it dead, but would not put earth on his head as a sign of mourning. One trustworthy native informant would not "bury" a dead alligator, if he saw one, though he would be sorry. Another informant, whose chief totem was the dog, would "bury" a dead dog if he found one, and would go away if he saw any one killing or eating a dog, or he might perhaps threaten to kill the other man's totem. "I believe," says Dr. Seligmann, "these rules only applied to the most important totems, which, as far as I could ascertain, were always animals. Certainly men with sago and coconut as their totems eat these important articles of diet, but a man from Sumai with sago as his totem said that he would not use this for house-building; he would use the *nipa* palm instead. Apparently all totems are called *nurumara*. No one would eat his own principal totem, but a man has no objection to eating the totem of his wife, and in this case it is cooked by a friend or by another wife, not by the owner of the totem. The wife would, however, be angry and refuse to permit cohabitation that night; after a wash on the following day the ordinary relations would be resumed. On the other hand a woman who ate her husband's totem would not only be debarred from cohabitation, but might not use her husband's drinking vessels."

Associated totems at Mawatta.

Thus at Mawatta each person, man or woman, had several totems associated together in a group. Amongst such groups of associated totems found by Dr. Seligmann were: 1. Alligator, shark, bamboo; 2. Dog, a creeper (*omere*), and a kind of banana (*ibubu*); 3. Cassowary, tortoise, bamboo, a red fruit and a shell; 4. Sting-ray, rock-snake, ground-shark, banded sea-snake, and a plant with edible tubers; 5. Dog, kangaroo, a fruit, and a kind of banana; 6. Dog, kangaroo, a marsupial, a creeper, a fruit, and coconut; 7. Alligator, shark, catfish, pig, and sago. In each group the first totem is the most important. Alligator and shark were always associated, but

[1] Dr. Seligmann does not know how the people dispose of their dead.

the plants associated with these animal totems varied. It appears that a person might have a large number of associated totems which were of comparatively little importance. With the possible exceptions of the coconut and sago, which were staple foods, the animal totem was far more important than the plant totem ; and when a man was asked for his *nurumara* he always mentioned his animal totem.

Marriage customs at Mawatta.

Dr. Seligmann agrees with Messrs. Beardmore and Hely in finding no clear evidence that the totem clans at Mawatta were exogamous. On this subject he observes : " Apparently there is no hard and fast rule about marriage within the totem clan. A man, Tom Turubi, with totems *hibara*, *baidam*, *do* and *boromo*, married Soimu of *hibara* with the same subsidiary totems ; Banasi of *hibara*, *baidam* and several other (probably the same) subsidiary totems married *Noeru* with the same totems. In neither case was any disapproval expressed by other tribesmen, but it appeared to me that this practice was an innovation. There is a vague aetiological legend according to which the people of old Mawatta long, long ago collected everything in piles, and each of them selected or had selected for them certain things which they might not eat and which became their *nurumara*."

Magical ceremonies to make sago grow

Further, men who had sago for their totem performed magical ceremonies to make the sago palm flourish, in order that its fruit might be eaten. Thus these rites for the production of sago were strictly analogous to the magical ceremonies called *intichiuma*, which the natives of Central Australia perform for the multiplication of their edible totems, whether animals or plants. And similarly it would seem that Mawatta men who had coconuts for their totem performed magical rites to make coconuts grow and multiply. On this interesting subject I will reproduce Dr. Seligmann's account in his own words :—

" An old man Duani with coconut as one of his totems (who in old days would not have eaten his animal totem the wallaby) ate coconut as he pleased. Men with sago as totem would eat sago and make all the preparations for eating it, including cutting down the tree. It was believed that sago planted by a sago man grew better than other sago. Perhaps the feeling was that the sago man knew

more about sago and the necessary ritual, which included the placing of a magic mixture of 'grass' ash and burnt pig's snout in the hole in which the young sago shoots were to be planted. Probably this proceeding was entirely magical; for I gathered that the quantity of the mixture used was too small to allow of its being effective as manure; and it was said that only men having sago as a totem knew all about this method. I could not determine whether sago men would perform this magic for others, though it was held that there was a form of magic which sago men would practise for the benefit of the gardens of others. No one would be told that this was being done; but when the sago grows well, the people know that the sago men have been looking after their gardens. The ceremony was performed at Kiwai,[1] but made the sago grow all over the district. Details were not obtainable.

"The ceremony in the case of the coconut was purely magical; a bush fruit (*obutoma*) was rubbed against the sprouting nut before it was planted.

Story of the sago man who made sago to grow by his magic.

"The following refers to sago magic. Segera of Sumai in Kiwai, a man with sago as one of his totems, lost his son, whose death was ascribed to magic. He was 'wild' and caused all the sago in the district to be bad, while the coconut palms bore no fruit. But in his own garden at Sumai the sago was good and his house Boromo Tuburu was not hungry, while all others suffered from lack of food. The influence of his magic spread as far as Bugi and many people died; but Debiri had plenty of sago, for there it is not planted but grows wild. Then the people went to Segera and asked him to make things go right, for many people had died. And Segera was sorry for what he had done, and went round the country planting one sago shoot in each garden; and all the sago grew well and there was no more famine. When Segera was old and ill he told his people he thought he would soon die. 'This year I finish; I make your gardens good'; and he instructed them that when he was dead they were to cut him up and place pieces of his flesh in their gardens, but his head was to be buried in his own garden. By his own instruc-

[1] Kiwai is an island to the eastward of Mawatta. See below, pp. 35 *sqq.*

tions his body was taken into the bush to be cut up. Of Segera it is said that he outlived the ordinary age and that no man knew his father, but that he made the sago good and no one was hungry any more.

"It was clear that sago 'medicine' was especially associated with Kiwai, where sago grows luxuriantly; for Segera was a Kiwai man, and when my informants told me of the pig-snout and ashes mixture used to medicine the sago shoots they especially requested me not to let the Kiwai men know that they had given me this information. Again, some of my informants thought that the unknown magic already referred to, which makes the sago grow, was performed at Kiwai. A few of the oldest men said that they had known Segera in their youth, and the general opinion seemed to be that Segera died not more than two generations ago."

Analogy of these magical rites to the magical ceremonies performed by the Central Australians.

The people of Mawatta, like the Papuans of New Guinea in general, are far beyond the Australian aborigines in respect of culture, for they build large communal houses and till the ground, turning it up with hoes.[1] Yet side by side with a rational agriculture they practise magical ceremonies to promote the growth of fruits. These ceremonies they may well have inherited from ancestors who, like the Central Australian savages, resorted to magic, and to magic alone, for the purpose of stimulating the growth of edible plants. We need hardly doubt that Segera of Sumai, in Kiwai, who had sago for his totem and performed magical ceremonies to make the sago palms bear fruit, was a real personage, and that at his death his body was actually cut up and the

[1] E. Beardmore and A. C. Haddon, "The People of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 462, 463, 468. As to the culture of the Papuans in general, see J. Deniker, *The Races of Man* (Paris, 1900), p. 497: "The Papuans are tillers of the soil, and especially cultivate sago, maize, and tobacco; occasionally they are hunters and fishers, and are then very adroit in laying snares and poisoning waters; their favourite weapons are the bow and arrow with flint heads. Excellent boat-builders, they merely do a coasting trade, and while understanding well how to handle a sail, rarely ever venture into the open sea. Graphic arts are developed among them." Dr. C. G. Seligmann tells me that he believes Mr. Deniker to be mistaken as to the use of arrows with flint heads; no such arrows, he informs me, have yet been found in any part of British New Guinea.

pieces distributed in the gardens to fertilise them. Many examples of the use of human flesh to fertilise the fields might be cited from the practices of savages.[1] The treatment of the sago man's body after death resembles the treatment of the body of Osiris in the ancient Egyptian legend, and the analogy serves to confirm the view, which I have suggested elsewhere, that the Egyptian legend preserves a reminiscence of a dynasty of deified kings, who in their lifetime were supposed to quicken the growth of the corn by their magic, and whose bodies after death were cut up and distributed over the fields in order to promote the same useful object.[2]

Magical use of bull-roarers to make the yams grow.

The people of Mawatta also resort to magic to make the yams grow. After a new garden has been made, they swing a bull-roarer (*madubu*) on the morning and evening of the day when the yams are dug in; and they swing it again when the sticks are being put in to support the climbing tendrils of the plants. Women may not see the bull-roarer, but they may hear its booming sound. If the bull-roarers were not thus swung, the people think that the gardens would not be fruitful.[3] However, we are not told that this ceremony for promoting the growth of yams is performed by men who have the yam for their totem.

Initiation ceremonies.

Initiation ceremonies (*moguru*) are performed on boys at puberty, but they seem not to be very closely associated with the totems. Dr. Seligmann's informants agreed that the boys knew all about their totems before they were initiated.

§ 2. *Totemism of the Bugilai and Toro*

Traces of totemism among the Bugilai.

On the south coast of New Guinea, to the west of Daudai, there is a tribe called the Bugilai, whose country, distant some sixteen miles from Dauan, lies about 142° 30′ of East Longitude. The following brief account of their "gods" and "families," which we owe to the late Rev. James Chalmers, seems to shew that the Bugilai have

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 330 *sqq.*

[2] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, ii. 237 *sqq.*

[3] From Dr. C. G. Seligmann's notes.

totemism. "They have many gods. One family will make the crocodile its god, and they will on no account eat any part of it. When they can secure a small one alive, it is carried to where they are living, and presents of food and things are laid down beside it. It is the same with the kangaroo. The family, whose god it is, will not touch it; and so with the other animals and birds."[1]

Totemism among the Toro.

Still further west, on the Bensbach River, which marks the boundary between British and Dutch New Guinea, there is a tribe called the Toro, who are described by Dr. C. G. Seligmann as "a totemistic folk, with descent of the totems in the male line. Perhaps the majority of the totems are birds. A number of palm-wood bull-roarers were collected, but we could learn nothing about their use."[2] Among their totems are the crocodile, pig, turtle, cassowary and other birds, a number of fish, and certain edible plants, such as a species of mangrove and a yam-like tuber. Dr. Seligmann believes that each person has several totems and that one of them is very much more important than the rest. A man should not eat his totems, but this rule does not apply to certain edible plants. No man may marry a woman of the same totem clan as his own, and children belong to the clan of their father. Boys have to pass through ceremonies of initiation at which bull-roarers are swung and pigs sacrificed.[3]

§ 3. *Totemism in Kiwai*

The people of Kiwai live in long houses and cultivate the ground.

Totemism has further been observed in Kiwai, a long, low, swampy and malarial island, little above sea-level, which lies off the mouth of the Fly River in Southern New Guinea. The native inhabitants of the island differ somewhat from the Torres Straits Islanders in appearance and customs; their skin is a very little lighter and their nose more arched; they do not use ceremonial masks except for the last stage of initiation, and they build long houses. They are not hunters, but everywhere cultivate the soil, raising crops of

[1] J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Bugilai, British New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 109.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, "Anthropogeographical Investigations in New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) p. 229.

[3] From Dr. C. G. Seligmann's notes.

taro, yams, and sweet potatoes, and possessing coco-nut-palms, bread-fruit, mango, and many other fruit-trees. Dr. Haddon thinks it probable that these people came down the Fly River and drove some at least of the aborigines out before them.[1] Accordingly, though they inhabit an island, their totemic system may fitly be described along with that of the mainland of New Guinea.

Totem clans among the people of Kiwai.

The people of Kiwai are divided into a number of exogamous totem clans with descent in the paternal line. The following clan totems have been recorded :—[2]

Cassowary.
Crocodile (alligator).
A small variety of bamboo (*gagari-mabu*).
A crab (which lives in the nipa-palm).
Mangrove.
Catfish.
Polynesian chestnut.
A reed (*dudumabu*).
Pandanus (*duboro-mabu*).
Stone.
A tree (*mabere-uru*).
Nipa-palm.
A species of fig-tree (*buduru*).
Croton or dracaena (*oso*).
Coco-nut-palm (*oi*).

Unusually large number of plant totems.

In this list the number of plant totems is unusually large compared to that of animal totems. One of the animal totems (the crab) is even associated with a plant totem (the nipa-palm), apparently as a subsidiary totem with a chief totem.[3] Yet the large number of vegetable totems will not surprise us when we remember that these people, in contrast to the Australian savages, subsist not by hunting but by agriculture. The native name for a totem in Kiwai is *nurumara*. People may not kill nor eat their totems. When a tree is the totem of a clan, the members of the clan do not eat the fruit of the tree nor use its wood for building or for any other purpose. For example, people who have the nipa-palm for their totem roof their houses with sago leaves instead of with nipa-palm leaves; people of the

Respect shewn for the totems.

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 96, 101; J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island, Fly River," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 117-124.

[2] B. A. Hely, "Totemism, Pededarimu Tribe (Kiwai Island)," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 135; A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 101 *sq.*; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189. The two last totems on the list (croton or dracaena and coco-nut-palm) are given by Dr. Haddon alone.

[3] A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 102.

Pandanus clan make mats out of banana leaves instead of out of pandanus leaves; and people of the Bamboo clan do not use bamboos. They think that to kill, eat, or use their totem for any purpose would cause severe eruptions on their bodies. Children inherit their father's totem, and a wife assumes her husband's totem. People of the same totem clan may not marry each other; they must always find their wives or husbands, as the case may be, in another clan. A wife goes and lives with her husband in his clan house. For each clan inhabits a large house of its own: none but members of the clan may eat or sleep in it. In fighting or dancing a figure of the totem is painted on a man's back or chest with clay or coloured earth, and it may be carved on objects or otherwise used as a sort of crest. It was a fixed law in battle that no man should attack or slay another who bore the same totemic crest as himself. Strangers from other and even hostile tribes could safely visit villages where there were clans with the same totems as their own; for such visitors would be fed and lodged by the men of their totem.[1]

Rules of marriage and descent.

Friendly relations between persons of the same totem.

The largest village of Kiwai is Iasa. Here there are sixteen large houses, each occupied by the members of one clan only, though occasionally a clan may have more than one house. Some of the houses are permanently occupied by the natives of the district; others belong to natives of other districts who only occupy their houses at Iasa during a part of the year. For the population of Kiwai is more or less migratory, living at different times in different places according to the crops or harvests. For example, the natives of the southern part of the island congregate at Iasa annually for two or three months to cut sago, and this affords an opportunity for celebrating the rites of initiation, which in Kiwai seem to be associated with agriculture. Thus at one time of the year Iasa may be thickly peopled, while at another time it is nearly empty. Moreover, some of the clans appear not to have houses at the village. Each

Large communal houses, each occupied by a single clan.

[1] B. A. Hely, "Totemism, Pededarimu Tribe (Kiwai Island)" in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), pp. 134 *sq.*; A. C. Haddon, *op. cit.* pp. 101-103; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189 *sq.*

clan house has its headman, who is supreme in it; and each clan house in a village formed, as it were, a separate state. Fights between the houses, in other words, between the clans, used to be common occurrences. But when the whole village or tribe was engaged in war with another village or another tribe, the command was entrusted to that man amongst the heads of houses who had most experience and the highest reputation. In time of peace these heads of houses neither had nor attempted to exercise any influence outside of their own clan. Each family has its own separate compartment, with its own separate fireplace, in the long central portion of the clan house; and at each end of the house is a room which is set apart for the use of the men, corresponding to the clubhouses and tabooed structures which serve the same purpose in other parts of New Guinea. Such clubhouses or tabooed buildings for the use of the men are called *dubu* in the Central District and *marea* in the Mekeo District. In Kiwai a village may consist of a single house several hundreds of feet long; one of these communal dwellings has been found to measure nearly seven hundred feet in length. The houses are built on posts at a height of from four to six feet above the ground. The separate rooms of the several families run along each side of the house, leaving in the middle a long broad passage, where feasting and dancing take place.[1]

Ceremonies at initiation performed to ensure good crops.

In the rites of initiation which are held at Iasa, in Kiwai, ceremonies are performed to ensure good crops of yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and sago. In order to make the yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas grow well, bull-roarers (*madubus*) are swung and shewn to the novices in a tabooed enclosure out in the bush. In order to ensure a good crop of sago the novices are again taken into the bush, and a wooden image of a naked woman is shewn to them. This wooden image is called an *orara*. Smaller forms of the image, consisting of a thin flat board carved in the shape of a human being, are called *umuruburu*. The exhibition of

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 99 *sq.*; *Reports of the Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189, 190 *sq.*; Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 118.

these images, supposed to increase the supply of sago, is called the *moguru* ceremony: it takes place during the rainy season.[1] While the ceremony is being performed, the men are decorated and wear head-dresses of cuscus skin. These head-dresses, as well as the wooden images and the bull-roarers, are sacred and may not be seen by women or uninitiated boys. When the ceremonies are to be performed, the mysterious implements and head-dresses are carried by night from the house to the bush, and at the conclusion of the rites they are returned to their hidden receptacles in the end-rooms of the long houses. In the interval between the *moguru* ceremony and the yam harvest the men make pandean pipes (*piago*) and every young man carries and plays one of them. Dr. Haddon was told that the wooden figures representing nude women "look after" sago in the same way as the bull-roarers "look after" yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas; and Mr. Sidney H. Ray learned that the effigies of women (*orara*) were exhibited to the initiates during the north-west monsoon, at the time when the sago is planted, but that the bull-roarers (*madubus*) are swung and shewn to the initiates at the time when the yams are planted in the south-east monsoon.[2]

[1] "The effigies *Kurumi*, *Uruparu* and *Paromiti* are made of wood and used at the time of initiation (*Moguru*). To see them, large feasts are prepared and the season is made a very festive one. The lads are coloured with red and white, in the same way as the effigies, and have long pendants of fine wisps, made from the young frond of the sago palm, hanging from their ears. When the lads are shown these effigies, fire is showered over them by the old men, and they are warned against revealing anything said or done under terrible penalties of being murdered, poisoned, or seized with a fearful disease of which they can never get rid. The more secret and immoral practices I cannot here repeat" (Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 119). In this ceremony the dressing of the lads in fronds of the sago-palm is probably part of the magical rite for the fertilisation of the palm. "The *Moguru* time (the initiation ceremony) is a period of general license, and in some respects very much resembles that at Maipua and the neighbouring district" (Rev. J. Chalmers, *op. cit.* p. 124).

[2] A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 104-106; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 218 *sq.* According to the Rev. J. Chalmers, the bull-roarer is called *burumamaramu*, and the old men swing it and shew it to the young men when the yams are ready for digging in May and June. The word *buruma* means a variety of yam, and the *maramu* means "mother"; so that the name of the bull-roarer (*burumamaramu*) means "the mother of yams"—a highly significant title. See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres*

Analogy of these ceremonies to the Australian *intichiuma*.

It does not appear that these ceremonies for the increase of sago, yams, and so forth are now performed especially, still less exclusively, by men who have these plants for their totems. Yet on the analogy of the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian tribes we may conjecture that this was formerly the case; in other words, that the members of each totem clan were bound to perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of their totems, in order that the rest of the community might benefit thereby.

Exchange of sisters as wives.

In Kiwai it is customary to give a sister in exchange for a wife; or, to be more exact, when a man marries, he has to give to the brother, or nearest male relative, of the bride, his sister, foster-sister, or some other female relation to be the wife of his brother-in-law. If he has no female relation to give, he will borrow one for the purpose from a family in which there is a superfluity of daughters. "Persons of the same name may marry, and a father may take his step-daughter and his own daughter to wife; but brother and sister, and cousins do not marry."[1]

§ 4. *Totemism in the Toaripi or Motumotu Tribe of the Elema District*

Traces of totemism among the Toaripi. Every man regards a particular edible animal as sacred because his ancestor did so.

The Elema District stretches along the coast of the Papuan Gulf in Southern New Guinea from Cape Possession on the east to the Alele River of the Purari delta on the west. In this district the Toaripi or Motumotu tribe now occupies two villages situated at the mouth of the Williams River.[2] The people are not hunters, but practise agriculture diligently and live chiefly on fish and

Straits, v. 219. Compare J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 119.

[1] Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 124; *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189.

[2] Rev. J. H. Holmes, "Notes on the Elema Tribes of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 125, 129, 132. The tribal name Motumotu as an alternative to Toaripi is mentioned by the Rev. J. Chalmers ("Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 326), who in an earlier work used the name Motumotu alone (*Pioneering in New Guinea* (London, 1887), pp. 162 *sqq.*). To judge from the map given by Mr. Chalmers in this last work the home of the Motumotu (Toaripi) is situated about 146° 8′ of East Longitude.

vegetables.[1] It appears that the Elema tribes and the Toaripi in particular have a form of totemism. At least we gather this from the following account of their religious ideas, which we owe to a missionary settled among them, the Rev. J. H. Holmes.[2] In these tribes, Mr. Holmes tells us, a man regards as sacred what in the Toaripi language is called his *ualare*. This is always an edible animal, whether a mammal, bird, or fish, but never, so far as Mr. Holmes could ascertain, a tree, plant, or inanimate object. A man never kills or eats his own *ualare*, but apparently he may kill and eat those of other people without giving offence. For example, a man whose *ualare* is a pig will never eat pig's flesh, and a man whose *ualare* is a dog will never eat dog's flesh, but he may eat pig's flesh whenever he can get it. "The beak, feathers, tail, or any part of a *ualare* object that lend themselves to decorative or ornamental purposes are sacred to the individual from whose *ualare* they are taken; by him these parts may be plaited and made into ornaments for personal adornment, but under no pretence can a man of one *ualare* use for adornment the parts of the *ualare* of his neighbour without giving grave offence." "A native's explanation why a certain mammal, bird or fish is regarded [as] sacred by him as his particular *ualare* is, that this animal was regarded as sacred by his original ancestor. He assigns no reasons why it was selected by the ancestor to become such." The ancestor, it is said, never injured, killed, or ate the particular animal, "and because it was held sacred by him, his posterity for all time must also regard it as sacred." Yet Mr. Holmes adds that "it appears that a son can kill the *ualare* of his father, share the same with members of the family, and join with them in eating it and not give offence to the father, because he has not by any personal act violated his obligations to the object he individually considers sacred as his *ualare*." If this statement is correct, it is clear that a man cannot inherit

[1] Rev. J. Chalmers, "Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 327.

[2] Rev. J. [H.] Holmes, "Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe[s] of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 426 *sq.* In a later paper by the same writer (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 125, his name appears as J. H. Holmes, which I have assumed to be correct.

his *ualare* from his father. Yet Mr. Holmes's account seems to imply that the *ualare* is hereditary, since it owes its sanctity to a consecration by "the original ancestor." Apparently, therefore, people must inherit their *ualare* from their mothers, not from their fathers. When a man accidentally kills one of his *ualare* animals, he laments and fasts for a certain time, observing many mourning customs as if he had lost a relative. But if he kills one of his *ualare* animals wrongfully in a fit of anger, as soon as he recognises what he has done, he gives himself up to violent grief, abstains from all food, isolates himself from his relations, and dies of hunger. Mr. Holmes is not aware whether the respect for the *ualare* imposes any limitations on marriage, the distribution of property, and the order of succession to tribal privileges.[1]

§ 5. *Totemism in the Central Division of British New Guinea*

Traces of totemism in the Central Division of British New Guinea.

That portion of British New Guinea which is politically known as the Central Division extends on the southern coast from Cape Possession in the west to Mullins Harbour in the east, a distance of some two hundred and fifty miles. In the centre and west of this district information concerning certain of the tribes was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, and I am indebted to him for the following account of traces of a totemic system which he discovered among the natives.[2]

Roro-speaking and Mekeo-speaking tribes.

The tribes among whom the remains of a system probably totemic in origin are most obvious inhabit the delta of the St. Joseph River at the western extremity of the area under consideration. These are the Roro-speaking tribes inhabiting the strip of coast from Cape Possession to Kabadi and behind them the Mekeo-speaking tribes, the Biofa and the Vee.

Exogamous clans with badges and paternal

The Roro-speaking tribes are divided into a number of exogamous clans (*itsubu*) with paternal descent. There are usually a number of local groups (also called *itsubu*) in each

[1] Rev. J. [H.] Holmes, "Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe[s] of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 426 *sq.*

[2] A briefer account has been published by Dr. Seligmann ("Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) pp. 232 *sq.*).

clan, but some weak clans apparently consist each of a single local group. Every clan has a number of badges called *oaoa* which, generally speaking, may only be worn or used by members of the clan; sometimes a particular badge may be used exclusively by the members of one local group, but in such a case the local group is usually a strong one, and its members regard themselves as practically forming a clan.

descent among the Roro tribes.

The names of the clans and local groups are generally geographical or sometimes derived from the name of an ancestor; but the most important class of badges (*oaoa*) bear names derived from birds or more rarely from mammals, and representations of these are carved on the posts supporting the clubhouses. These carvings, however, are sometimes so conventionalised as to represent only some prominent feature of an animal or bird, and then they may not be recognised till their origin is pointed out by natives. Examples of the association of clubhouses with animals or birds are common in the villages of the Waima, one of the Roro-speaking tribes among whom the clubhouses are sometimes called by the names of birds. Thus *Airava*, which means "the hornbill," is the name of the clubhouse of Abotaiara, a Waima village. The hornbill is also the chief badge of the Abotaiara people, and representations of the beak of the hornbill are carved as the capitals of the lateral supporting posts, or the base of the capital is carved so as to represent the markings found on the upper mandible of the bird. Again, although the upper mandible and even both mandibles are common ornaments, only the men of the Abotaiara settlement have the right to wear them with both mandibles pointing forwards in the middle line of the head. Further, the dried heads of two hornbills are nailed to the front main post of the clubhouse, while an effigy of a bird said to represent a hornbill hangs from the roof close to this post.

The badges are named from birds or mammals, and are carved on the clubhouses.

The crocodile is the chief badge of the Roro-Aiera village, and it is carved in relief on the posts of the clubhouse, each carved effigy being six or eight feet long. A freshwater chelonian, the iguana (*Varanus sp.*), and a fish called *akumu*, which resembles a garfish, are also carved as badges on clubhouses; the *akumu* in particular is

Crocodile, turtle, iguana, and fish badges.

a common badge. But not all badges on clubhouses can be traced directly to living creatures. It is not quite clear whether a clan who have an edible bird such as the horn-bill for their badge would kill one of the species, but on the whole they seem to be ready not only to kill but to eat it. Certainly people who have the fish *akumu* for their badge (*oaoa*) catch and eat it freely.

The Mekeo tribes are divided into exogamous clans (*pangua*) which are grouped together in two classes (*ngopu*); each class has its own plant called *iauafangai*.

The Mekeo tribes are also divided into exogamous clans (*pangua*), local groups of which may be found in a number of villages; and the clans themselves commonly consist of a number of *ikupu* or family groups. Clans recognising their common descent form together a *ngopu* group. In each tribe there are two such original *ngopu* groups descended respectively from the two original stocks into which the tribe was at first divided. In the Biofa tribe the names of the two *ngopu* groups are Inawi and Inawae; in the Vee tribe they are Ngangai and Kuapengi. Typically the various clans of a particular *ngopu* group should have a common name for their clubhouse (*ufu*) and a common *iauafangai*. The *iauafangai* is an animal or plant, but generally a plant; for instance the bread-fruit tree is the *iauafangai* of a number of clans, all of which belong to one *ngopu* group. What the function of an *iauafangai* is, we do not know. People who have the bread-fruit tree for their *iauafangai* pay no reverence to the tree and freely eat the fruit. Nor is the tree cultivated in Mekeo or indeed, so far as appears, in any neighbouring district. It seems as if both the Mekeo tribes had quite forgotten the original significance of their *iauafangai*. But they say that it is very old, far older than the clan badges called *kangakanga*, which answer to the clan badges (*oaoa*) of the Roro people. The Mekeo clubhouses are smaller than those of the Roro-speaking tribes, and they bear no representation of animals or birds. Some of the Mekeo clan badges are parts of animals, such as the sword of the sword-fish and the crest of the cockatoo, or they may be imitations of characteristic features of animals or plants constructed out of feathers, the feathers of the bird imitated being sometimes used for this purpose. These badges are worn by members of the respective clans; the right

Badges of the Mekeo clans.

to wear them is as a rule jealously guarded. In the cases personally investigated by Dr. Seligmann men would not eat the bird or fish which served as their clan badge, though they would not hesitate to kill it and take its feathers or other characteristic part. There is, indeed, a feeling, at least in the case of the sword-fish, that when a sword-fish is killed by a man who has not got its sword for his clan badge (*kangakanga*), he should remove it and give it to a man whose clan badge it is. Married women eat the animals which serve as their husbands' clan badges (*kangakanga*); indeed they are often given the flesh of such of them as their husbands have killed and plucked. The animals which serve as clan badges are apparently not supposed to protect their respective clans, nor are magical ceremonies performed to increase their number. When the clan badge is a plant, strips of its dried leaves may be worn in the dance. One clan has taken as its badge a representation of an individual palm-tree, which has the rare peculiarity of forking at some height above the ground, each of the two limbs so formed bearing the usual tuft of leaves at its extremity. These two tufts of leaves are imitated by a feather head-dress which is the badge of the clan. Other clans imitate the outlines of particular mountains in feathers and employ these imitations as their badges.

Men will not eat the animal which is the badge of their clan.

Some of the clan badges are plants.

A careful enquiry into the history of the Mekeo people has led Dr. Seligmann to the conclusion that each of their two tribes, the Biofa and the Vee, was originally divided into two exogamous and intermarrying clans (*pangua*), each clan having a tree for its badge (*iauafangai*), the bread-fruit tree being the badge of the one clan and a palm-tree called *imöu* being the badge of the other. The reciprocal relation between each pair of intermarrying clans in a tribe was called *utuapie*. Thus, if Dr. Seligmann is right, the social organisation of these people, as of so many others, formerly consisted of a division of the whole community into two exogamous sections; it furnishes, in fact, another instance of what we have called the two-class system.

Each of the two Mekeo tribes seems to have been divided into two exogamous clans with trees for their badges.

The remaining tribes of the Central Division, so far as we know, are divided into exogamous clans with paternal descent.

Exogamous clans with badges and paternal descent in other tribes of the Central Division.

Clan badges are still found among them and are carved on the clubhouses; but so little importance is attached to them that many men, for example in the strong Motu tribe, hardly know what their badge is and not uncommonly a wrong badge will be found carved on the rafters of a house. If the clan badges are relics of totemism, as seems likely enough, it is clear that in these tribes totemism has fallen into decay, and that what had once been sacred emblems are now but little removed from meaningless ornaments.

§ 6. *Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea*

Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea.

Totemism appears to be found all over the south-eastern portion of New Guinea from Table Bay on the south coast eastwards; moreover, it seems to extend through the chain of islands which stretches eastward from the south-eastern end of New Guinea as far as the Louisiade Archipelago. On this subject the Governor of New Guinea, Sir William Macgregor, wrote as follows in his annual report for 1895-6: "One of the most interesting subjects in ethnology to which attention has been given during the year is that of Totemism. That this exists in a modified form from the Louisiades to Orangerie Bay seems clear. It also extends up the north-east coast; but it appears to have been quite unknown, in a recognisable form, west of Cloudy Bay. It is a matter that requires much further and very patient investigation, and its elucidation proceeds but slowly. Birds are the most common emblems of the totem tribes, but animals, fishes, and even insects are used. Pictorial representation of the totem has not been observed anywhere. The general belief seems to be that the totem contains the spirit of a common ancestor. The native would not kill his totem animal, and was prepared to go to war with any person or tribe that did so. Its principal effect is in regard to sexual relations. No man can marry a woman having the same totem as himself, even if their tribes live so widely apart as to be complete strangers to each other. All sexual commerce between men and women of the same totem is completely prohibited. Any violation of this great principle was nearly sure to

Evidence of Sir William Macgregor.

Birds the most common totems.

Exogamy and maternal descent of the totem.

lead to serious disturbance, unless it were heavily paid for. To have a common totem does not interfere with or prevent fighting between individuals or tribes. The children take the totem of the mother. People belonging to tribes west of Orangerie Bay, after they are brought into contact with totem tribes, readily adopt the idea that it is the correct thing to have a totem, and they are always prepared to mislead the inexperienced inquirer. On the other hand its influence is waning already in the east in at least some respects. Serious men may even now be seen eating their sacred totem with evident relish, but its influence in match-making will probably not become wholly extinct for several generations to come."[1]

Two years later, again speaking of totemism in New Guinea, Sir William Macgregor reported as follows: "All over the east end of the Possession this strange institution has still very considerable power. It comes west as far as Mairu or Table Bay, where it disappears. It certainly extends a considerable way up the north-east coast. Up to the present time no trace of it has been discovered in the Mambare district, though many inquiries have been made on the subject. It seems probable it exists there, however, for many natives have cicatricial markings on the shoulders and back that would lead one to suppose they had something to do with totemism. . . .

Paternal descent of the totem in the west.

"In the east the child inherits the totem of the mother in most places, if not everywhere; in the west the practice is more to inherit the totem from the father. This is quite in harmony with the higher position occupied by women in the east as compared with the west. Totemism in the west seems to be fast becoming extinct. The younger generation do not appear to know very much about it—generally nothing. It will long retain some power in the east end."[2]

Totemism at Wagawaga and Tubetube.

Fuller information as to totemism at Wagawaga, a village situated on Milne Bay at the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, who

[1] *Annual Report on British New Guinea for 1895-6* (London, 1897), pp. 40 *sq.*

[2] *Annual Report on British New Guinea for 1897-8* (London, 1899), p. 75.

also investigated the totemic system in Tubetube (Slade Island), a small island of the Engineer Group to the east of New Guinea. Totemism in Tubetube had already been observed and recorded by the Rev. J. T. Field. For many particulars as to totemism both at Wagawaga and Tubetube I have to thank the courtesy of Dr. C. G. Seligmann.[1] Speaking of the natives of Tubetube, Dr. Seligmann says: "The social system of these folk is substantially that which later we found to extend throughout a wide area in the eastern and south-eastern divisions of British New Guinea. Essentially this is a condition in which a community consists of a number of totemistic clans with descent of the totems in the female line. Each clan has at least three totems—a bird, a fish, a snake, and often a fourth, a plant. Each clan in a given locality consists of a number of hamlets, each consisting of say, from three to five houses, inhabited by a single family group. A number of such hamlets, scattered over a considerable area and inhabited by members of different clans, constitute a village." [2]

Clans with three or four totems (bird, fish, snake, and often plant) and descent in the female line.

At Wagawaga there are three exogamous totem clans named respectively the Garuboi, the Modewa, and the Hurana. These have each at least one bird totem associated with a fish, snake, and plant totem. All these totems are called *pianai*. Such groups of totems possessed each by a single clan are called by Dr. Seligmann linked totems. Among the bird totems are the crow, the reef heron, the white cockatoo, a species of dove, and a species of hawk. Among the fish totems is the skate. Both the clans and the totems are inherited by children from their mothers. Yet Dr. Seligmann found that at Wagawaga people paid more respect to their fathers' totems than to their own. It was said that a man might kill and even eat his own totem bird; he would certainly catch and eat his own totem fish; and it was asserted that he would not hesitate to kill his own totem snake if it lay across his track, or to destroy his own

At Wagawaga there are three exogamous clans, each with a bird, fish, snake and plant totem.

[1] Much, though not all, of the following information as to totemism at Wagawaga was afterwards published by Dr. Seligmann. See C. G. Seligmann, "Linked Totems in British New Guinea," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 4-9.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, "Anthropogeographical Investigations in New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) pp. 237 *sq.*

totem plant whenever it was convenient to do so. But on the contrary it was clear that no Wagawaga man would eat or destroy his father's totem bird or birds, or would even approach a fire at which they were cooking. If he saw his father's totem bird being killed, he might go away for a short time or remonstrate with the killer, but he would not fight him, nor would he shew any regard for the dead bird, except that he would not touch it. If in fishing it happened that the totem fish of a man's father was caught, the man would ask one of his fellows to remove the fish from the net, but he would not suggest that it should be put back in the water, though he would not himself touch or eat it. Further, a man feared his father's totem snake; he would certainly not kill it and would seek to avoid the reptile. The relation of a man to his father's totem plant was not so clear, but it seemed that he would generally take care not to injure it. In particular a number of Modewa men, whose fathers were Garuboi, agreed that they would not injure their father's totem plant *okioki* when they met with it in the bush, but if it interfered with their gardens they would destroy it. No man would wear the feathers of his father's totem bird, though he would not hesitate to wear the feathers of his own totem bird or birds; indeed their plumage was his usual and most appropriate decoration, though he would also wear the feathers of other birds, such as the cockatoo or the much rarer white reef-heron.

Men pay more respect to their father's totemic animal than to their own.

In regard to marriage, a man would not marry a woman who had the same totems as his father; in the old days he would not even sleep with one or sit too near her when he visited the girls' house (*potuma*); but things have changed nowadays and the old clan rules are no longer observed by lovers before marriage. Formerly it seems that though no man would marry a girl of his own totem, some of the bolder spirits did not shrink from looser relations with these girls; and though such conduct was condemned, the offence was yet deemed too trivial to be punished or to bring any evil consequences on the lovers or their clansfolk. A man would eat his wife's totem fish just as he would eat his own, and she in like manner would eat hers and his.

Exogamy of the totem clans at Wagawaga.

The three totem clans at Wagawaga were arranged in two groups thus :—

Clans.	Clan-groups.
Garuboi	Garuboi.
Modewa }	Modewa.
Hurana }	

The clans arranged in two groups, classes, or phratries.

These clan-groups appear to have been originally exogamous classes or phratries ; for a man might not marry a woman of his own clan-group. But this rule is now often broken, whereas the prohibition to marry a woman of the same totem clan is still generally observed. Here therefore exogamy of the class has proved less durable than exogamy of the totem. Further, the dual grouping of the clans formerly determined who should take part in the cannibal feast held to avenge the death of a fellow-villager, who had been killed by a hostile community. Moreover, the distribution of the clans into these two groups or classes regulated the terms of address which the people employed in speaking to each other ; for a person used one set of terms in addressing members of his own group or class and a different set of terms in addressing members of the other group or class. Thus a man would address an old man of his own class (which was that of his mother, descent being in the maternal line) as "maternal uncle" (*auiie*), but he would address a man of his father's generation in the other class as "paternal uncle" (*mahiau*) ; he would address an old woman of his own class as "mother" (*hinau*), but he would address an old woman of the other class as "paternal aunt" (*eau*) ; he would address a man or woman of his own status in his own class as "brother" (*warihiu*) or "sister" (*nowe*), but he would address a person of his own status in the other class as "cousin" (*oinau*). Thus these terms of address, like the classificatory terms of relationship, are based on the distribution of the community into two exogamous classes.

Terms of address.

In Tube-tube there are six exogamous clans with maternal descent ;

Like the people of Wagawaga in New Guinea, the natives of Tubetube, a small island of the Engineer Group to the east of New Guinea, are divided into exogamous totem clans with maternal descent, and just as at Wagawaga every person has regularly three associated or linked totems, a bird, a fish, and

a snake. The clans are six in number and are distributed into fourteen villages, each village with its own chief (*taubara*), while one of these chiefs is recognised as paramount over the whole island. Men and women of the same clan or totem, even though they live in different and distant villages, may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with each other; any such union would be regarded as incestuous and would bring on the guilty persons the openly expressed contempt of the whole community. All the children belong to their mother's clan and inherit her totems. Travellers and visitors from a distance are assured of a welcome and brotherly treatment from the members of the same totem clan in the villages to which they come. Almost the first question addressed to a stranger is, "What is the name of your bird?" or "What is the name of your fish?" A man who is in need or hungry may help himself, without asking leave, to any food that may be in the village or house of people of his own totem clan, and no objection will be made by the owners. All members of a totem clan can be trusted to help each other in war and other emergencies, and thus totemism plays an important part in the social life of the people. When a man dies, his grave is dug and his body buried, not by the people of his own village, but by members of his totem clan in another village, who come or are fetched from a distance to perform the last duties of respect to their fellow-clansman. No member of a clan may eat his totem nor may others kill it without incurring the resentment of the clan whose totem animal has been slain.[1]

each clan has three totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake.

Such is the account of totemism in Tubetube which we owe in the main to the Rev. J. T. Field. Fuller information in some respects was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, and I am indebted to him for the following particulars.

Dr. Seligmann's information.

[1] Rev. J. T. Field (of the Wesleyan Mission), "Tubetube," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 134; *id.*, "Exogamy at Tubetube, British New Guinea," *Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Melbourne, Victoria, 1900* (Melbourne, 1901), p. 301. The former of Mr. Field's papers is quoted in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 192 *sq.* The statement that each clan has at least three totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake, is Dr. Seligmann's ("Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) p. 237). Mr. Field mentions only bird and fish totems.

While at Tubetube, as at Wagawaga, every person has three clan totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake, they have not as a rule a plant totem in addition; indeed only one or two plant totems seem to have been found in Tubetube.

Bird totems in the island of Rogea.

In the island of Rogea, with the inhabitants of which the people of Tubetube intermarried, the following birds were found to be totems: a species of pigeon, the fish-hawk, the scarlet lory, the reef heron, the crow, the cockatoo, the *Paradisea raggiona*, the hornbill, the *kiki* (a wader?), and the flying fox. The totems associated with the hornbill were a shark, a constrictor snake, and a tree called *kaiyabu*. "Tubetube differed from Wagawaga in one important matter of totemic practice, namely the greater respect in which a man held his own bird totem. A Tubetube man would not eat his totem bird, nor would he touch it when dead, in fact he seemed to treat his totem bird with the same outward measure of respect as he should show towards his father's, except that he wore its feathers. At the present day Tubetube men do not hesitate to eat their totem fish, but it was not clear whether this was a modern innovation or not; the balance of opinion seemed to be that it had always been customary to do so." However, a few men from the islands of Basilaki and Rogea, between Tubetube and the mainland, all of them youngish, agreed in asserting that they would not eat their own or their father's totems, whether birds or fish. Men customarily wore the feathers of their own totem birds, though not of the birds which were their fathers' totems. No totem shrines were found in Tubetube, and no man was supposed to have any particular influence over the birds or other animals which were his totems, nor were any ceremonies performed for the multiplication of the totems. Representations of totem birds, snakes, and fishes are commonly carved on houses, canoes, spatulas, floats, in fact on all the wooden utensils and ornaments of the natives of South-Eastern New Guinea and the neighbouring archipelagoes. But these carvings may be executed by any one who possesses the requisite skill; the carver is not limited in the choice of his designs either to his own totems or to the totems of his employer.

Respect shewn for totems.

Carved representations of totems.

Behaviour towards men and women of the same totem.

Although totemic badges were not painted on the bodies of warriors, and though no attempt was made to avoid fighting with men of the same totem clan, yet a man who had killed a member of his own clan in the heat of battle would be sorry for it and would not help to carry the body to the canoe in order that it might be eaten. But it was not clear whether in the old times a man would or would not eat a man of his own totem from another and hostile community.

Exogamy.

Marriage never took place within the same totem clan, but illicit connections between young people of the same totem before marriage were not unknown. Such intrigues were viewed as immoral, but it does not seem that any particular bad luck was supposed to attend the act or that steps were taken to punish either of the offenders.

Respect shewn by husbands and wives for each other's totems.

After marriage a wife commonly abstained from eating her husband's totem, and he from eating hers; indeed this rule of abstinence was extended by the wife to the totem of her husband's father and by the husband to the totem of his wife's father. "It was pointed out that this was a matter of mutual courtesy and convenience, since a husband or wife would tend to feel uncomfortable and even to quarrel with a partner who had recently killed and eaten his or her partner's own or father's totem." Dr. Seligmann could not find in Tubetube any trace of a grouping of the clans in two classes or phratries, such as still exists at Wagawaga. He surmises that it formerly existed but has disappeared through the greater degeneracy of the native customs in the island.

Classificatory system of relationship in Tubetube.

In Tubetube totemism and exogamy are as usual found to coexist with the classificatory system of relationship. Thus, for example, a man gives the same name *tama* to his father and to his father's brothers; he gives the same name *sina* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; and he gives the same name *natu* to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. He calls each of the sons and daughters of his brothers his child (*natuna*), and each of them calls him "my father" (*tamagu*). In like manner a woman calls her sister's children her own children (*natu*) and they call her their mother (*sina*). But on the other hand a man does not speak of his sister's

children as his own children, nor do they call him their father. They are *game* (nephews and nieces), not *natu* (children), to him; and he is *bara* (maternal uncle), not *tama* (father), to them. The children of two brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and so are the children of two sisters. The same terms are used to express the relationship between the children of two brothers or the children of two sisters, whom we should call first cousins, as are used to express the relationship between full brothers and sisters. Such cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, are actually regarded as brothers and sisters and in all things live and act accordingly. A woman is *duna* of her own brother, and *kanakava* of her own sister; she is also *duna* of the male child and *kanakava* of the female child of her mother's sister; but on the other hand she is *nubaina* of a child, whether male or female, of her mother's brother. Similarly a man is *duna* of his own sister and *kanakava* of his own brother; he is also *duna* of the female child and *kanakava* of the male child of his father's brother; but on the other hand he is *nubaina* of the child, whether male or female, of his father's sister. Under this system, as usually happens, a man may give the name of "father" (*tama*) to a man who is younger than himself and the name of "mother" (*sina*) to a woman who is younger than himself.[1] To us this sounds absurd only because we associate the ideas of procreation with the ideas of fatherhood and motherhood; but the imaginary absurdity disappears when we employ the terms father and mother in their classificatory sense to describe the social relation in which certain groups of persons stand to each other without in the least implying the physical act of procreation.

Peculiar features of totemism at Wagawaga and Tubetube.

The totemic systems of Wagawaga and Tubetube, which we have now reviewed, present some peculiar features. Such is the possession of three or four associated or linked totems by each clan, these totems being regularly a bird, a fish, a

[1] Rev. J. T. Field, "Exogamy at Tubetube, British New Guinea," *Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Melbourne, Victoria, 1900* (Melbourne, 1901), pp. 301-303.

snake, and (where a fourth totem is added) a plant. Again, the greater respect which a man, at least at Wagawaga, pays to his father's totem than to his own is remarkable. It may perhaps mark a transition from maternal to paternal descent of the totem; for if the reverence for his own totem, inherited from his mother, were to continue to wane, while the reverence for his father's totem were to continue to wax, the result might be that at last the maternal totem would be ousted entirely by the paternal totem, and we should have descent both of the totem and of the clan transferred from the female to the male line. Other interesting features of the totemism of Tubetube are the respect which husbands and wives shew for each other's totems and the reason which they assign for so doing. We have seen that in the Mawatta tribe of New Guinea married people are equally complaisant in the matter of their respective totems.[1] This rule of mutual respect, as I shall point out later on, may help to explain the classic tale of Cupid and Psyche.

Totemism among the Kworafi.

Lastly, the Kworafi, a tribe near Cape Nelson, on the north-east coast of British New Guinea, have a system of totemism. Every person has as a rule a totemic animal, or a principal totemic animal; usually the creature is a bird. At marriage the wife takes the totemic animal of her husband, but the husband also respects his wife's totem. Children take the totem animal of their father as their principal totem. Possession of the same totem is not a bar to marriage. In the same village there are people of different totems, but persons of the same totem live together in the same row of houses and under the same roof.[2]

§ 7. *Totemism in Dutch and German New Guinea*

Indications of totemism in German and Dutch New Guinea.

The evidence adduced in the preceding section proves that totemism exists or has existed at intervals all along the southern coast of the island within the British dominions. But when we pass the British boundaries and enter the territories of Holland and Germany, the institution is found totally to disappear, or at most to leave only scanty and

[1] See above, p. 30.

[2] R. Pöch, "Reisen in Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1904-1906," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxix. (1907) p. 389.

dubious traces of itself. Whether totemism never existed there, or has vanished almost completely, or flourishes without attracting the notice of Dutch and German officials, travellers, and missionaries, is a question on which the future may throw light. That the general silence on this subject of the writers who have described Dutch and German New Guinea is to be ascribed rather to the inattention of observers than to the absence of the institution itself is suggested by the few hints or indications of totemism which loom dimly from their writings like lamps seen through a fog.

Amongst the Yabim at Simbang people think that they are akin to certain animals, which accordingly they spare.

Thus a German missionary, Mr. Konrad Vetter, reports as follows of the Yabim, a tribe who live near Simbang on the east coast of German New Guinea, about latitude 6° 50′ South :—

"*Relations of families to particular animals: totemism.*—Different families assert that they once had an animal among their kinsfolk, because their ancestress gave birth to a crocodile or a pig in addition to ordinary human beings. Such monstrous occurrences are very frequent in their stories, in which all sorts of transformations are reported. In one case a man traces his descent directly from a pig and for that reason will not eat pork. Persons who are thus related on the mother's side believe that after death they will be changed into animals of the particular species. The crocodile is spared by his kinsfolk and they expect to be treated with equal consideration by him. If the beast is killed and eaten by other people, his kinsfolk are in duty bound to prepare a funeral feast, to strike up a lament, and perhaps also to perform a sham-fight. The doers of the deed give a present by way of expiation. Others allege that they will be changed into fabulous cave-pigs, which, though they have no existence, are very much feared by the natives. The inhabitants of one village are turned into wallabies as a punishment, because one of them knocked off the end of the canoe of the ghostly ferrymen."[1] This tribe appears, as we might have anticipated, to have the

[1] K. Vetter, "Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel, 1897* (Berlin), pp. 87 *sq.* Compare *id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Drittes Heft (Barmen, 1898),

classificatory system of relationship along with totemism. For example, a man gives the name of "father" to his father's brothers and the name of "mother" to his mother's sisters, but he gives different names, equivalent to our "uncle" and "aunt," to his mother's brothers and to his father's sisters. The children of two brothers or again of two sisters are reckoned brothers and sisters; and they are called elder or younger brother and sister, not with reference to their real ages, but according as their parents are elder or younger, so that a man may bestow the title of "younger brother" on a cousin who is actually older than himself. On the other hand the children of a brother on the one side and of a sister on the other side are not brothers and sisters, they are cousins. Married people may not touch their parents-in-law nor even mention their names.[1] All males are circumcised at a secret ceremony at which bull-roarers are swung and flutes played. The shrill or booming notes of these instruments are believed by the women to be the voice of the spirits which look after the lads at this time. A bull-roarer is kept in the young men's house (*lum*) of every village, and no woman or uncircumcised boy may see it under pain of death.[2] The flutes used at these rites are of two patterns, one called the male and the other the female; the two are married together. No woman may see these sacred flutes; it is supposed that any woman who saw them would die.[3] At circumcision the lads are supposed to be swallowed by a spirit, who vomits them up out of his stomach on receipt of a number of pigs, which are killed and eaten on these

Classificatory terms of relationship.

Practice of circumcision; bull-roarers and flutes.

p. 22. From the latter account we learn that the Crocodile family and the Pig family are both resident at Simbang. Mr. Vetter's information is repeated by B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's* (Wiesbaden, 1899), p. 225, and by M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, preface dated 1899), p. 183.

[1] K. Vetter, "Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel, 1897*, pp. 88, 92. Compare M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, *n.d.*), p. 166, who refers to Mr. Vetter as his authority.

[2] K. Vetter, *op. cit.* pp. 92 *sq.*; *id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Zweites Heft (Barmen, 1898), p. 18; J. [? K.] Vetter, "Aus der Märchenwelt der Papuas in Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, xi. (1892) p. 105.

[3] O. Schellong, "Das Barlum-fest der Gegend Finsch-hafens," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889) p. 156. A long description of the circumcision rites is given by Mr. Schellong (*op. cit.* pp. 145-162). The village of Simbang appears to be situated on Finsch Harbour, so that the accounts of Messrs. Vetter and Schellong refer to the same people.

Stories told to promote the growth of the crops.

occasions.[1] The people live by the fruits of the earth and seek to promote their growth by the telling of popular tales, which are apparently supposed to act as spells or enchantments. When the yams have been gathered and stored in the houses, tales of wonder and adventure are told by the glimmering light of the fire to an attentive audience, and at the end a wish is expressed that the yams may bear fruit abundantly, that the taro may be very big, the sugar-cane very thick, and the bananas very long.[2] In their intention the stories thus told resemble the spells which in Central Australia the men of totem clans croon for the increase of their totems.

Traces of totemism at Doreh.

Far away from Simbang, nearly at the other end of New Guinea, another trace of totemism may perhaps be detected within Dutch territory at Doreh, on the north-west coast of the Great Geelvink Bay. Here there is a long communal house which has been described as "a sort of temple or building dedicated to the memory and erected for the worship of the ancestors of the people who are now settled at Doreh and Mansinama." The edifice is raised above the ground on posts which are carved in the likeness of men and women, crocodiles, a fish, and a serpent. These likenesses of men and women are said to represent the ancestors, and the effigies of crocodiles and so forth are explained by a legend that some of their forefathers were descended from these animals.[3] The story may possibly be a relic of totemism, since such tales of the descent of men from animals are commonly told to explain the origin of totem clans.[4] In Indonesia many stories are recounted of women who have given birth to animals, and in particular of women who have brought forth twins, one of the twins being a beast and the other a human being. Thus at Balen in New Guinea

[1] K. Vetter, "Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel, 1897*, p. 93.

[2] K. Vetter, in *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, xii. (1893) p. 95; *id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Zweites Heft (Barmen, 1898), p. 26.

[3] *Nieuw Guinea ethnographisch en natuurkundig onderzocht en beschreven* (Amsterdam, 1862), pp. 151-155 (*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, New Series, vol. v.). The description of the edifice is repeated by H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), pp. 451 *sq.*

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 5 *sqq.*

a native told a missionary that an ancestress of his had given birth to an iguana and a human child at the same time, for which reason he respected iguanas. The crested pigeon (*kroonduif* in Dutch) and the black cockatoo also belonged to his family, but he paid less respect to them than to iguanas, for he would not hesitate to shoot these birds whenever he got the chance, though he would not eat or even touch their dead bodies.[1] Again, another writer in speaking of the north-west coast of Geelvink Bay informs us that, according to the natives, their souls sometimes pass at death into cassowaries, fish, or pigs, and that in such cases the relatives of the dead will not partake of these animals.[2] Beliefs and taboos of this sort savour of totemism. Lastly, the Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya, a notorious tribe of head-hunters at Merauke in the south-east corner of Dutch New Guinea, close to the British boundary, are reported to have "a complicated totemic system, comprised of plants and animals, with head groups and subdivisions. The totem is hereditarily transmitted through the father. They have mask-dances, initiation ceremonies, with a ceremony of regeneration, but no circumcision. They have bull-roarers."[3]

Totemism among the Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya.

Both sexes among the Kaya-Kaya are divided into classes according to their ages; there are seven such classes or age-grades for the males and six for the females. Each class or age-grade has its distinctive badges and mode of wearing the hair. Amongst the males the first age-grade (*patur*) comprises all boys up to puberty. These live with their parents in the village and are free to go anywhere. But as soon as the signs of puberty appear on their persons, they pass into the second age-grade (*aroi-patur*) and are banished from the village, which they are forbidden to enter unless they fall ill. In that case they are carried to their father's house in the village, but must shun the presence of women and girls. Otherwise

The Kaya-Kaya are divided into age-grades, each with its distinctive badges and mode of wearing the hair. Seven age-grades of the men.

[1] Alb. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906), p. 122.

[2] F. S. A. de Clercq, "De West- en Noordkust van nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift van het kon. nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893) p. 635.

[3] Dr. Rudolf Pöch, "Travels in German, British, and Dutch New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxx. (1907) pp. 614, 616.

they live with the young men in the bachelors' hall or men's house, called *gotad*, which is built by itself behind the village in the forest or under the shadow of the coco-nut palms. There may be more than one such bachelors' hall. Women may never enter one of these buildings when there are people in it, but the men often gather there. When the lad is fully developed, he passes into the third age-grade (*wokravid* or *bokravid*). He still may not enter the village, and the presence of women and girls is absolutely forbidden to him. If he sees one of them afar off on the path, he must hide himself or go round about to avoid her. The fourth age-grade (*ewati*), which may last three or four years, is the heyday of life for a Kaya-Kaya man. He is now in the prime of youth and vigour, and decked out in all his dandified finery he preens and plumes himself like a cock strutting before his dames. He knows that the world admires him, and that the girls in particular peep after him with languishing eyes. Now is the time for him to set people talking of him and telling how brave he is in the chase after the wild boar or the kangaroo, what a Turk he proves himself on the war-path when the men go out to snip off human heads. It is true that he must still avoid women, but when he knows that they are passing near the bachelors' hall he will make a loud noise, so that they may say, "That's he! What a young buck it is!" Now too is the time for him to choose a wife, if one has not been already reserved for him. He makes presents to the girl of his choice, and if she accepts them, the two are regarded as betrothed. The young man thus enters the fifth age-grade (*miakim*), which is that of the betrothed men. He is now free to return to the village and to live there, and he ceases to avoid women, though good manners require him to appear somewhat shy and bashful in their presence. When he marries he passes into the sixth age-grade (*amnangib*), which is that of the married men. He is now master of himself and of his wife; he is accountable to no man for his actions, for there are no chiefs and no judges. He lives a free man among his peers. When he grows old he passes into the seventh and last age-grade (*mes-miakim*),

The flower of his youth.

Marriage.

Old age.

which is that of the old men. He now receives the title of *somb-anem*, which may be translated "signior" or "great man," and his opinion carries weight in council. Every man, if he lives to old age, must pass through all of these age-grades; he may not omit any of them. The transition from one age-grade to another is always an occasion of feasting and dancing.

Six age-grades of the women.

The six age-grades of the women correspond to the seven of the men, except that there is none among them which answers to the second age-grade of the men. Among the women the first two age-grades (called *kivazum* and *wahuku* respectively) comprise all girls up to the age of puberty. The third age-grade (*kivazum-iwag*) answers to the *ewati* of the men. It is the time when a girl blossoms out in the pride of youthful beauty, the admired of all admirers, the cynosure of neighbouring eyes. In the fourth age-grade (*iwag*) she is generally betrothed, and may either stay in the village or work in the plantations with the other women. But she is spared the heavy burdens and the hard toil; for care is taken to preserve the fresh bloom and grace of her youth till marriage. Hence the girls for the most part are plump and buxom. Strangers may not tamper with them in the presence of the men. More than one Chinaman and Malay has paid with his head for making too free with Kaya-Kaya maidens. The fifth age-grade (*saf*) is that of the married women. A wife is the slave of her husband. It is she who bends under the heavy load, while he saunters lightly behind her with his bow and arrows and perhaps a basket. However, he relieves her of the hardest field labour, hoeing the ground himself while she weeds it; and husband and wife may be seen side by side mending the ditches and cutting sago-palms and banana-trees. It is the wife's business to pound the sago and bake it into cakes; and she cooks the venison. The sixth age-grade (*mes-iwag*) is that of the old women. If she is hale and hearty, an old woman will still go out to the plantations to help her husband or her gossips; while the feeble old crones potter about in the village, weaving mats, mending nets, or making cradles to rock their infant grandchildren, who in due time will grow up to tread the same long weary

Youth and beauty.

Marriage and toil.

Declining years.

way till death calls them too to rest from their labours.[1] So runs the common round of life for Kaya-Kaya men and women under the burning suns and in the verdurous forests of their native land.

Such are the scanty indications of totemism and kindred institutions which I have been able to glean in German and Dutch New Guinea. It is to be hoped that future research in these vast territories will supplement our meagre information on the subject.

[1] P. H. Nollen, "Les Différentes Classes d'âge dans la société kaia-kaia, Merauke, Nouvelle Guinée Néerlandaise," *Anthropos*, iv. (1909) pp. 553-573. The greater part (pp. 558-573) of this article is devoted to a description of the various badges and modes of wearing the hair which are distinctive of the different age-grades.

CHAPTER VII

TOTEMISM IN MELANESIA

§ 1. *Melanesia and the Melanesians*

The Melanesian Islands.

To the north-east, east, and south-east of New Guinea stretches a long chain of islands from the Admiralty Islands on the north-west to New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands on the south-east. Between the extremities of the chain lie the islands of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg), New Britain (New Pomerania), the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' Islands, and the New Hebrides, while to the east of the New Hebrides is situated the group of the Fiji Islands. The whole of this archipelago, or rather chain of archipelagoes, is known as Melanesia or the Black Islands on account of the swarthy complexion of the natives. It lies altogether within the southern tropics. The islands are for the most part volcanic and very mountainous, with a fertile soil, fine forests, and luxuriant tropical vegetation. Many of the volcanoes are active, vomiting fire and smoke or rolling down tides of glowing lava. Some of the mountains are lofty. The Solomon Islands, for example, contain peaks of eight and ten thousand feet in height. Star Island, or Meralava, in the Banks' Islands, is a massive cone towering so abruptly from the sea to a height of three thousand feet that strangers sailing past marvel that inhabitants should be found to cling to its steep shelving sides. The enormous crater of Ambrym in the New Hebrides, at the height of two thousand five hundred feet, is a centre of vast rugged fields of lava, hitherto unapproachable, while round the main mass of the volcano rise extinct cones covered with forests to their summits and forming a

lovely landscape. In other of the islands also, particularly in Fiji and Esperitu Santo, one of the New Hebrides, the scenery is very beautiful, a land of high mountains, fair valleys, deep woods, and murmuring streams, arched by the dreamy blue of the tropical sky.[1] In themselves as in their geographical situation the Melanesians appear to be intermediate between the Papuans of New Guinea on the one side and the Polynesians on the other. For while physically the dark-skinned, woolly-haired Melanesians resemble the dark-skinned, woolly-haired Papuans,[2] the Melanesian language is distinct from the Papuan, but akin to the Polynesian, exhibiting the common speech in an older and fuller form.[3] Socially and intellectually the Melanesians stand far above the level of the Australian aborigines; for they till the soil, lead a settled life, build regular houses, use bows and arrows, construct outrigger canoes, and even employ various native mediums of exchange, of which the well-known shell-money is the most remarkable.[4]

The Melanesian people, their language and culture.

For our purpose the vast number of islands which compose Melanesia may be conveniently distinguished into four great groups or archipelagoes, which I shall call Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern Melanesia respectively. Northern Melanesia consists of what is now named the Bismarck Archipelago, embracing the large islands of New Britain and New Ireland, together with the lesser islands of New Hanover, St. Mathias, the Admiralty

The Melanesian Islands fall into four groups, the Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern.

[1] F. H. H. Guillemard, *Australasia*, II. *Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes* (London, 1894), pp. 430, 431, 432, 435, 442, 444, 448, 450, 451, 452, 456, 458, 467 *sq.*; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 12 *sqq.*; H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands: their Geology, General Features*, etc. (London, 1887), pp. 1 *sqq.* Some glowing descriptions of Fijian scenery are given by Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands* (London, 1907), pp. 43 *sq.*, 54 *sq.*, 76-78, 106, 109 *sq.* New Caledonia, the most southerly island of Melanesia, while very mountainous, differs somewhat from the other islands in its comparatively cool climate and scanty vegetation (F. H. H. Guillemard, *op. cit.* p. 458).

[2] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man* (London, 1900), pp. 45, 493; T. H. Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature and other Anthropological Essays* (London, 1906), pp. 224 *sq.*

[3] Sidney H. Ray, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. iii. *Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 528; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), pp. 10 *sqq.*

[4] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 498 *sq.* As to the mediums of exchange, particularly the shell-money, see R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 323 *sqq.*; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 82 *sqq.*

Islands, and the Duke of York Islands (New Lauenburg), these last being a small group between New Britain and New Ireland. Central Melanesia is composed of the Solomon Islands. Southern Melanesia comprises the Santa Cruz group, Torres Islands, the Banks' Islands, the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia. Lastly, Eastern Melanesia consists of the Fijian archipelago.

§ 2. *Exogamous Classes in Melanesia*

Exogamy or totemism prevalent in Melanesia with the possible exception of New Caledonia.

Roughly speaking, over the whole of the Melanesian Islands either exogamy or totemism or at least traces of them have been found either separately or in conjunction. The most notable exception to this general statement is presented by the large island of New Caledonia, where, so far as I know, neither totemism nor exogamy has been as yet discovered. Dr. Guillemard, indeed, tells us that "the various tribes are bound together by alliance into two main bodies, after a system similar to that mentioned as existing in the Aru Islands,"[1] but whether these bodies are exogamous classes does not appear. However, the New Caledonians have apparently the classificatory system of relationship, which always raises a presumption of the existence, past or present, of exogamous classes. Thus, we are told that in New Caledonia first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, are regarded as themselves brothers and sisters, and must therefore strictly shun each other not only in marriage but in ordinary social intercourse, being forbidden to look at one another or to meet in a path. But on the other hand first cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively are not regarded as brothers and sisters but merely as what we should call cousins, and there is no objection at all to their marrying each other; on the contrary marriages between such cousins are thought particularly proper. Again, just as the sons of brothers are themselves called brothers, so each of them applies the name of "father" to every one of his father's brothers; and in

Classificatory system of relationship in New Caledonia.

Cousin marriages.

[1] F. H. H. Guillemard, *Australasia*, II. *Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes* (London, 1894), p. 459 (Stanford's *Compendium of Geography and Travel*). As to the two brotherhoods of the Aru Islands, see below, pp. 200 *sq.*

this way it may happen that a man has five or six men, all of whom he calls his father, and some of whom may be younger than himself.[1] All these are indubitable marks of the classificatory system of relationship. According to the experienced Catholic missionary, Father Lambert, children take the name of their father's family, not of their mother's;[2] but a clear trace of the mother-kin exists in the extraordinary privileges which a man enjoys in respect of his sister's son, who under a system of mother-kin would be his male heir. Thus if a man has lost blood from any cause, and his mother's brother sees the blood, he, the maternal uncle, at once pronounces the words *na kout* and thereby acquires very extensive rights over the property of his nephew. For example, if the nephew is out a-fishing and is bitten by a fish, his uncle may say *na kout* and take away from him his net. If the nephew has fallen from a coco-nut palm and hurt himself, the uncle is free to take possession of his yam fields. If the nephew has been wounded in battle or in sport, if in sickness he has been bled by a doctor, the uncle may repair to the dwelling of his wounded relative and after seeing the blood he may carry off from the house whatever he pleases. The sufferer has no right to murmur. Accordingly when a New Caledonian has hurt himself and knows that his uncles are in the neighbourhood, he conceals the accident, lest his affectionate relatives should get wind of it and hasten to pay him a series of domiciliary and predatory visits.[3] The remarkable privileges thus accorded to a maternal uncle in New Caledonia resemble those which in Fiji are mutually enjoyed

Extraordinary privileges enjoyed by a man in respect of his sister's sons.

[1] Le Père Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Nouméa, 1900), pp. 114 *sq.*

[2] Le Père Lambert, *op. cit.* p. 82. He tells us that a tribe is composed of an aggregate of small tribes or family stocks ("*familles souches*"), the houses of which are mixed, without being confounded, in the same village. As examples of these families he mentions the Ouimoma, Teamboueonama, Bouaema, Oualairima, Pouadilima, Boualoma. These families take their names from certain men of past times, Ouimo, Teamboueon, Bouae, Oualairi, Pouadili, Boualo, and so forth. When an Ouimo man marries a Teamboueon woman, the children are always Ouimoma. This, without amounting to an affirmation that the families are exogamous, points in the direction of exogamy with paternal descent.

[3] Le Père Lambert, *op. cit.* pp. 115 *sq.* A custom of the same sort is practised by the Goajiro Indians of South America. See above, p. 53.

by a man and his sister's son (*vasu*),[1] only that whereas in Fiji the balance of advantage would seem to be on the side of the nephew, in New Caledonia on the contrary it appears to be altogether on the side of the uncle.

Dr. Codrington doubts whether totemism occurs in Melanesia.

In most other parts of Melanesia the evidence for the existence of exogamy, or of totemism, or at all events of something very like totemism, is comparatively plentiful. But while Melanesian exogamy is clearly identical in principle with the exogamy of Australia, Torres Straits, and New Guinea, it is not so certain that Melanesian totemism, if we may call it so, is identical in principle with the totemism of Australia and the other regions with which we have hitherto been concerned. Indeed the English missionary and scholar, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Codrington, who is our best authority on Central and Southern Melanesia, doubts whether the term totemism is applicable to the beliefs and customs of the islanders with which he is acquainted. Whether that be so or not, these customs and beliefs, taken along with the concomitant system of exogamous classes, present a sufficiently close resemblance to true totemism to justify us in considering them in this work. We shall begin our survey with Southern and Central Melanesia, that is, with those parts of the archipelago of which the natives have been described for us by Dr. Codrington. His book must always remain the standard authority on the subject, as indeed it is one of the fullest and most accurate accounts ever given of any savage race.[2] Its scope, he tells us, is confined to the Solomon Islands, Ysabel, Florida, Savo, Guadalcanar, Malanta (Malaita), San Cristoval, Ulawa, to the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' and Torres Islands, and three of the Northern New Hebrides, Aurora, Pentecost, and Lepers' Islands.[3]

Melanesian society is divided into two

"In the native view of mankind," says Dr. Codrington, "almost everywhere in the islands which are here under consideration, nothing seems more fundmental than the

[1] See T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*[2] (London, 1860), i. 34 *sqq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, D.D., *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1891). See also R. H. Codrington, "Notes on the Customs of Mota, Banks Islands," with remarks by the Rev. Lorimer Fison, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria*, xvi. (1880) pp. 119-143.

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 2. The Torres Islands are not to be confused with the islands of Torres Straits.

or more exogamous classes with maternal descent.

division of the people into two or more classes, which are exogamous, and in which descent is counted through the mother. This seems to stand foremost as the native looks out upon his fellow-men; the knowledge of it forms probably the first social conception which shapes itself in the mind of the young Melanesian of either sex, and it is not too much to say that this division is the foundation on which the fabric of native society is built up. There are no Tribes among the natives; if the word tribe is to be applied as it is to the Maori people of New Zealand, or as it is used in Fiji. No portion of territory, however small, can be said to belong to any one of these divisions; no single family of natives can fail to consist of members of more than one division; both divisions where there are two, and all the divisions where there are more than two, are intermixed in habitation and in property; whatever political organization can be found can never be described as that of a tribe grouped round its hereditary or elective chief."[1]

The exogamous classes of Melanesia are analogous to those of Australia.

Thus the exogamous classes of Melanesia are strictly analogous to those of Australia. They are in no sense tribes, clans, or septs; they are social divisions which have no other function than that of regulating marriage. And just as in Australia so in Melanesia the distribution of the community into exogamous classes determines the relations in which every member of it stands to every other and the terms in which he expresses it. Here, as elsewhere, the classificatory terms of relationship express the group relations which are a direct consequence of the division of the people into exogamous groups or classes. "Speaking generally," observes Dr. Codrington, "it may be said that to a Melanesian man all women, of his own generation at least, are either sisters or wives; to the Melanesian woman all men are either brothers or husbands. An excellent illustration of this is given in the story of Taso from Aurora in the New Hebrides, in which Qatu discovers and brings to his wife twin boys, children of his dead sister; his wife asks, 'Are these my children or my husbands?' and Qatu answers, 'Your husbands to be sure, they are my sister's children.' In that island there are two divisions of the people; Qatu and his wife

Group relationships.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 21.

could not be of the same, Qatu and his sister and her children must be of the same; the boys therefore were possible husbands of Qatu's wife, but had they belonged to the other division their age would have made her count them her children rather than her brothers. It must not be understood that a Melanesian regards all women who are not of his own division as in fact his wives, or conceives himself to have rights which he may exercise in regard to those women of them who are unmarried; but the women who may be his wives by marriage, and those who cannot possibly be so, stand in a widely different relation to him; and it may be added that all women who may become wives in marriage and are not yet appropriated, are to a certain extent looked upon by those who may be their husbands as open to a more or less legitimate intercourse. In fact appropriation of particular women to their own husbands, though established by every sanction of native custom, has by no means so strong a hold in native society, nor in all probability anything like so deep a foundation in the history of the native people, as the severance of either sex by divisions which most strictly limit the intercourse of men and women to those of the section or sections to which they do not themselves belong."[1]

Individual marriage an innovation on group marriage.

Thus Dr. Codrington's view of the relation in which among the Melanesians individual marriage stands to the exogamous classes accords perfectly with the view which the best authorities on the Australian aborigines take of the relation in which individual marriage stands to the exogamous classes in Australia. In both these regions individual marriage is probably an innovation on an older system of group marriage, that is, of the marriage relations which are determined by the exogamous classes and expressed by the classificatory terms of relationship.

§ 3. *Totemism and Exogamy in Southern Melanesia*

In the Banks' Islands and the

In the Banks' Islands and the

Northern New Hebrides the exogamous classes or kins, as Dr. Codrington calls them, are only two in number; and the system, with its descent in

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 22 *sq.*

Northern New Hebrides there are only two exogamous classes, with descent in the female line.

the female line, corresponds accordingly to the simple two-class system of the Urabunna and other Australian tribes. Each of these classes is called a *veve* or *vev*, which properly means "mother." But neither in the Banks' Islands nor in the New Hebrides have the exogamous classes names to distinguish them from each other, nor has either of them any badge or emblem; "in their small communities every neighbour is well known."[1] Thus we see that when the exogamous divisions are few in number, the Melanesians, like some of the Central Australians,[2] are quite able to discriminate between them without having recourse to distinctive names for the divisions. And just as among the Australians so among the natives of the Banks' Islands, the Torres Islands, and the Northern New Hebrides each of these exogamous classes has its recognised equivalent in the neighbouring communities, even though the languages of these communities are different. Thus a Banks' Islander knows who are of his own class and who are not in every island of his own group which he visits; and if he passes to Aurora in the New Hebrides he finds the equivalents of the two classes there also. Similarly the Aurora men know well who are of their class in Pentecost and Lepers' Island; and the Lepers' Islanders know their class in Espiritu Santo.[3] Those who are of one class (*veve*) are said to be *tavala ima* to the others, that is "of the other side of the house." A woman who marries does not come over to her husband's side of the house, that is, she does not join his class (*veve*), but she is said to be "at the door" (*ape mateima*), the doors being at the ends of the native houses. Nor does the husband come over to his wife's side of the house; that is, he does not join her class. The children all belong to their mother's side; that is, they take her class. All of the same class are *sogoi* to one another. Hence a man's children are not his *sogoi*, since they belong to the other exogamous class; his nearest relations in the next generation are his sister's children.[4]

Not only are the members of each class forbidden to

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 24 *sq.* As to *veve* or *vev* meaning "mother," see R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), p. 47.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 264 *sq.*

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 24.

[4] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 25.

marry within their own class and obliged to seek their wives or husbands, as the case may be, in the other class, but irregular intercourse between members of the same class is regarded as a crime, as incest. Formerly in the island of Florida a man who committed such a crime would have been killed and the woman would have been made a harlot; now that the severity of ancient manners has been relaxed money and pigs can condone the offence, but a much heavier fine is exacted than if a man had been caught sinning with a woman of the other class, who might have been his wife. In the Banks' Islands, if it became known that two members of the same class had been guilty of this disgraceful crime, as they considered it, the people of the other class would come and destroy the gardens of persons who belonged to the same class as the erring couple, nor would the persons so attacked offer resistance or utter a complaint. It was the same in Lepers' Island, where the seducer had to make large payment to the near relatives of the woman he had seduced in order to appease their anger and "fence against" the fault. But cases of incest of this sort were always rare in all the islands; so strong was the feeling against the commerce of the sexes within the class.[1] On the other hand the feeling that the intercourse of the sexes was natural when the man and woman belonged to different classes, was shewn by the form of native hospitality which provided a guest with a temporary wife. The observance of this custom is now readily denied in the Solomon and Banks' Islands, but it is not denied in the Northern New Hebrides, and Dr. Codrington thinks there can be little doubt that it was once common everywhere. Only the woman lent to the guest must be one who might have been his wife; she must belong to the other exogamous class (*veve*).[2]

Irregular intercourse as well as marriage is forbidden between members of the same exogamous class.

These facts are rightly adduced by Dr. Codrington as evidence that individual marriage, or the appropriation of

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 23 *sq.* However, in Araga, Pentecost Island, though irregular intercourse between persons of the same class is punished with the destruction of the gardens of the offending side by members of the other, yet marriages within the class are not unknown. Those who contract them are despised and even abhorred, but money and pigs have been given and received, and so the marriage is allowed to stand. See R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 24.

Are the exogamous classes relics of an old system of communal marriage?

particular women to their own husbands, has neither so strong a hold on the people nor so deep a foundation in their history as the exogamy of the classes; in other words, they tend to shew that individual marriage was preceded by group marriage. The question whether the exogamous classes (*veve*) are in fact traces of an old communal system of marriage among the Melanesians has been raised by Dr. Codrington. He points out on the one hand that the natives have no memory of a time when all the women of one side were in fact common wives to all the men of the other side, and that there is no occasion on which the women become common to the men who are not of their class. The licence at festive gatherings is confessed to be great, but it is disorderly and illegitimate, and is not defended on the ground of prescription.[1] But "on the other side," says Dr. Codrington, "is to be set the testimony, the strong testimony, of words. This is given by the plural form in which the terms for 'mother' and 'husband' or 'wife' are expressed. In the Mota[2] language the form is very clear; *ra* is the plural prefix; the division, side, or kin, is the *veve*, and mother is *ra veve*; *soai* is a member, as of a body, or a component part of a house or of a tree, and *ra soai* is either husband or wife. To interpret *ra* as a prefix of dignity is forbidden by the full consciousness of the natives themselves that it expresses plurality. The kin is the *veve*, a child's mother is 'they of the kin,' his kindred. A man's kindred are not called his *veve* because they are his mother's people; she is called his *veve*, in the plural, his kindred, as if she were the representative of the kin; as if he were not the child of the particular woman who bore him, but of the whole kindred for whom she brought him into the world. By a parallel use to this a plural form is given to the Mota word for child, *reremera*, with a doubled plural sign; a single boy is called not 'child' but 'children,' as if his individuality were not distinguished from the common offspring of his *veve*. The same plural prefix is found in other Banks' Island words meaning mother; *rave* in Santa Maria, *retne* in Vanua Lava, *reme* in Torres Islands. The mother is called *ratahi* in

In the Mota language the terms for mother, husband, wife, and child are in the plural form; they point accordingly to a time when these relationships were conceived to exist between groups rather than between individuals.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 27.

[2] Mota is one of the Banks' Islands.

Whitsuntide, and *ratahigi* in Lepers' Island, that is the sisters, the sisterhood, because she represents the sister members of the *waivung*[1] who are the mothers generally of the children. Similarly the one word used for husband or wife has the plural form. In Mota a man does not call his wife a member of him, a component part of him, but his members, his component parts; and so a wife speaks of her husband. It is not that the man and his wife make up a composite body between them, but that the men on the one side and the women on the other make up a composite married body. The Mota people know that the word they use means this; it was owned to myself that it was so, with a Melanesian blush, and a protestation that the word did not represent a fact."[2]

Classificatory system of relationship in Mota, one of the Banks' Islands.

If the plural forms for the Melanesian words meaning mother, husband, wife, and child thus point to a time when only relations between groups were recognised and relations between individuals were ignored, the same inference may be drawn from the classificatory system of relationship which in common with so many savages the Melanesians employ. Thus to take the classificatory system of Mota, one of the Banks' Islands, which may serve as a representative example, a man applies the same term *tamai* to his father and to his father's brothers; he applies the same term *veve* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *natui* to his own children and to the children of his brothers; and a woman applies the same term *natui* to her own children and to the children of her sisters. In fact, as Dr. Codrington puts it, "all of one generation within the family connexion are called fathers and mothers of all the children who form the generation below them; a man's brothers are called fathers of his children, a woman's sisters are called mothers of her children; a father's brothers call his children theirs, a mother's sisters call her children theirs."[3] It is true that this wide application of the terms father and mother does not imply any vagueness in the minds of the

[1] *Waivung* is the name for an exogamous class (*vɛ̨ve*) in Lepers' Island: the word means a bunch of fruit, as if all the members of the same class hung on one stalk. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 26.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 28 *sq.*

[3] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 36; compare *ib.* pp. 35-39.

natives of the present day as to physical paternity and maternity; they know quite well what women bore and what men begot what children, and they can distinguish if necessary between the real and the nominal parents.[1]

The Melanesian use of the terms "father" and "mother" do not imply physical paternity and maternity.

Nevertheless the extended use of terms which we translate "father" and "mother" points to a time when the meaning of the words was very different from that of physical paternity and maternity. For under the system which we are considering a boy is sometimes called "father" to a man who is old enough to be his natural father, or "grandfather" to a man of his own age.[2] Similarly, a girl may be "mother" to a woman who is old enough to be her real mother, and "grandmother" to a woman of her own age. But no Melanesian in such a case is so foolish as to imagine that the boy begat the man or that the girl gave birth to the grown woman. It is obvious, therefore, that the Melanesians, like all peoples who employ the classificatory system of relationship, attach a meaning very different from that of physical paternity and maternity to the terms which we translate "father" and "mother." Here as elsewhere the application of the classificatory terms of relationship is only intelligible on the hypothesis that there was a time in the history of the race when a group of women were the common wives of a group of men, and when all the men were the "fathers" and all the women were the "mothers" of all the children born of the group marriage, these terms "father" and "mother" signifying merely that the persons so designated were members of intermarrying groups, not at all that they had begotten or borne, as the case might be, all the children whom they called their sons and daughters. Unless we can thus distinguish the classificatory sense of these terms from our own, it is vain to attempt to understand the primitive history of marriage.

Children belong to the exogamous class (*veve*) of their mother.

Although in these islands the system of mother-kin prevails, since children belong to the exogamous class (*veve*) of their mother and not of their father, nevertheless "it must be understood that the mother is in no way the head of the family. The house of the family is the father's, the

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 36 *sq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 39 note [1].

garden is his, the rule and government are his; it is into the father's house that the young bridegroom takes his wife, if he has not one ready of his own. The closest relationship, however, according to native customs, is that which exists between the sister's son and the mother's brother, because the mother who transmits the kinship is not able to render the service which a man can give. A man's sons are not of his own kin, though he acts a father's part to them; but the tie between his sister's children and himself has the strength of the traditional bond of all native society, that of kinship through the mother. The youth, as he begins to feel social wants, over and above the food and shelter that his father gives him, looks to his mother's brother as the male representative of his kin. It is well known that in Fiji the *vasu*, the sister's son, has extraordinary rights with his maternal uncle. The corresponding right is much less conspicuous and important than this in the Melanesian Islands west of Fiji; but it is a matter of course that the nephew should look to his mother's brother for help of every kind, and that the uncle should look upon his sister's son as his special care; the closeness of this relation is fundamental."[1]

and their nearest male relation is not their father, but their mother's brother.

While in these islands marriage is regulated by the distribution of the whole community into two exogamous classes, the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own class is supplemented, as usually happens, by further rules which prevent him from marrying women who are nearly related to him, even though they belong to the class into which he is allowed to marry. Such women are his female first cousins, the daughters of his mother's brother or of his father's sister: his other female first cousins, namely the daughters of his mother's sisters and of his father's brothers, necessarily belong to his own exogamous class, and being therefore debarred from him by the rule of class exogamy need not be considered here. But the rule of class exogamy raises no barrier to the marriage of a man with his first cousin when she is the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, since in either of these cases she belongs to the other

The exogamous rule of the classes is supplemented by rules which prevent marriage between persons near of kin, particularly between cousins.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 34.

exogamous class from which he is bound to take a wife. Indeed in some tribes, for instance the Urabunna in Australia, we have seen that such a first cousin is a man's proper wife.[1] But among the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands the marriage of such cousins is forbidden by custom, though not by the law of the classes; the children of a brother and a sister, though they necessarily belong to different exogamous classes, are nevertheless regarded as too near akin to marry; if they married they would be said to "go wrong."[2]

Custom of avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law.

Similarly, the two-class system with female descent, which prevails in these islands, permits a man to marry his mother-in-law, since she necessarily belongs to the same exogamous class as his wife; but custom strictly interdicts such marriages. Not only does it forbid them to marry, but as usual it also forbids them to hold ordinary social intercourse with each other. In the Banks' Islands these rules of avoidance and reserve are very strict and minute. A man will not come near his wife's mother and she will not come near him. If the two chance to meet in a path, the woman will step out of it and stand with her back turned till he has gone by, or perhaps, if it be more convenient, he will move out of the way. At Vanua Lava, in Port Patteson, a man would not even follow his mother-in-law along the beach until the rising tide had washed her footprints from the sand. Yet a man and his mother-in-law may talk to each other at a distance; but a woman will on no account mention the name of her daughter's husband, nor will he name hers. On the other hand a man does not avoid his wife's father nor does a woman avoid her husband's father, though neither of them will mention their father-in-law's name.[3] In the New Hebrides the practice is much the same as in the Banks' Islands. For example, in Lepers' Island a man and his mother-in-law will not come near each other, but they may converse; only when he

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 177 *sqq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 29.

[3] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 42-44. In the Solomon Islands, according to Dr. Codrington, there is little avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law. But we are at present dealing with the marriage customs of the Southern Melanesians, not of the Central Melanesians, to whom the Solomon Islanders belong.

speaks to her, she must turn away. She may not address him by his name, though she does not mind using it in speaking of him to others. Here, too, as in the Banks' Islands a woman does not avoid her husband's father.[1] Hence it appears that in the eyes of these people the tie between a woman and her daughter's husband is closer than that between a man and his son's wife. This agrees with what we have observed elsewhere[2] and what we might have anticipated on general grounds, namely, that in an early stage of society the bond between a mother and her child is tighter than that between a father and his child, in other words, that maternity counts for more than paternity.

That all such customs of mutual avoidance between a man and his wife's mother originated in an instinctive feeling that they ought not to marry each other though the class system permitted them to do so, is, as we have seen, the view of Dr. A. W. Howitt,[3] and it is by far the most probable explanation of the custom that has yet been propounded. So far as the people we are now dealing with are concerned, the theory is to some extent confirmed by the parallel rules of avoidance which are observed among them, on the one hand between a mother and her sons, and on the other hand between brothers and sisters. Thus in Lepers' Island, one of the New Hebrides, when a boy has reached a certain age he no longer lives at home, as he had hitherto done, but takes up his quarters in the club-house (*gamali*), where he now regularly eats and sleeps. "And now begins his strange and strict reserve of intercourse with his sisters and his mother. This begins in full force towards his sisters; he must not use as a common noun the word which is the name or makes part of the name of any of them, and they avoid his name as carefully. He may go to his father's house to ask for food, but if his sister is within he has to go away before he eats; if no sister is there he can sit down near the door and eat. If by chance brother and sister meet in the path she runs away or hides. If a

Custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters, and between mothers and sons.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 45.

[2] Among exogamous peoples we sometimes find marriages of fathers with their daughters permitted, but never marriages of mothers with their sons. See above, p. 40, and below, p. 118.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 285 note.

boy on the sands knows that certain footsteps are his sister's, he will not follow them, nor will she his. This mutual avoidance begins when the boy is clothed or the girl tattooed. The partition between boys and girls without which a school cannot be carried on is not there to divide the sexes generally, but to separate brothers and sisters. This avoidance continues through life. The reserve between son and mother increases as the boy grows up, and is much more on her side than his. He goes to the house and asks for food; his mother brings it out but does not give it him, she puts it down for him to take; if she calls him to come she speaks to him in the plural, in a more distant manner; 'Come ye,' she says, *mim vanai*, not 'Come thou.' If they talk together she sits at a little distance and turns away, for she is shy of her grown-up son. The meaning of all this is obvious."[1]

Such rules of avoidance are apparently intended to guard against the risk of improper relations between these near kinsfolk.

In fact, such rules of avoidance seem only explicable on the hypothesis that they originate in a horror of sexual intercourse between a brother and a sister or between a mother and her son, a horror which has led the people consciously or unconsciously to remove as far as possible all temptations to such incest by socially dividing brothers from their sisters and mothers from their sons. The difference between these cases and the avoidance of a man and his mother-in-law is that, whereas under the two-class system with female descent a man and his mother-in-law belong to different exogamous classes and are therefore theoretically marriageable, brothers and sisters, mothers and sons belong to the same exogamous class and are therefore not even theoretically marriageable to each other. The reason why the custom of avoidance is still observed between the two latter sets of relations, though they are already excluded from each other by the rule of class exogamy, may be a feeling that incest with a sister or a mother is a crime so great that the rule of class exogamy

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 232. The mutual avoidance of brother and sister is found also in New Caledonia. A brother and sister do not lodge in the same house, and do not look at each other. If they meet by chance on a path, the sister will throw herself into the bushes or into water to avoid her brother, and he will pass on without turning his head. See Le Père Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Nouméa, 1900), p. 114.

is an insufficient safeguard against it, and that it needs to be reinforced by other rules or customs which deepen and widen the gulf between these near relations. If most peoples, both barbarous and civilised, who share the horror at such unions, nevertheless place no social obstacles between brothers and sisters, between mothers and their sons, the reason may be that by inheritance through many generations the abstention from incest with sisters and mothers has become so habitual and instinctive in all normally constituted persons that the external barriers which were once placed between brothers and sisters, between mothers and sons, have grown superfluous and so have gradually fallen away of themselves. The widespread custom of lodging the young unmarried men in houses apart from their families may have been one of these artificial barriers; it may have been adopted for the purpose of preventing a dangerous intimacy between the youths and their mothers and sisters. At least the Melanesian practice described by Dr. Codrington points in this direction; for the marked avoidance of a youth by his mother and sisters begins just at the time when he becomes sexually dangerous and when, therefore, he is banished from the home to sleep with other males in the public club-house. Such club-houses, where the unmarried men lodge away from their families, are common in New Guinea, Melanesia, and other parts of the world.[1]

The custom of lodging unmarried men in separate houses is probably a precaution against incest.

In that part of Melanesia which is described by Dr. Codrington "the Levirate obtains as a matter of course. The wife has been obtained for one member of a family by the contributions of the whole, and if that member fails by death, some other is ready to take his place, so that the property shall not be lost; it is a matter of arrangement for convenience and economy whether a brother, cousin, or uncle of the deceased shall take his widow. The brother naturally comes first; if a more distant relation takes the woman he probably has to give a pig. In Lepers' Island if a man who is a somewhat distant cousin of the deceased wishes to take the widow, he adds a pig to the death-feast of the tenth or fiftieth day to signify and support his pretensions, and he probably gives another pig to the

Custom of the Levirate.

[1] See H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 202 *sqq.*

widow's sisters to obtain their good-will. If two men contend for the widow she selects one, and the fortunate suitor gives a pig to the disappointed. In fact a woman, when once the proper payment has been made for her, belongs to those who have paid, the family generally; hence a man, as in the story of Ganviviris, will set up his sister's son in life by handing over to him one of his own wives; not because the young man has a right to his uncle's wives, but because the woman is already in the family."[1] Thus in Melanesia the custom of the Levirate at the present day rests on a purely commercial or economic basis: the widow has been bought and paid for by the family, she is their property, and they will not part with her, at least without compensation. Here, as in most parts of the world, there is no evidence that the Levirate is derived, as J. F. McLennan thought, from a practice of polyandry; for in Melanesia "anything properly called Polyandry is unknown, nor is it easy for natives to conceive of it as a possible marriage state."[2]

In Melanesia, the Levirate rests on an economic basis; it is not a relic of polyandry.

Thus far we have found only exogamy in its simplest form among the natives of Southern Melanesia, the whole community being divided into two intermarrying classes with descent in the female line. It remains to ask, is the system of exogamous classes combined with totemism in Southern Melanesia as it is in so many other places? The traces of totemism which Dr. Codrington has found in these islands are few. In the northern part of Aurora, one of the New Hebrides, there is a family which is named after the octopus (*wirita*); and if a man of another family desired to catch and eat octopus, he would take one of the Octopus family with him to stand on the shore and cry "So-and-so wants octopus," after which plenty of the fish would be taken. This custom closely resembles the magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) of totem clans in Central Australia who provide

Traces of totemism in Southern Melanesia.

Ceremony performed by a man of the Octopus family to catch octopuses.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 244 *sq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 245. However, Dr. Codrington adds: "Still cases are known in the Banks' Islands where two widowers live with one widow, and she is called wife to both, any child she may have being called the child of both. Such cohabitation, however, is not so much marriage as a convenient arrangement for people who find themselves alone in later life" (*op. cit.* pp. 245 *sq.*). The writer mentions a few more exceptions or apparent exceptions.

other people with a supply of their totem animals or plants to eat. However, this Octopus family in Aurora have no scruple about eating the fish from which they take their name, nor do they trace their descent from it.[1] If this is totemism, it is totemism in decay. Again, in Lifu, one of the Loyalty Islands, when a father was about to die, he might tell his family what sort of animal he would be after his death, it might be a bird or a butterfly. Henceforth creatures of that sort would be sacred to his family, who would neither hurt nor kill one of them. If a member of the family happened to light on one of the sacred birds or butterflies or whatever it might be, he would say, "That is papa" and offer him a coco-nut.[2] Similar customs occur, as we shall see, in the Solomon Islands. Such beliefs and practices clearly tend to establish totemism or something which resembles totemism so closely that it might be indistinguishable from it; for if the prohibition to kill and eat the sacred animal became hereditary in a family and were explained by a transformation of an ancestor into the animal, such a family would be to all intents a totem clan. But to this point we shall return later on.

Dead people in birds or butterflies.

Further, in some parts of the Banks' Islands and the New Hebrides certain of the natives believe that their life is associated with a material object, whether an animal, a plant, or an inanimate thing, which might be described as their personal or individual totem. In Mota, one of the Banks' Islands, such a personal totem, if we may call it so, is named an *atai* or a *tamaniu*; in Aurora, one of the New Hebrides, it is called a *nunu*; and it is highly significant that the first two of these terms (*atai* and *tamaniu*) are in different islands the accepted equivalents of the English "soul."[3] The following is Dr. Codrington's account of these curious objects, in which a portion of a man's life, or what has been called his external soul, is apparently supposed to reside: "The use of the word *atai* in Mota seems properly and originally to have been to signify something peculiarly

Belief of the natives of the Banks' Islands that their life is associated inseparably with some material object, which they call their *atai*, *tamaniu*, or *nunu*.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 26.

[2] E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 147, quoting a note of Mr. Sleigh of Lifu.

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 249, 251. The word for "soul" in Mota is *atai*, in Aurora it is *tamaniu*.

and intimately connected with a person and sacred to him, something that he has set his fancy upon when he has seen it in what has seemed to him a wonderful manner, or some one has shewn it to him as such. Whatever the thing might be the man believed it to be the reflection of his own personality; he and his *atai* flourished, suffered, lived and died together. But the word must not be supposed to have been borrowed from this use and applied secondarily to describe the soul; the word carries a sense with it which is applicable alike to that second self, the visible object so mysteriously connected with the man, and to this invisible second self which we call the soul. There is another Mota word, *tamaniu*, which has almost if not quite the same meaning as *atai* has when it describes something animate or inanimate which a man has come to believe to have an existence intimately connected with his own. The word *tamaniu* may be taken as properly 'likeness,' and the noun form of the adverb *tama*, as, like. It was not every one in Mota who had his *tamaniu*; only some men fancied that they had this relation to a lizard, a snake, or it might be a stone; sometimes the thing was sought for and found by drinking the infusion of certain leaves and heaping together the dregs; then whatever living thing was first seen in or upon the heap was the *tamaniu*. It was watched but not fed or worshipped; the natives believed that it came at call, and that the life of the man was bound up with the life of his *tamaniu*, if a living thing, or with its safety; should it die, or if not living get broken or be lost, the man would die. Hence in case of sickness they would send to see if the *tamaniu* was safe and well. This word has never been used apparently for the soul in Mota; but in Aurora in the New Hebrides it is the accepted equivalent. It is well worth observing that both the *atai* and the *tamaniu*, and it may be added the Motlav *talegi*, is something which has a substantial existence of its own, as when a snake or stone is a man's *atai* or *tamaniu*; a soul then when called by these names is conceived of as something in a way substantial."[1] Again, the word *nunu* "is used in Aurora to describe the fancied relation of an infant to some thing or person from

Mode of procuring a *tamaniu*.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 250 *sq*.

which or from whom its origin is somehow derived. A woman before her child is born fancies that a cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, or some such thing has some original connexion with her infant. When the child is born it is the *nunu* of the cocoa-nut, or whatever it may be, and as it grows up it must by no means eat that thing, or it will be ill; no one thinks that there is any real connexion in the way of parentage, but the child is a kind of echo. There is another way in which a child is the *nunu* of a person deceased. Thus Arudulewari is the *nunu* of a boy whom his mother brought up and who was much beloved by her. This boy died not long before Arudulewari was born, and then the mother believed that her foster-child had wished to come back to her, and that the infant was his *nunu*. But Arudulewari is not that person, nor, as he says, is his soul supposed to be the soul of the dead boy; he himself is the *nunu*, the echo or reflection of him. So Vilemalas, a name which means 'Bring-the-day-after,' was born after an adopted child of his mother's had been killed and not brought back till the day after, and he is the *nunu* of the slain person come in his place. In Mota there is no such use of *nunuai*,[1] but there is a notion that a man may have something not exactly his *atai* or *tamaniu*, with which he is originally connected. A man will scatter money into a deep pool among the rocks on the shore into which the tide is pouring, a sacred place; he will call on his near forefathers, dive in, and seat himself upon the bottom. If he sees anything there, a crab or cuttle-fish perhaps, he fancies that is his real origin and beginning; he gets *mana*, supernatural power, from it, and pigs will multiply to him."[2]

The *nunu* is something which a pregnant woman fancifully associated with her child before its birth; when the child grows up, he must by no means eat that thing.

This instructive account of the things with which some Melanesians believe their life to be mysteriously united

[1] *Nunuai* is the form which the word *nunu* has in Mota. It there means an "abiding or recurrent impression on the senses." "A man who has heard some startling scream in the course of the day has it ringing in his ears; the scream is over and the sound is gone, but the *nunuai* remains; a man fishing for flying-fish paddles all day alone in his canoe with a long light line fastened round his neck; he lies down tired at night and feels the line pulling as if a fish were caught, though the line is no longer on his neck; this is the *nunuai* of the line. To the native it is not a mere fancy, it is real, but it has no form or substance" (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 251 *sq.*).

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 252 *sq.*

Thus while the *atai* and *tamaniu* are obtained by a man for himself, the *nunu* is determined for him by his mother before his birth; hence the *atai* or *tamaniu* and the *nunu* correspond in some measure to the personal totem and the clan totem respectively.

suggests points of comparison with totemism or with beliefs akin to totemism elsewhere. A distinction must apparently be drawn between the *atai* and the *tamaniu* of Mota on the one side and the *nunu* of Aurora on the other; for whereas the *atai* and *tamaniu* are acquired by a man for himself, the *nunu* is determined for him by his mother at birth or rather before it. Hence, while the *atai* and the *tamaniu* correspond closely to the personal totem of the Australians and the personal totem or *manitoo* of the North American Indians,[1] the *nunu* resembles in some respects the ordinary clan totems of the Central Australians, since like them it is determined before birth by the fancy of the mother, and appears like them to be, at least in some cases, a reincarnation of the spirit of a dead person. For even though the natives may be serious in asserting that persons born like Arudulewari and Vilemalas are not the actual reincarnation but only the "echo" or "reflection" of the dead children who have "come back" or been "brought back" to the mother, yet it seems most probable that such beliefs are only a slightly modified form of a real belief in the reincarnation of the dead. And if the *nunu* may be or may formerly have been the spirit of a dead person reborn from the mother's womb, what are we to say when the *nunu* is a coco-nut, a bread-fruit, or some such thing? Analogy suggests that in these cases the nut, or the fruit, or whatever it was, may in like manner have been supposed to enter into the mother and impregnate her; in fact that her child may have been thought to be nothing but the nut, or the fruit, or whatever it was, disguised in human form. Similar stories of the impregnation of women by fruits and so forth are world-wide,[2] and no doubt they rest ultimately on a real belief that such things can happen. Thus the *nunu* of Aurora confirms, or at all events is explicable by, the primitive theory of conception which appears to lie at the root of totemism. Hence if the facts recorded by Dr. Codrington are not totemism of the ordinary type, they

Reincarnation and the conceptional theory of totemism.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 49 *sq.*, 412 *sq.*, 482 *sq.*, 489 *sq.*, 497 *sq.* The custom of the personal totem (*manitoo* or guardian spirit) of the North American Indians will be fully described in the third volume of this work.

[2] See E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, i. (London, 1894) pp. 71 *sqq.*; my note on Pausanias, vii. 17. 11 (vol. iv. pp. 138-140), and the additional references, in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), p. 79, note [2].

nevertheless seem to throw light on the origin of the whole system.

Trace of totemism in Fate.

Lastly, in Vate or Fate, one of the most southerly of the New Hebrides, a trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the statement that "household gods were supposed to be present in the shape of stones, trees, fish, and fowls. These incarnations were never eaten by their respective worshippers." [1]

Dr. Rivers's evidence as to totemism in Melanesia.

Since the foregoing discussion of traces of totemism in Southern Melanesia was written and printed, I have received through the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers an early copy of his paper "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," which embodies the results of investigations made by him personally in these regions in the year 1908. The results are part of the work done by Dr. Rivers for the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition. His evidence and conclusions both tend, as it appears to me, to confirm the inferences which I had drawn independently from Dr. Codrington's testimony. Accordingly I shall leave the foregoing discussion as I wrote it, and shall now embody the new facts which the recent enquiries of Dr. Rivers have brought to light.[2]

Totemism in the Reef Islands, part of the Santa Cruz group.

In the Reef Islands,[3] which form part of the Santa Cruz group, the people are divided into a number of exogamous classes or clans, each of them with one or more kinds of animals which the members of the class or clan are forbidden to eat. The exogamous classes are called *mata*, and each has its own special name. Dr. Rivers heard of eight such classes, though they are not all found on all of the islands. In the island of Nukap the classes are four in number and bear the names of Pelembo, Pependal, Penvel, and Pelengam. In the island of Peleni they are five in number and bear the names of Pelembo, Pependal, Pelewe, Pekuli, and Pepali. Dr. Rivers does not mention the rule of descent of the classes, but we conjecture that as elsewhere in Melanesia

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 334.

[2] See Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 156-180.

[3] In collecting the following information Dr. Rivers was much helped by members of the mission, especially by the Rev. W. J. Durrad and the Rev. C. E. Fox.

children belong to the class of their mother. Members of the Pelembo class may not eat eels, and on Nukap this prohibition applies both to sea eels and to fresh water eels. On the island of Peleni, however, members of the Pelembo class draw a distinction between sea eels and fresh water eels; for while none of them will eat sea eels, some of them will eat fresh water eels, though others will not, opinions differing as to whether the salt water and the fresh water species are the same or different animals. The very raising of this question of zoological classification suggests that totemism is here breaking down. Another indication of this falling away from totemic orthodoxy is that the Pelembo people in the same island of Peleni partake of turtle, while their stricter brethren in the island of Nukap do not. However, even in Peleni turtle is tabooed to the Pelembo people when sickness is rife; which shews how old superstitions revive in times of distress. Members of the Pelewe class in Peleni may not eat the flying fox (*peke*) nor the stingray (*fai*) nor a fish called *awau*, which is perhaps a *Scorpoena*. The forbidden animals of the other classes or clans are all fishes, the species of which Dr. Rivers was not able to identify. The islanders believe vaguely in their descent from the forbidden animals. They have common houses for the men, and apparently each exogamous class or clan (*mata*) should have its own men's house (*afalau*), though at the present time members of different classes live together in the same house. Thus it appears that the Reef Islanders have totemism of the ordinary sort characterised by exogamy of the totemic clans or classes and prohibitions to eat the totemic animals.[1]

Totemism in Temotu, another of the Santa Cruz Islands.

Further, in the Santa Cruz group Dr. Rivers ascertained the existence of normal totemism in the small island of Temotu, at the north-west corner of the larger island of Ndeni, and his informants were confident that the institution was general in Santa Cruz. They knew of four exogamous classes or clans called *nau* in their own island; one of the classes is named after a fish called *mbu*, another after the shark (*mbua*), another after a red fish like the trumpeter-fish

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 164 *sq.*

(*mbembla*), and another after the pawpaw (*tambao*). Each class or clan believes itself to be descended from the sort of animal from which it takes its name. The people who have the red fish (*mbembla*) for their totem are said to have red eyes, thus resembling their totemic animal. But in addition to their totems the members of each class or clan are forbidden to eat certain other kinds of animals or plants. Thus the *mbu* people, besides the fish of that name, may not eat the octopus (*mo*), a sea-snake (*vo*), a red yam (*ningiamb*), and the fowl (*kio*). The *mbembla* people may not eat the turtle (*vu*), the *londoi*, a sea crayfish, the octopus, and a big banana (*papindo*). The Shark (*mbua*) people may not eat that part of a shark's flesh which lies under the black part of its skin; whereas they are free to eat the flesh which lies under the white skin near the tail. No man may marry a woman of his own class or clan (*nau*).[1]

W. Joest's evidence as to totemism in the Santa Cruz Islands.

The existence of totemism in the Santa Cruz group, as Dr. Rivers afterwards learned, had already been reported by Mr. Wilhelm Joest. That traveller found the islanders divided into twelve exogamous and totemic classes or clans (*nau*), each named after a species of animals or plants, which members of the particular class or clan are forbidden to eat. The prohibited animals or plants are as follows: the shark (*mbua*), the dolphin (*natu*), the whale (*betila*), the dog (*kuli*), the pigeon (*mbo*), the fowl (*kio*), three fishes (*niöda*, *mbu*, *mbilla*), the pawpaw (*talao*), and two other plants (the *niaka* and *kanalapiti*). It is believed that any one who eats the prohibited fishes or the pigeon will fall to pieces, his teeth dropping out; while he who has a plant for his totem is forbidden to dig it as well as to eat it. Persons who have the dog for their totem may not give any of their food to a dog. Further, no man will utter any word of which the name of his totem forms part.[2]

Thus the combined evidence of Mr. Joest and Dr. Rivers clearly proves the existence of normal totemism in the Santa Cruz group. We see among these islanders what

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 165 *sq.*

[2] W. Joest, reported by A. Baessler, *Neue Südsee-Bilder* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 386-388.

Dr. Rivers calls the cardinal signs of totemism, namely exogamous classes or clans named after animals or plants, a belief in the descent of members of the classes or clans from their eponymous animals or plants, and a prohibition to eat these animals or plants.

Totemism in Vanikolo.

Further, Dr. Rivers with the help of the Rev. W. J. Durrad ascertained the existence of normal totemism in the island of Vanikolo. The islanders are divided into ten exogamous and totemic classes or clans, each named after its totem. The totems are as follows: a kind of fish (*mere*); the hermit crab (*vesenamaka*); the stingray (*vere*); a kind of fish (*nomerue*); the sea-lion (*ive*); a mullet (*wanue*); water (*wire*); fire (*nepie*); a bowl (*tegmete*); and grass (*ambumi*). Whenever the totem is a fish, members of the class or clan are forbidden to eat it; but the restrictions laid on people whose totems are not fish are various. Thus Water people may not drink the water of a certain bubbling pool; Grass people may not walk on grass; and Bowl people may not eat food prepared in a bowl. Only the Fire people seem to be subject to no taboo. In all cases

Descent from the totem.

people trace their descent from their totem. Thus Fish people are descended from fishes; Water people are descended from water; Fire people are descended from a fire which can still be seen; Grass people are descended from grass which gave birth to a female child; and Bowl people are descended from a child who floated to their island in a bowl. Thus it is quite clear, as Dr. Rivers observes, that in this district, in the heart of Melanesia, we have genuine totemism.[1]

Totemism in Efate.

Again, far away from the Santa Cruz group, Dr. Rivers was informed by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Mackenzie of what appears to be normal totemism in the island of Efate, one of the most southerly islands of the New Hebrides group. For these islanders are divided into ten or more exogamous classes called *naflak*, each of which takes its name from a plant or animal. The following are the totems, as we may call them, from which the classes or clans derive their names: (1) the *namakaur*, a tuber like

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 166 *sq.*

the arrowroot; (2) the taro; (3) the yam; (4) the coco-nut; (5) the breadfruit; (6) the *ber*, a kind of fungus; (7) the *namal*, a kind of wild yam; (8) the *nifa*, a plant with large leaves like those of the banana; (9) the *kram*, a shell; and (10) the *wiit*, the octopus. We are not told whether the members of these exogamous classes are forbidden to eat the plants or animals from which they take their names. In any case, as Dr. Rivers rightly observes, the association of exogamous divisions with eponymous plants and animals makes it highly probable that these divisions are totemic clans of the ordinary sort.[1]

In the Banks' Islands there exist beliefs and customs from which totemism might be developed.

But while Dr. Rivers has thus proved the existence of normal totemism both in the Santa Cruz group to the north of the New Hebrides and in the island of Efate to the south of it, he failed, after very full enquiries, to discover any evidence of the institution in the Northern New Hebrides, namely in the Banks' and Torres Islands. However, though he did not find the institution itself, he made a very interesting discovery; for he found among these islanders, particularly among the natives of Mota and Motlav, a series of beliefs and customs from which a system of totemism pure and simple, that is, of totemism stripped of its later adjunct, exogamy, might easily have been developed. As the discovery is of great importance for its bearing on the whole question of the origin of totemism, it will be best to report it at full length in the discoverer's own words. Dr. Rivers writes as follows:—[2]

Dr. Rivers's account of these customs and beliefs.

"Though developed totemism thus appears to be absent, there was found in the Banks' Islands a group of beliefs which are of the greatest interest in connection with the possible origin of totemism. In these islands devoid of the developed institution there exist beliefs which seem to furnish the most natural starting point for totemism, beliefs

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 172. I had already indicated the probable presence of totemism in Efate (Fate) on the strength of Dr. George Turner's evidence, who tells us that the fish and fowls in which the "household gods" were incarnate were not eaten by their worshippers. See above, p. 85. That statement completes the evidence for totemism in Efate.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 173-175.

which Dr. Frazer has been led by the Australian evidence to regard as the origin of the institution.

In Mota certain edible animals and fruits are tabooed to certain persons, because their mothers are supposed to have received a certain influence from the particular kind of animal or fruit before the birth of the child.

"In the island of Mota in the Banks' group there are many individuals who are not permitted by the custom of the island to eat the flesh of certain animals nor to eat certain fruits nor touch certain trees. The ground for the prohibition in most cases is that the person is believed to be the animal or fruit in question, his mother having received some influence from the animal or plant at conception or at some other period of pregnancy.

"The course of events is usually as follows: a woman sitting down in her garden or in the bush or on the shore finds an animal or fruit in her loincloth. She takes it up and carries it to the village, where she asks the meaning of the appearance. The people say that she will give birth to a child who will have the characters of this animal or even, it appeared, would be himself or herself the animal. The woman then takes the creature back to the place where she had found it and places it in its proper home; if it is a land animal on the land; if a water animal in the pool or stream from which it had probably come. She builds up a wall round it and goes to visit and feed it every day. After a time the animal will disappear, and it is believed that that is because the animal has at the time of its disappearance entered into the woman. It seemed quite clear that there was no belief in physical impregnation on the part of the animal, nor of the entry of a material object in the form of the animal into her womb, but so far as I could gather, an animal found in this way was regarded as more or less supernatural, a spirit animal and not one material, from the beginning.

"It has happened in the memory of an old man now living on Mota that a woman who has found an animal in her loincloth has carried it carefully in her closed hands to the village, but that when she has opened her hands to show it to the people, the animal has gone, and in this case it was believed that the entry had taken place while the woman was on her way from the bush to the village.

"I could not find out what interval usually elapses between the disappearance of the animal and the birth of

the child, but this did not seem to be regarded as a matter of importance, for it was clear that this belief was not accompanied by any ignorance of the physical *rôle* of the human father, and that the father played the same part in conception as in cases of birth unaccompanied by an animal appearance. We found it impossible to get definitely the belief as to the nature of the influence exerted by the animal on the woman, but it must be remembered that any belief of this kind can hardly have escaped the many years of European influence and Christian teaching which the people of this group have received. It is doubtful whether even a prolonged investigation of this point could now elicit the original belief of the people about the nature of the influence.

The child, when born, is identified with the animal or fruit, and may not eat it.

"When the child is born it is regarded as being in some sense the animal or fruit which had been found and tended by the mother. The child may not eat the animal during the whole of its life, and if it does so, will suffer serious illness, if not death. If it is a fruit which has been found the child may not eat this fruit or touch the tree on which it grows, the latter restriction remaining in those cases in which the fruit is inedible. Thus a fruit used as a taboo mark would be useless for this purpose to one who owed to it his origin.

"A case has occurred quite recently in which a girl unwittingly offended against the prohibition. She was an eel-child, and when quite young had gone to fish with some companions on the shore. They caught some fish including an eel, and all were cooked by them on the shore in the same pot, and were then eaten. A few hours afterwards the child began to rave and became quite mad. The people inquired into the doings of the child and found that she had not eaten any part of the eel, but only the fish cooked in the same pot, and this was held to be sufficient to have produced her condition.

"I inquired into the idea at the bottom of the prohibition of the animal as food, and it appeared to be that the person would be eating himself. It seemed that the act would be regarded as a kind of cannibalism. It was evident that there is a belief in the most intimate relation

between the person and all individuals of the species with which he is identified.

The child partakes of the nature of the animal or fruit with which it is identified.

"A further aspect of the belief in the animal nature of a child is that it partakes of the physical and mental characters of the animal with which it is identified. Thus, if the animal found has been a sea-snake, and this is a frequent occurrence, the child would be weak, indolent and slow; if an eel, there will be a similar disposition; if a hermit crab, the child will be hot-tempered; if a flying fox, it will also be hot-tempered and the body will be dark; if a brush turkey, the disposition will be good; if a lizard, the child will be soft and gentle; if a rat, thoughtless, hasty and intemperate. If the object found has been a fruit, here also the child will partake of its nature. In the case of a wild Malay apple (*malmalagaviga*) the child will have a big belly, and a person with this condition will be asked 'Do you come from the *malmalagaviga*?' Again if the fruit is one called *womarakaraqat* the child will have a good disposition.

Similar beliefs in Motlav.

"In the island of Motlav not far from Mota they have the same belief that if a mother has found an animal in her dress, the child will be identified with that animal and will not be allowed to eat it. Here again the child is believed to have the characters of the animal, and two instances given were that a child identified with a yellow crab will have a good disposition and be of a light colour, while if a hermit crab has been found, the child will be angry and disagreeable. In this island a woman who desires her child to have certain characters will frequent a place where she will be likely to encounter the animal which causes the appearance of these characters. Thus, if she wants to have a light coloured child, she will go to a place where there are light coloured crabs.

The prohibition to eat the animal or plant is not hereditary; otherwise these beliefs and customs

"I inquired very carefully whether a case had ever been known in which the prohibition of an animal as food due to this belief had been passed on to a child or other descendant, but it was clear that such an idea was quite foreign to the beliefs and customs of the people. The taboo is purely an individual matter. In every respect but this, there is the closest resemblance with totemism. In

the food prohibition and the belief in descent from or identity with the animal or plant, we have two of the constant and characteristic features of totemism, while the belief in the physical and mental resemblance of man and animal is found in typical totemism as in that of the Western people of Torres Straits. We have only to have the taboo and belief in descent and resemblance transmitted to a group of descendants to have typical totemism. We have here a perfectly natural and intelligible explanation of the origin or of one origin of totemism, and yet it occurs in a people whose social system has no totemic features at the present time whatever it may have had in the past."

closely resemble totemism.

Then, having referred to the conceptional theory of the origin of totemism which I proposed in 1905, and having quoted a passage from my exposition of it, which has been already laid before the reader,[1] Dr. Rivers proceeds as follows:[2] "In this passage Dr. Frazer has assumed a series of situations very closely resembling that which I have actually found to exist in the Banks' Islands, and there is definitely established the existence of the belief which forms the basis of his conceptional theory. It is true that in the Banks' Islands the belief and attendant customs have not become the starting point of totemism, but there are many ways of accounting for this, whether it be true that totemism never existed in these islands or whether the institution was once present and was lost during the development of the secret societies. The most important feature of the Banks' belief is that the supposed animal or plant nature of the child is accompanied by a taboo on the flesh of the animal as food or on the use of the plant. Perhaps the most universal feature of totemism is the existence of a restriction of this kind and the conceptional theory of totemism furnishes a ready explanation of this universality. Further, it enables us to understand

These beliefs and customs of the Banks' Islanders support the conceptional theory of totemism, which explains the characteristic features of totemism in an easy and natural way.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 154 *sqq.*, where my original exposition is reprinted without any change except the addition of a marginal summary. The particular passage quoted by Dr. Rivers will be found on p. 159, "Thus if she chanced at the time to be watching a kangaroo," etc.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 176.

not only belief in descent from the totem, but also the ambiguity which so often accompanies this belief. Thus in the Eastern Solomons we have seen that while acknowledging their descent from the totem-animal, the people regard this animal rather as the representative of a human ancestor than as the ancestor itself.[1] This belief becomes perfectly natural if the ancestor has two natures, one human and the other animal; if he is, as in the Banks' Islands, an animal in human form. The characteristic features of totemism become perfectly natural if the institution has grown out of such a belief as that of the Banks' islanders, or the similar beliefs suggested by Dr. Frazer."

Dr. Rivers's evidence agrees with that of Dr. Codrington as to the *nunu*.

This highly instructive and important evidence of Dr. Rivers suggests some remarks. In the first place the customs and beliefs described by him in Mota and Motlav are clearly equivalent to the *nunu* customs and beliefs described by Dr. Codrington in Aurora, another of the New Hebrides; and Dr. Rivers's account confirms on all points the interpretation which I had given independently of the *nunu*.[2]

The customs and beliefs of Mota and Motlav, described by Dr. Rivers, agree closely with the totemic system of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes.

In the second place it is to be observed that if only all the inhabitants of Mota and Motlav imagined themselves to have been conceived and born in this fashion, and if they all observed the corresponding taboos, we should have what may be called a totemic system which would resemble very closely the totemic system of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. For in that case every man, woman, and child would believe himself to be for all practical purposes the incarnation in human form of a spirit animal or plant which had entered into his or her mother's womb at some time during pregnancy; for in the circumstances described by Dr. Rivers the spirit animal or plant is apparently not supposed to enter her at the actual moment of impregnation but always at some other time. The main differences between the beliefs of the Australians and the Melanesians in this respect are two. First, whereas according to the Melanesians the thing which enters the

[1] See below, pp. 104 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 83-85, where my interpretation of the *nunu* stands as it was printed before I received Dr. Rivers's paper on the subject.

woman is a spirit animal or plant, according to the Australians it is a spirit child, the reincarnation of an ancestor who is associated rather than identified with an animal or plant. But this distinction is after all a very slender one; for we are expressly told that to the thinking of the Arunta the ancestors who are thus born again "are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear that an *alcheringa* man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated."[1] Second, the other main distinction between the Australian and the Melanesian beliefs is, that whereas the Australians believe the unborn spirits of their totemic ancestors to be distributed over the country at certain definite spots, each of which as a rule is inhabited by the spirits of only one totem, the Melanesians appear to imagine the unborn spirits of their totemic animals and plants to be under no such local restrictions, but to be free to enter into women anywhere. In this respect, therefore, the Melanesians occupy precisely the stage of thought which on purely theoretical grounds I postulated as the one immediately antecedent to the stage at present occupied by the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes; in fact the Melanesian system is exactly what I called "the original pattern, the absolutely primitive type of totemism."[2] At the present day, it is true, the system is not universally diffused among the islanders; many, but not all, of them believe themselves to have been thus conceived by their mothers, and accordingly many, but not all, of them observe the totemic taboos which such a mode of conception entails with regard to the particular kind of animal or plant with which each person so brought into the world believes himself to be identified. But when we remember that the islanders have for many years been subjected to European influence and missionary teaching, we may reasonably surmise that the system which now partially obtains among them was

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 119. See above, vol. i. p. 188.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 157-162.

formerly universal, in other words, that in the old days every man, woman, and child believed himself or herself to have been thus conceived and to be thus related to a particular species of animals or plants, which accordingly he or she respected as their kinsfolk. If that was so, it becomes probable that the knowledge which these Melanesians now possess of the part played by the father in the begetting of children was learned by them from Europeans, and that formerly they were as ignorant of it as many Australian tribes are to this day.

In Motlav there is an approach to the local totem centres of the Arunta.

Amongst the Melanesians we may perhaps detect an approach to the characteristic Australian distribution of the unborn spirits among local totem centres; for we have seen that in Motlav, when a woman wishes to conceive a child of a particular sort, she resorts to a place known to be frequented by spirit animals or plants of the kind which she desires the infant to resemble. In the case mentioned by Dr. Rivers the place frequented by light coloured crabs, to which women repair in order to receive spirits of light coloured crabs into their wombs, is hardly distinguishable from what the Arunta would call an *oknanikilla* or local totem centre of a Crab clan.[1]

We do not know whether in Melanesia, as in Central Australia, a man is free to marry a woman of the same conceptional totem as himself. But we may conjecture that he is free to do so, since the conceptional totems are not hereditary. If

Thus the conceptional totemism, as we may call it, of the Banks' Islanders presents many points of resemblance to the conceptional totemism of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. But on one point of fundamental importance our information in regard to the system of the Banks' Islanders is unfortunately defective. Dr. Rivers omitted to enquire whether a man may or may not marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself; whether, for example, an Eel man is allowed or forbidden to marry an Eel woman. In other words, we do not know whether the Banks' Islanders apply the rule of exogamy to their conceptional totems as they do to the two great social classes (*veve*) into which they are divided. Dr. Rivers has written to Melanesia to enquire into the matter, and it is to be hoped that information will be forthcoming which will clear up the ambiguity. Meantime the question remains in suspense. Arguing from analogy, I conjecture that the

[1] As to these *oknanikilla*, see above, vol. i. pp. 189 *sqq.*

Banks' Islanders, like the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes, do not apply the rule of exogamy to their conceptional totems, in fact, that their conceptional totemism has no influence whatever on marriage. The reason why, like the Arunta, they should keep their totemism quite distinct from their exogamy is, if my interpretation of exogamy be correct, very simple. It is that exogamy was devised to prevent the marriage of certain kinsmen with their kinswomen, and that this object could not be achieved by applying the rule of exogamy to totemic groups which, like those of the Banks' Islanders and the Central Australians, are not hereditary. For example, with conceptional totemism such as we find it in these two regions, we may have a family consisting of a Crab father, a Lizard mother, a Rat son, and an Eel daughter. Now if you wish to prevent the brother from marrying his sister, the father from marrying his daughter, and the mother from marrying her son, it is clear that you cannot do it by laying down a rule that no man may marry a woman of his own totem. For this rule, even if strictly observed, would still leave the Rat brother free to marry his Eel sister, the Crab father free to marry his Eel daughter, and the Lizard mother free to marry her Rat son. That is why, as I have already pointed out,[1] the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes, retaining the primitive system of conceptional totemism, have not applied the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, which accordingly have no influence whatever on marriage; and that is why I conjecture that the Banks' Islanders in like manner, who have a similar system of conceptional totemism, do not apply the rule of exogamy to the groups of persons who have the same conceptional totems, though they do, like the Central Australians, apply the rule rigidly to the two great hereditary classes (*veve*) into which the whole community is divided. If my conjecture should prove to be correct, it is obvious that the resemblance between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians would be very close indeed; and we should have fresh and strong confirmation of the view, which I have advocated, that the two institutions of exogamy and totemism are in

this conjecture should prove to be correct, the resemblance between the conceptional totemism of Melanesia and of Central Australia would be very close.

[1] Vol. i. pp. 165 *sq.*

their nature and origin entirely distinct from and independent of each other. Whether these things are so or not, will hang in large measure on the answer to be given to Dr. Rivers's question. I hope that the answer may yet come in time to find a place later on in this work.

If the beliefs and customs of the Melanesians represent totemism in embryo it becomes difficult to discriminate between a clan totem and an individual or personal totem, since the difference appears to be one of number rather than of kind.

Another observation suggested by Dr. Rivers's important discoveries is this. If he is right, as I believe him to be, in thinking that the beliefs and customs of the Banks' Islanders with regard to conception practically amount to totemism in embryo, it becomes very difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between what I call the clan totem and the individual or personal totem. For it seems clear that on the Mota, as on the Arunta, system the relation between a man and his totem is one and the same whether he is the only man who stands in that relation to the totemic animal or whether there are a multitude of people who do so. For example, if in any community there are fifty people who claim to be Eels because the spirit of an eel entered into their mothers; and if there be one solitary man who claims to be a Hermit Crab because the spirit of a hermit crab entered into his mother, shall we say that the fifty Eel people have got the eel for their totem, and that the one solitary Hermit Crab man has not got the hermit crab for his totem, merely because there is only one of him, while there are fifty of the others? It is hardly right thus to discriminate between kinds on the ground of a merely numerical difference. If we call the eel the clan totem of the fifty, we seem bound to call the hermit crab the individual or personal totem of the one. And it is to be remembered that with the conceptional mode of determining the totems, which was probably in all cases the original mode, it is very much a matter of accident whether a totemic group expands into a multitude or dwindles away to one or nothing. If many pregnant women happen to be visited, say, by butterflies, then there will be many Butterfly men and women born, and the Butterfly clan will be strong accordingly; and if only one pregnant woman happens to be visited by, say, a flying fox, then there will be only one Flying Fox man or woman in the community. But accident or fashion (for we have seen that women have their

tastes in such matters) might easily determine that these proportions should be reversed, so that Flying Foxes should swell into a powerful clan and Butterflies be reduced to a single specimen. In short in truly primitive totemism the distinction between a clan totem and an individual totem is merely one of number; the clan totem is the totem of many, the individual totem is the totem of few or one.

A system of conceptional totemism leaves much freedom to the women to determine the totems of their children, and renders easy the transmission of the totem either in the male or in the female line.

Further, it may be observed that a system of conceptional totemism like that of the Arunta and the Banks' Islanders leaves a good deal of freedom to the women in determining what shall be the totem of their child. For in Motlav, as we saw, a woman will visit the place which is known to be frequented by a particular sort of animal, in order that the spirit of one of these animals may enter her womb and be born in human form. It is probable that this choice is often exercised by women in similar circumstances; hence it would be easy for a mother to arrange that her child should be of her own or of her husband's totem, and so to initiate descent of the totem either in the maternal or in the paternal line. This is another way in which purely conceptional totemism might easily pass into hereditary totemism; whereas it is very difficult to imagine how a system of hereditary totemism could ever develope or degenerate into a system of conceptional totemism pure and simple. This is, as I have already pointed out, a reason for holding that the conceptional totemism of the tribes in the centre of Australia is older than the hereditary totemism of the coastal tribes.[1]

The taboos imposed by conceptional totemism come into operation at birth, not at puberty.

Lastly, it is not without significance that the taboos imposed by conceptional totemism on the Banks' Islanders come into operation from birth and not merely from puberty. Even children must strictly abstain from eating their totems or they will suffer severely if they partake of the forbidden food. The reason for the abstinence is, on Dr. Rivers's shewing, very simple; it is that each person identifies himself so completely with the animal or plant, which is his totem, that were he to eat it he would be in a manner eating himself. Thus the abstinence from the flesh of the animal or from the fruit of the plant has no relation to

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 156 *sq.*, 242 *sq.*

marriage, as we might suspect it of having if it did not come into operation till puberty. This so far confirms the conclusion which I have conjecturally reached, that among the Banks' Islanders, as among the Arunta and kindred tribes of Central Australia, the two institutions of totemism and exogamy are totally distinct. If that conclusion should prove to be correct, we should accordingly in both these regions enjoy the great advantage of being able to study the two systems separately; for in both regions, if I am right, exogamy has crossed but not confused the totemic scent. With these two examples before us of totemism and exogamy existing side by side, yet not commingling, in the same community, it should be as easy for us to discriminate between the institutions in theory as it obviously is for the natives to distinguish between them in practice.

Further information obtained by Dr. Rivers in regard to the *tamaniu*, the animal with which a man's life is thought to be bound up.

Some fresh information was further procured by Dr. Rivers with regard to the *tamaniu* of the Banks' Islanders, which has already been described on the authority of Dr. Codrington.[1] The *tamaniu*, says Dr. Rivers, is at the same time a person's familiar and his life-token. When any one wishes to obtain a *tamaniu* he resorts to a wizard who has supernatural power (*mana*) in such matters or who is the hereditary possessor of a stone endued with magic virtue. The wizard then solemnly extracts the juice of certain leaves, drinks it, and deposits the leaves in some cleft of the rocks, where they cannot be reached by salt water. The people wait till the leaves stink and then watch the cleft to see some animal come out. When the creature appears, it is regarded as the *tamaniu* of the person on whose behalf the rite has been performed. It is taken up, put in a suitable place, and visited from time to time. No man will eat an animal of the same sort as his *tamaniu*. The creature is supposed to perform two functions, a maleficent and a beneficent. In its maleficent character it acts as a minister of vengeance, attacking the enemies of its master at his desire communicated through the wizard who procured it originally for him. Thus, if it is an eel, it will bite its master's foes; if it is a shark, it will swallow them. On the other hand, when the owner of the *tamaniu*

[1] See above, pp. 81 *sqq.*

falls ill, the animal appears in the more amiable character of a life-token. The patient goes or sends to inspect it and ascertain how it fares; for the life of the man is bound up with that of the animal. If something is discovered sticking to the creature's skin, it is removed, and the man naturally recovers. But if the animal is found dying, the man is dying also; and when it departs this life he gives up the ghost. A case of this kind happened lately in Mota. A blind man had as his familiar animal (*tamaniu*) a large lizard which lived in the roots of a big banyan tree near the village. Having fallen sick he told a friend to go and see the reptile, saying "Look at me," by which he meant to say "Look at the lizard, which is me." The first time the friend went to the tree, his heart failed him and he retreated without daring to call upon the lizard. But fortified by the companionship of some other men he returned to the spot and called to it, and out crawled the lizard, looking very sluggish and weak. They asked it if it felt poorly, and the creature nodded its head and slunk back into the roots of the tree. Soon after the blind man died and the banyan tree fell down, and that was the end of the lizard also. The banyan tree is still lying down, and if you doubt the truth of what I say, you may go and see it for yourself.[1]

The blind man and his familiar (*tamaniu*) the lizard.

§ 4. *Totemism and Exogamy in Central Melanesia*

In the Solomon Islands, which form what may be called Central Melanesia, the people are also divided into exogamous classes, with female descent; but whereas in Southern Melanesia these exogamous classes are only two in number, in Central Melanesia they are more than two. Thus in the island of Florida there are six exogamous classes (*kema*), each with its distinctive name. These six classes are the Nggaombata, the Manukama or Honggokama, the Honggokiki, the Kakau, the Himbo, and the Lahi. The meanings of three of these class-names are known; for Honggo signifies "cat's cradle," Manukama is "an eagle," and Kakau is "a

Six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909), pp. 176 *sq.*

83140

crab." But these six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida "no doubt represent a much simpler original division; for two of them have local names, of Nggaombata in Guadalcanar, and Himbo, the Simbo somewhat indefinitely placed among the islands to the west, from whence these two *kema* are known to have come. The Nggaombata and the Himbo, perhaps only as strangers, go together; and the Lahi, a small division, are said to be so closely connected with Himbo that the members cannot intermarry. Whether Honggokama and Manukama are names of one *kema*, or of two divisions into which the one is separating, is a question. The Honggokama and the Honggo-kiki, the great and the little, are plainly parts of one original. It is not the case in Florida that an original double division has simply split and split again; but the settlement of foreigners has so complicated the arrangement that few natives profess to be able to follow it."[1] Again, in Bugotu of Ysabel Island there are three exogamous classes (*vinahuhu*) called respectively Dhonggokama, Vihuvunagi, and Posomogo. None of these three classes corresponds exactly to any of the six classes in Florida, but one of them (the Dhonggokama) is said to be the same as the ancient class which split into the Honggokama and Honggokiki in Florida; and the other two, in Dr. Codrington's opinion, may well be believed to be themselves the divided other member of the original pair.[2] Thus, if Dr. Codrington is right, the three exogamous classes of Ysabel have been produced by the subdivision of one original pair of classes; while the six classes of Florida have been formed partly by subdivision, partly by the immigration of people of other classes than those of the old inhabitants. All this points to the conclusion that in Central, as in Southern, Melanesia the original exogamous classes may have been only two in number. When the exogamous divisions increase beyond two, separate names for them become necessary; whereas when there are only two "sides of the house," as the Melanesians call them, no name is needed for either.[3] We have seen that two of the

Three exogamous classes in Ysabel Island.

These classes seem to have been formed by subdivision.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 29 *sqq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 30 *sq.*

[3] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 31.

exogamous classes in Florida are named after animals, the eagle and the crab.

As usual, these exogamous classes (*kema*) are not political divisions. Members of different classes are necessarily intermixed in every village and even in every family, since husband and wife never belong to the same class and children never belong to the class of their father. But while the population of every village must necessarily be mixed, it is not necessary that members of all the six classes should be found in it. In a considerable village the principal chief is the head of the class which predominates there, while the headmen of the lesser classes are lesser chiefs. But with the system of maternal descent and the rule that the wife goes to live with her husband's people the predominance of any one class in a village cannot be permanent. A chief passes on as much of his property and authority as he can to his sons, and as his sons are never of his own class, it follows that in any particular district authority tends to shift from one class to another with each generation. "If then in a certain district one kindred is now most numerous, in the next generation it cannot be so, for the children of those now most numerous will be naturally many more in number, and will none of them be of kin to their fathers." [1]

The exogamous classes are social, not political, and in any one district they change from generation to generation.

It adds very much to the distinction between these six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida that each of them has one or more things which it holds in abhorrence, the members of the class being strictly forbidden to eat, approach, or behold the thing or things in question. Such things are called the *buto* of the class. One of the very first lessons learned by a Florida child is what is its *buto*, to eat or touch or see which would be a dreadful thing. In one case only is this abomination (*buto*) the living creature from which the class takes its name: the Kakau class is

Each exogamous class (*kema*) has its *buto* or thing which it holds in abhorrence and may not eat, touch, or see.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 33 *sq.* We have seen (above, p. 75) that in Melanesia a young man takes his wife to live with him in his father's house. If on the contrary it had been the custom for the husband to take up his abode with his wife's people, this, combined with the rule of maternal descent, would have caused the exogamous classes in any one district to be stable and permanent from generation to generation, since the women would remain at home and give birth to children of their own class.

named after the *kakau* crab and may not eat it. The Nggaombata class may not eat the giant clam; the Lahi may not eat of a white pig; the Manukama class, which is called after the eagle, may eat the eagle but may not eat the pigeon; the *Kakau* or Crab class is forbidden to eat both the crab and the parrot *Trichoglossus Massena*.[1]

The *buto* (abomination) of a class is said to have been its ancestor or associated with him.

If any member of these classes be asked why he abstains from his abomination (*buto*), he will probably answer, Dr. Codrington tells us, that it is his ancestor; for example a Manukama man will say that the pigeon which he will not eat is his ancestor. An intelligent native, however, gave Dr. Codrington in writing a somewhat different account of the matter. He wrote: "This is the explanation of the *buto*. We believe these *tindalo* (the object of worship in each *kema*) to have been once living men, and something that was with them, or with which they had to do, has become a thing forbidden, *tambu*, and abominable, *buto*, to those to whom the *tindalo* belongs." The example which this native took was the clam of the Nggaombata class. The ghost (*tindalo*) of a famous ancient member of that class was called Polika and used to haunt a beach opposite Mage, where a large snake (*poli*) was believed to represent him. Members of the Nggaombata class might not approach that beach because Polika was their abomination (*buto*). On another beach, where they catch fish wherewith to sacrifice to Polika, there is a clam (*gima*) to which they give the name of Polika and they used to believe the clam to be in some way Polika himself; hence they abstained from the clam (*gima*) and it became their abomination (*buto*).[2]

Probably the old view was that the people were actually descended from their *buto*.

The difference between these accounts of the origin and meaning of the abominations (*buto*) of the exogamous classes is perhaps not great. The ordinary native says simply that the animal from which he abstains was his ancestor; the educated and perhaps sophisticated native in his written account of the matter says that the animal was not his ancestor but was merely associated in an unexplained way with the ghost of an ancestor. We may suspect that the

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 31 *sq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 31 *sq.*

latter account is nothing but an attempt to rationalise what seemed to an educated native the absurd belief of his less enlightened fellows that they were descended from a real animal of the species. No doubt such a belief is absurd, and Dr. Codrington's sable informant was right to reject it. But for all that the belief in their descent from animals in the most literal sense may very well have been held by these savages long before any of them under European influence bethought himself of saying that the animal was not really his ancestor but only associated with him. Such cheap and transparent devices for transforming ancient nonsense into a bastard imitation of sense meet us in all mythologies, the Greek as well as the Melanesian. It is a common article of faith with totem clans that they are descended from their totem animals or plants; and we may surmise that the things from which these exogamous classes in Melanesia abstain were originally totems of the ordinary sort, to which the members of the classes or clans traced their origin. However, Dr. Codrington, our authority for all the facts with which we have been dealing, takes a somewhat different view of the matter; and as the opinion of so accurate and judicious an observer is entitled to the highest respect, I will subjoin his instructive observations in full. He says:—

"There will occur at once the question whether in this we do not find totems. But it must be asked where are the totems? in the living creatures after which two of the divisions are named, or in those creatures which the members of the several divisions may not eat? It is true that the Kakau kindred may not eat the crab *kakau*; but the Manukama may eat the bird *manukama*. If there be a totem then it must be found in the *buto*; in the pigeon of the Manukama and the giant clam of the Nggaombata, which are said to be ancestors. But it must be observed that the thing which is abominable to eat is never believed to be the ancestor, certainly never the eponymous ancestor, of the clan; it is said to represent some former member of the clan, one of a generation beyond that of the fathers of the present members of it, a *kukua*. The thing so far represents him that disrespect to it is disrespect to him. The most

Dr. Codrington thinks that the *buto* is the thing into which some ancestor said that he would be changed at death, and which is accordingly respected by his descendants.

probable explanation of these *buto* may indeed throw light upon the origin of totems elsewhere, but can hardly give totems a home in the Solomon Islands. The *buto* of each *kema* is probably comparatively recent in Florida; it has been introduced at Bugotu within the memory of living men. It is in all probability a form of the custom which prevails in Ulawa, another of the Solomon Islands. It was observed with surprise when a Mission school was established in that island, that the people of the place would not eat bananas, and had ceased to plant the tree. It was found that the origin of this restraint was recent and well remembered; a man of much influence had at his death not long prohibited the eating of bananas after his decease, saying that he would be in the banana. The elder natives would still give his name and say, 'We cannot eat So-and-So.' When a few years had passed, if the restriction had held its ground, they would have said, 'We must not eat our ancestor.' This represents what is not uncommon also in Malanta near Ulawa, where, as in Florida also, a man will often declare that after death he will be seen as a shark."[1]

The thing into which the ancestor changed at death, and which thus became the *buto* of his descendants, may have been the particular thing (*atai*, *tamaniu*, or *nunu*) with which in his lifetime the existence of the ancestor was thought to be bound up. As that thing

Thus Dr. Codrington is of opinion that the abominations (*buto*) or taboos of the exogamous classes may have originated within recent times in the fancies of influential men, who at their death announced that their spirits would haunt certain animals or plants and warned their kinsfolk henceforth to abstain from eating these animals or plants. Dr. Codrington may be quite right in this opinion; but granting that he is so, we have still to ask what put these fancies into the heads of these dying men? was it a mere whim? a caprice for which they could assign no reason? We may conjecture that they had what seemed to them good reasons for thinking that after their decease they would be in the bananas or the sharks or whatever it might be. A sufficient ground for such a belief seems to be furnished by what Dr. Codrington himself has told us about the *atai* and *tamaniu* of Mota and the *nunu* of Aurora.[2] We have seen that in these islands some men think that there exists an intimate and vital connection between themselves and certain material objects,

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 32 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 81-83.

whether animals, plants, or inanimate things, which accordingly they may not kill, eat, or injure; and further that in the case of the *nunu* these tabooed objects (which closely resemble the *buto* of the Solomon Islands) are determined by the fancies of the mothers before the birth of the children. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such beliefs furnish the clue to the seemingly arbitrary declaration of some Solomon Islanders that after death they will be in particular species of animals or plants; a man might naturally imagine that his departed spirit would dwell hereafter in the thing with which it had all his life been mysteriously associated. If so, the prohibitions which such men lay on their friends, and which, transmitted by inheritance to a group of kinsfolk, do constitute substantially a totem clan, may ultimately be traceable to what appears to be the tap-root of totemism, that is, to the sick fancies of pregnant women. For such fancies fully explain two of the most characteristic features of totemism, namely the identification of a man with his totem and the belief in the descent of the clan from it. The mother identifies her child with the thing that she supposed to have entered her womb when she first felt it quickened; the man as he grows up identifies himself with that thing and respects it accordingly all his life; and if he enjoys influence over his fellows, he may persuade them to respect the same thing after his death, because they imagine that he will be in it. Thus through the identification of dead men with their totems a reverence for the totems tends readily to be combined with or to pass into a reverence and worship of ancestors.

was often determined for him by his mother before his birth, the sick fancies of pregnant women are here also the tap-root of totemism.

However that may be, each exogamous class in Florida has not only its abomination (*buto*) or taboo but also its ghost (*tindalo*), whom the members of the class worship and call vaguely their ancestor. Such worshipful ghosts are Polika of the Nggaombata class (who is identified with the clam which is the *buto* of the class),[1] Barego of the Kakau class, Kuma of the Honggokama class, Sisiro of the Himbo class, Manoga of the Manukama or Lahi class, and a ghost whose personal name is unknown of the Honggokiki class. As the classes are intermixed in the villages, though one of

Each exogamous class in Florida has its ghost (*tindalo*) whom the members of the class worship and call their ancestor.

[1] See above, p. 104.

them generally musters more members than the rest in any particular district, sacrifices are offered in each village or group of villages to each of the ghosts of the classes; and the sacrificer is the man who knows the special leaves and creepers, and sorts of dracaena, and ginger, and shavings of a tree, and words of power (*mana*), with which the particular ghost is best approached. This knowledge the sacrificer receives from his predecessors. He belongs to the exogamous class which is dominant in the place, and he is in fact the ostensible chief.[1] The place of sacrifice is near the village and consists of an enclosure with a little house or shrine in which relics are preserved. When a public sacrifice is to be offered, the people assemble on the spot, but only the sacrificer, who is chief and priest in one, may enter the shrine. He makes a small fire of sticks, muttering words of power (*mana*), but he may not blow the sacred flame. On it he throws a little food, asking the ghost to take it and to grant his prayer. If the flame blazes up, he knows that the ghost is there blowing it. The remainder of the sacrificial food the priest carries back to the assembled people, eats some of it himself, and gives portions to the worshippers who eat it or take it away. At the sacrifice to Manoga, the ghost of the Manukami or Lahi class of the Florida people, the procedure is as follows. When the sacrificer invokes this ghost, he heaves the offering round about and calls him; first to the east, where rises the sun, saying, "If thou dwellest in the east, where rises the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu* mash!" Then turning he lifts it towards the place where the sun goes down, and says, "If thou dwellest in the west, where sets the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*!" There is not a quarter to which he does not lift it up. And when he has finished lifting it he says, "If thou dwellest in heaven above, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*! If thou dwellest in Buru or Hagetolu, the Pleiades or Orion's belt; if below in Turivatu; if in the distant sea; if on high in the sun, or in the moon; if thou dwellest inland or by the shore, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*!"[2]

Heave-offerings to the ghost Manoga.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 132.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 130-132.

The existence of exogamous and perhaps totemic divisions of the people in the Solomon Islands has been observed and recorded by others than Dr. Codrington. Thus Mr. C. M. Woodford writes: "During my last residence on Guadalcanar, it came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems, for want of words to better express my meaning, exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name for them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is *Kema*, upon Savo *Ravu*. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is *Kua*. I could find out very little about them. Their influence is, however, powerful. The natives told me that a man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste. They are not confined to tribes speaking one language, but, as in some of the instances I cite below, natives belonging to tribes speaking a different language will be found to belong to the same caste. I can conceive it due to the protection afforded by these castes that certain natives can pass freely backwards and forwards between tribes at open war, as occurred to my knowledge last year, when severe fighting was taking place between the island of Savo and the west end of Guadalcanar, or that natives are enabled to remain in a village when others have had to leave on account of anticipated attack by another village. Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." Other classes, or castes as he calls them, which Mr. Woodford met with were the Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.[1]

Mr. C. M. Woodford's evidence as to exogamous classes in the Solomon Islands.

More details with regard to totemism and exogamy in the central group of the Solomon Islands were obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers during a visit which he paid to the archipelago in 1908. His investigations confirm and supplement the account of Dr. Codrington. He found that the natives of Florida, Ysabel, Guadalcanar (possibly only the northern half), Savo, and probably part of the Russell Islands are divided into several exogamous classes or clans, marriage being forbidden between members of the same class. In the island of Florida two of the six exogamous

Dr. Rivers's researches in the Solomon Islands. Exogamous classes or clans in Florida, Ysabel, Guadalcanar, and Savo.

[1] C. M. Woodford, *A Naturalist among the Headhunters; being an Account of three Visits to the Solomon Islands in 1886, 1887, and 1888* (London, 1890), pp. 40 *sq.*

classes (*kema*) recorded by Dr. Codrington, namely the Himbo and the Lahi, have now apparently either died out or been absorbed into others. Over the greater part of the island of Ysabel there are only three exogamous classes, namely the Dhonggokama, the Vihuvunagi, and the Posomogo. In the island of Guadalcanar Dr. Rivers heard of six exogamous classes, called the Lakwili, Kindapalei, Haumbata, Kakau, Kiki, and Simbo. In the island of Savo he reports the existence of five exogamous classes called *ravu*, bearing the names respectively of Gaumbata, Dhonggo, Lakwili, Kikiga, and Kakauga. Further, Dr. Rivers ascertained that, just as among neighbouring Australian tribes, so among these Solomon Islanders the exogamous classes of one island have their recognised equivalents in the exogamous classes of the other islands. Thus the Kindapalei of Guadalcanar corresponds to the Dhonggokama of Ysabel, the Honggokama of Florida, and the Dhonggo of Savo. If a Guadalcanar man of the class Kindapalei went to live on the island of Ysabel, he would not be allowed to marry a woman of the class Dhonggokama but would be limited in his choice to women of the two other exogamous classes (Vihuvunagi and Posomogo) in that island. The Dhonggokama of Ysabel appears to answer to both the Honggokama and the Honggokiki of Florida. The Lakwili of Guadalcanar or Savo corresponds to the Vihuvunagi of Ysabel, while the Kakau corresponds to the Posomogo.[1] As we have seen, Dr. Codrington believes that the number of the exogamous classes has been multiplied by the subdivision of an original pair of classes.[2] Dr. Rivers on the other hand suggests that in some cases the number may have dwindled through the extinction of one or more classes, and he points to the Himbo and Lahi of Florida as instances of extinct classes.[3]

Equivalence of the exogamous classes in the various islands.

In all of the islands each exogamous class has one or more sacred objects, and when these are animals they may not in general be eaten. Sometimes the natives believe that they are descended from the tabooed animals.

Sacred objects associated with the exogamous classes.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 168, 170.

[2] See above, p. 102.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 170.

These sacred objects will be considered separately for each island.

Sacred birds, animals, etc., in the island of Florida.

In the island of Florida the sacred objects are called *tindalo*, that is, ghosts. These have already been described on the authority of Dr. Codrington,[1] to whose account Dr. Rivers has nothing to add. In the island of Ysabel the holy things are called *tindadho*, which appears to be only a dialectical variation of *tindalo* ("ghost"). The three exogamous classes have each its sacred bird which members of the class may not eat. The bird of the Vihuvunagi class is the eagle (*manuhutu*); the bird of the Dhonggokama class is the frigate-bird (*mbelama*), and the bird of the Posomogo class is a parakeet (*higara*). A man of the Vihuvunagi class said that this class has five other sacred objects (*tindadho*), namely, the shark (*ele*), crocodile (*vua*), snake (*poli*), eel (*oloi*), and thunder (*rete*), and that the four animals may not be eaten by members of the class.[2]

Sacred animals, etc., in the island of Guadalcanar.

In the island of Guadalcanar the sacred objects are called *tinda'o*, which is merely a variant of *tindalo*, the *l* having dropped out. Each exogamous class has here a large number of these venerated things. Thus the Lakwili class reveres certain men who were said to have been the first members of the class or clan, certain images and two animals, namely, the eel (*mauvo*) and a small fish (*kohe*), neither of which may be eaten by members of the class. The Kindapalei class reveres their first man, together with a snake called *choholisi*, the sun and moon (spoken of together in one word as *vulamanaso*), and a sacred fire called *lake tambu*. The Haumbata class reveres their first man, a shark (*baheanapombo*), and a pigeon (*naroha*); members of the class will not eat the shark nor the pigeon. About the other exogamous classes the information obtained by Dr. Rivers was less definite; but it seems that the shark was tabooed as food both to the Kakau and to the Kiki class, and that members of the Simbo class might not eat the monitor lizard.[3]

In the island of Guadalcanar the sacred objects (*tinda'o*)

[1] See above, pp. 103 *sq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 168.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 168 *sq.*

Great reverence for the sacred objects (animals, sun, moon, etc.) in Guadalcanar.

of the exogamous classes are much revered; Dr. Rivers's informant, a Christian, said that they were worshipped. If a man of the Haumbata class wishes to kill an enemy on the land, he goes to a place which belongs to the sacred pigeon (*naroha*), and there he calls on the bird to give him supernatural power (*mana*) and strength (*susuliha*). He offers a pudding, fish, pork, and tobacco, and the pigeon bestows on him supernatural power to slay his foe. But if he wishes to kill his enemy at sea, he makes offerings to the sacred shark, and the beast will smash his enemy's canoe and eat him up. Again, the sacred snake (*chopolisi*) of the Kindapalei class is a very big creature which lives on a rock at a place called Koli. The place is forbidden to everybody except to members of the class Kindapalei, and even they only go there to worship the snake. If other people wish to pass the spot, they must paddle past it in a canoe or walk far out on the reef. The Kindapalei people offer puddings and other things to the snake, and in return he gives them supernatural power (*mana*). They obtain supernatural power also from the sun and moon and likewise from the sacred fire. The fire springs out of the rock at a certain place, and the people carry offerings thither and burn them in the flame. Also if they kill a man, they bring his tongue and lips and offer them to the sacred fire. There is also a place sacred to the sun and moon, where similar offerings are made. If people eat their sacred animal (*tinda'o*), they fall ill. For example, if a man of the Haumbata class eats a sacred pigeon, he grows sick and blood gushes from his mouth and nostrils. To cure him it is needful to make offerings to the pigeon, after which he may perhaps recover. If any man eats his sacred shark, sores will be sure to break out on his body.[1]

Sacred animals, etc., in the island of Savo.

In the island of Savo the sacred objects are called *manjali*. When they are animals they are tabooed and not eaten by members of the class; but they are not worshipped. Members of the Gaumbata class respect an image, a spirit woman, and the monitor lizard (*vava*), which they will not eat. Members of the Dhonggo class respect a spirit man

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 169.

and a sacred bird (*tambu kosu*), which is the same as the eagle (*manuhutu*) of Ysabel. Members of the Lakwili class will not eat a small monitor lizard (*sangavulu*); and members of the Kikiga class abstain from three kinds of animals, namely, the shark, a large flat fish (*limanibarava*), and a pigeon (*kurau*).[1]

All this points to genuine totemism in a relatively late stage.

Reviewing the information which he obtained from the Solomon Islands, Dr. Rivers observes that "the evidence, taken as a whole, points strongly to the condition being one of genuine totemism, but in a relatively late stage, in which the totems and other sacred objects, including human ancestors, are all classed together as *tindalo*, while so far as the social aspect is concerned, it is possible that there has been a considerable departure from the original condition. The only piece of evidence I can bring forward in favour of this latter position is derived from a place called Kia at the north-western end of Ysabel. While I was in the Western Solomons I was told that at Kia they had a large number of social divisions which appeared to be clans. When in Ysabel I asked the late Dr. Welchman about this, and he said that they had there a large number of divisions in place of the normal three of the rest of the island. Shortly before his death he sent me a list of these divisions showing that each of the three normal Ysabel sections was divided into a number of smaller divisions, each taking its name from an object which Dr. Welchman called a totem. He did not expressly state in his letter to me that these totems were not eaten, but I have no doubt that his use of the term was meant to imply this."[2] The following table exhibits Dr. Welchman's list of the subdivisions and the sacred objects or totems from which they take their names :—[3]

Totemic clans at Kia in Ysabel.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 169 *sq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 171.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 171.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Classes.	Subdivisions with their Totems.
Vihuvunagi	1. A tree like the banyan (*mbahei*). 2. A blue pigeon (*mbaumbahulu*). 3. The dugong (*rumu*). 4. Tree with edible leaves (*hombarae*). 5. The paper mulberry (*mamara*). 6. A large banana (*etingi*).
Dhonggokama	1. A white cockatoo (*nggahili*). 2. The sun (*taunu*). 3. The porpoise (*gogosulu*). 4. The flying fox (*nggenggefe*). 5. The bivalve *Unio* (*rurugu*). 6. The opossum (*paike*). 7. The boatbill heron (*kopi*). 8. The toucan (*memeha sondu*). 9. A fish (*vavalu*).
Posomogo	1. The kingfish? (*kusa*). 2. The turtle (*tengge*). 3. A black banana, wild and inedible (*posa*). 4. A shell fish, *Pteroceras lambis* (*ronggisi*). 5. A night bird, identified from a picture with the jerfalcon (*kikituru*). 6. The *Conus generalis* (*mbulau*). 7. The large areca nut (*etieti*). 8. A grass (*sesehu*). 9. A clam (*fafalehe*). 10. The bright yellow coco-nut (*koilo*). 11. A yellow land snail, *Carocolla* (*taraoa*). 12. A small sword fish? (*pakehana*).

Thus we have here, as Dr. Rivers observes, a grouping of what seem to be totemic clans into a number of larger groups or classes. If similar subdivisions formerly prevailed all over Ysabel and the other islands where exogamy is still practised, we could understand the diversities which now exist in regard to the exogamous classes throughout the archipelago.[1]

The natives of Ysabel have the classificatory system of relationship.[2] Thus, in the generation above his own a man

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 171 *sq.*

[2] For the following particulars as to the classificatory terms of relationship in Ysabel I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

applies the same term *tamanggu* to his father and to his father's brothers. He applies the same term *indonggu* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; but he also applies the same term to his father's sisters. In his own generation he has different terms for elder brother (*toganggu*) and younger brother (*tahinggu*); and he applies these same terms to the sons of his father's brothers and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *vavimenggu* to his sisters and to the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters. On the other hand he applies a different term, *panjanggu*, to all his other first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. A husband calls his wife *tauungu*, and she also calls him *tauungu*. He calls his wife's sisters *ivanggu*, and she similarly calls his brothers *ivanggu*. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *dadhenggu* to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers; but he applies a different term *tumbunggu* to the sons and daughters of his sisters. A woman on the other hand applies the same term *dadhengga* to her sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters both of her sisters and of her brothers. Thus, the system of Ysabel confuses the father's sister with the mother; it distinguishes the wife's sisters from the wife; it distinguishes the husband's brothers from the husband; and in the mouth of a woman it confuses the sons and daughters of her brothers with the sons and daughters of her sisters. All these are so many signs of the incipient break-down of the classificatory system. The system prevails in very similar forms among the natives of Florida and Guadalcanar.

Classificatory system of relationship in Ysabel.

Again, exogamous classes with animal badges, if not with totems, have been recorded in the northern islands of the Solomon group. Thus with regard to the Shortlands Group we learn that "the people are divided into nine classes respectively, *Bomana*, pigeon: *Talasaki*, heron: *Banafu*, white cockatoo: *Talapuni*, the eagle-hawk: *Fanapara*, like the minor bird. The subdivision of this latter one is *Maratigino*, the minor bird: *Oita*, the flying fox: *Tafoita*, the iguana: *Simea*, the horn-bill, a subdivision of which is *Semeapeka*. There is a subdivision

Exogamous classes with animal badges in the Shortlands Islands.

of *Bomana* called *Bomana karo.* These divisions are all exogamous."[1] Again, Mr. C. Ribbe, who spent two years in the Solomons, informs us that in Shortland Island or Alu, which lies to the south of the large island of Bougainville, "the division of the natives into secret societies or rather into totems is remarkable. There is quite a number of such totems in the Shortlands. They are generally named after animals, for there are Dove, Shark, Eagle, Cuscus, and Crocodile totems. Many of them are friendly, many are hostile to each other. Men may not marry girls of the same totem; the son belongs to a different totem than that of his father, since he follows his mother. Father and son may therefore be opposed to each other as enemies. Sometimes certain totems are powerful and respected and dominate the rest by their might. Thus in the lifetime of King Gorei the Dove totem was the most powerful and respected, but after his death it soon declined, and when I was in the Shortlands it numbered only a few members. The totems of the Shortland Islands have also adherents in Northern Choiseul, in Treasury Island, and on the north-east and south-west coasts of Bougainville. Even people who speak quite different languages or dialects, for example, the natives on the north-east coast of Bougainville by comparison with the rest, may belong to one and the same totem. It is not unusual even in time of war for persons from hostile villages to go to and fro without being killed, for their totem protects them. Whether they have any outward badges, I could not definitely ascertain, but I am inclined to assume it, otherwise it would be inexplicable how the islanders can distinguish to what totem a stranger belongs. Several times I observed that when people of Gieta were come to Fauro, the Fauro people could positively say whether the persons disembarking from the canoe belonged to the Dove or the Shark totem. At all festivities, whether at dances, marriages, funeral ceremonies or what not, there are exact rules as to the order in which the people are to be provided with food. In the

Mr. C. Ribbe's evidence.

[1] Extract from an account by Mr. Macdonald of the cremation of the body of a famous chief Gorai in the Shortlands Islands. The passage was kindly extracted and sent to me by the Rev. George Brown, D.D., of the Wesleyan Mission.

different villages, in which there are mostly several totems side by side, each has its council house and its leader, who may be also chief of the village. In other cases the leader is subordinate to the village chief, but only provided that the chief's totem is at the time the most powerful."[1] Although the system of mother-kin prevails in respect of the exogamous classes, Mr. Ribbe tells us that "all the rights are on the side of the man. The woman is more the slave and beast of burden than the mate and companion of her husband."[2] And we learn from him that the usual rule of avoidance is observed between a man and his wife's mother. After his marriage he may neither see nor converse with her. If he meets her, he may not recognise her, but must make off and hide himself as fast as he can.[3]

Avoidance of the wife's mother.

Again, we learn from Mr. R. Parkinson, who has resided for many years in Melanesia, that the whole population of Buka, the island to the north of Bougainville, is divided into two great classes, which have the cock and the frigate-bird for their respective crests, and are named accordingly *Kereu* and *Manu*, each of them after the name of its bird. The classes are exogamous: a man of the one class must always marry a woman of the other, and the children always take the class and crest of their mother. In Northern Bougainville the same two birds are the crests of the classes or clans, and the rules of marriage and descent are the same. But while the name of the frigate-bird (*manu*) is the same, the name of the cock (*atoa*) is different. In Southern Bougainville and in the islands of Bougainville Strait the relations of the classes are the same, except that a larger number of birds serve as crests, and that the people who have the same crest are not named after it, but have a separate class or clan name. Thus the people who have the dove (*baolo*) for their crest are called Baumane; those who have the hornbill (*popo*) are called Simäa; those who have the cockatoo (*ana*) are called Banahu; those who have the frigate-bird (*manua*) are called Talapuini; those who have the *tigenou* are called the Hanapare; those who have the *kapi* are called Talasaggi;

Exogamous classes with maternal descent in Buka, Bougainville, and the islands of Bougainville Strait.

[1] C. Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln* (Dresden-Blasewitz, 1903), pp. 140 *sq.*

[2] C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 141.

[3] C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 144.

and those who have the *talile* are called Habubusu. These classes or clans are exogamous; a man always marries a woman of another class or clan; the children always belong to their mother's clan. There are no outward and visible badges; everybody seems to know everybody else's crest. People who have the same crest regard each other as nearly related. For example, if a man of the cock or the hornbill crest comes to another village, he will there be hospitably lodged and entertained by people of the same crest. The crests are always birds, never beasts or fish. As children always belong to their mother's clan, into which their father marries, it follows that a man may theoretically marry his own daughters. Indeed in Buka and Northern Bougainville the theory is carried out in practice; there it happens not infrequently that a father weds his own daughter and begets children by her. This is not regarded as illegitimate, whereas the union of two persons of the same crest is viewed as a crime. In Southern Bougainville and in the islands of Bougainville Strait the same opinion is held, only it is not put in practice so often as in the north.[1] We have seen that in the island of Kiwai, off New Guinea, a father is similarly allowed to marry his own daughter.[2]

The crests are always birds.

Men free to marry their own daughters.

§ 5. *Totemism in Northern Melanesia*

Exogamous classes with maternal descent in Northern Melanesia.

Northern Melanesia is composed mainly of the two large islands of New Britain (New Pomerania) and New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) with the small islands of the Duke of York (New Lauenburg) group lying in the channel between them. Here as in Southern Melanesia the natives are divided into two exogamous classes with descent in the maternal line, and each class has a particular species of insect to which it pays the same sort of respect that a

[1] R. Parkinson, *Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln* (Berlin, 1899), p. 6 (*Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden*, 1898-99, vol. vii.). Compare *id.*, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 481, 660 *sq.* The exogamous divisions are variously called by Mr. Parkinson classes, stocks or kins (*Stämme*), clans, and totem groups. Some of the names of the classes reported by Mr. Parkinson for Bougainville and the islands of Bougainville Strait are clearly identical with those reported by Mr. Macdonald for the Shortlands Islands, which lie in Bougainville Strait. See above, pp. 115 *sq.*

[2] See above, p. 40.

totemic clan pays to its totem. How far these exogamous classes extend in New Britain and New Ireland we are unable to say, since the greater part of the interior of both these islands is still unexplored. Of New Britain only the northern portion, which bears the name of the Gazelle Peninsula, is comparatively well known, and even within the peninsula there is an aboriginal race named the Baining, inhabiting the mountainous country in the west, about whom our information is meagre.[1] Accordingly the following account of the exogamous classes in New Britain must be understood to apply only to the natives of the tableland and coasts in the north-east of the Gazelle Peninsula. In their language, as well as in other respects, these people closely resemble the inhabitants both of the Duke of York Islands and of the southern half of New Ireland; and Mr. R. Parkinson may be right in thinking that New Ireland is the hive from which the present natives of the Duke of York Islands and of the Gazelle Peninsula have swarmed southward.[2]

The first apparently to observe and record the existence of exogamous classes among these people was the experienced Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. George Brown;[3] and the fullest account of them we owe to another English missionary, the Rev. Benjamin Danks. It may be well to subjoin Mr. Danks's account in his own words:—

"For marriage purposes the people of New Britain are divided into two classes or divisions. The names of these

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 43 *sqq.*, 155 *sqq.*

[2] R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 46-48.

[3] See the Rev. G. Brown, "Notes on the Duke of York Group, New Britain, and New Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xlvii. (1877) p. 149: "All the people in Duke of York Group, New Ireland, and New Britain, so far as we have been, are divided into two distinct classes, called respectively Maramara and Pikalaba, and the custom is that a Maramara must marry a Pikalaba, and *vice-versa*. It is considered to be a very vile thing indeed if this rule is ever broken. In fact, there are only two instances known where two chiefs on New Ireland had dared to disregard this prohibition. The children are all of the same class as the mother, in all cases, and as they must all marry into the other class, intermarriages are thus in a great measure prevented, though in addition to this there are also prohibited degrees even between Maramara and Pikalaba. The land, coco-nuts, and fruit-bearing trees also in all districts are apportioned between these two classes, so that on the death of the father, the children in most cases go to the mother's village, where alone they have land or coco-nuts."

The natives of New Britain and the Duke of York Island are divided for purposes of marriage into two classes called respectively *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*.

divisions on the Duke of York Island and New Ireland are *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*. On New Britain proper the two classes are named after two mythological personages, one named *To Kabinana*, the other *To Kovuvuru*. The first of these two is considered as the founder, creator, or inventor of all good and useful things. Fruitful land, well-built houses, fine fish traps, were all the work or inventions of *To Kabinana*; also all good institutions, customs, and usages are supposed to have been derived from him. Hence the word *kabinana* in the New Britain language means *wise*, and in *kabinanapa ia* we have an active transitive verb, which means to do a thing wisely or well. The *To* written before *Kabinana* simply denotes the masculine gender and may in English be strictly rendered as 'Mr.' In this name we may have wisdom personified. All savages like and respect, and view with no little reverence, a wise man. In New Britain to call a man *To Kabinana* when he is working at anything is simply to pay him a very high compliment.

"*To Kovuvuru* is considered by far the lesser person of the two. He is credited with having created all the bad barren land, all the high hills, and everything which is clumsy or ill formed. To call a man *To Kovuvuru* when he is doing anything is simply to make him ashamed. Yet I have never found that the class which bears the name of *To Kovuvuru* is considered to occupy, socially, an inferior position to the *To Kabinana* class.

"On the Duke of York group the names given to these two personages are *To Kabinana* and *To Pulgo*.

In the Duke of York Island the totems of these two classes are two insects.

"The *totems* of these classes on Duke of York are two insects. That of the *Maramara* is the *Ko gila le, i.e.* the leaf of the horse chestnut tree, so named because being about the length and size, and resembling very much in other respects the leaf of that tree. It is a beautiful insect, and when resting on a leaf of the tree, from which it takes its name, it is difficult to distinguish it from the leaf. The *Pikalaba's* totem is the *Kam*, which is doubtless the *Mantis religiosus*.

Respect for the totems.

"The *Maramara* class will on no account injure, or allow to be injured with impunity, their totem, the *Ko gila le*, but they have not the slightest compunction in abusing the *Kam*. The *Pikalaba* class reverence the *Kam*, but do

not hesitate to destroy the *Ko gila le*, if they can do it secretly. Both these classes believe that their ancestors descended each from their own particular totem, which they designate as *Takun miat*, *i.e.* our relative. Any evil or abuse inflicted by one class on the other's totem is considered as a *casus belli*, and is an insult which the class is bound to avenge.

The classes are exogamous: persons of the same class who marry each other are put to death.

"No man may marry a woman of his own class. To do so would bring instant destruction upon the woman, and if not immediate death to the man, his life would never be secure. The nearest relative (male) of the woman would immediately seek her and kill her the moment he found her. I have been told by natives that both man and woman would be killed as early as possible. The relatives of the woman would be so ashamed that only her death could satisfy them. The man might possibly escape, but I think not. But it is scarcely any use speculating as to what would be done to the man, because such a case never occurs in a thickly populated district. If a man should be accused of adultery or fornication with a woman, he would at once be acquitted by the public voice if he could say, 'She is one of us,' *i.e.* she belongs to my totem, which in itself precludes the possibility of any sexual intercourse between us. The shame of such intercourse is as great between them as is the shame and disgrace of sexual intercourse between brother and sister in a Christian community.

The marriage of a paternal uncle with his niece, though not forbidden by the law of the classes, is strongly condemned by public opinion.

"But while such is the case, the evil consequences of inter-family connections are not averted altogether, and but for an inner regulation which exists, but which is not absolutely binding, those evil consequences would be accelerated. Two brothers are both of the same totem, say *Pikalaba*. They each marry a *Maramara* woman. Their children are of the mother's totem, taking their descent from their mother. Now it is possible for one brother to take the other brother's daughter to wife, and no exception may be taken to it because the girl does not belong to his totem, but to her mother's. A man may not take to wife his sister's daughter, because she is of his totem. So upon theoretical grounds a man may without law-breaking marry his niece. But there is great repugnance to such unions

among the natives of New Britain, and in one case where such an union was brought about, the natives with whom I conversed upon the subject utterly condemned it. This public feeling against such marriages is that inner regulation mentioned above."[1] A curious corollary of the exogamy of the two classes is that "if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death because being of the same class and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital class law."[2] The two exogamous classes are not distinguished from each other by any outward badge or mark which a European can recognise. Yet a native knows at once the class to which another native belongs.[3]

Dr. G. Brown on the exogamous class of New Britain, etc.

"All lands, fruit-trees, fishing-grounds in the lagoon belong definitely to the respective classes. A *Maramara* cannot set his fish-trap on *Pikalaba* fishing-stones, and *vice versa*. Such an act would certainly cause a fight. Intermarriage in either class is absolutely forbidden. Any such marriage would be considered incestuous and would bring speedy punishment: in fact, the whole of the people would be horrified at such an event and the parties would almost certainly be killed. They also called incestuous (*kuou*) any one who killed or ate any portion of a person of the same class as himself, *e.g.* a *Maramara* who killed or ate a *Maramara*. The children all belong to the mother's class. These respective classes are well known, but there are no outward signs or marks to distinguish them. I think that in theory, but in theory only, every *Maramara* woman is every *Pikalaba* man's wife, and *vice versa*, but there is no trace, so far as I know, of anything like communal marriage: on the contrary it appears to me that the

[1] Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 281-283.

[2] Rev. B. Danks, *op. cit.* p. 292.

[3] Joachim Graf von Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee* (Brunswick, 1899), p. 27. This writer's account of the exogamous classes and totems of the New Britain, Duke of York, and New Ireland natives (*op. cit.* pp. 27 *sq.*) agrees closely with that of Mr. B. Danks and may be borrowed from it. That there is no external mark to distinguish the two exogamous classes in the Gazelle Peninsula is stated also by Mgr. Couppé, "En Nouvelle-Poméranie," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxiii. (1891) p. 365.

regulations prohibiting the intercourse or even mentioning the names of relatives show that this was very repugnant to public sentiment and feeling." [1]

Other writers who have noticed the two exogamous classes of the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula make no mention of the class names *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*, but merely tell us that the natives distinguish the two classes by two words which in their language mean or are derived from the personal pronouns "we" and "they." Thus a man speaking of his own class would say *a te avet* "our class," and speaking of the other class he would say *a te diat* "their class." [2] This may be compared to the custom in Southern Melanesia, where there are no distinctive names for the two classes, but where the members of each class distinguish their own class as "our side of the house" and the other class as "the other side of the house." [3]

Other modes of designating the two classes.

As usually happens under a system of mother-kin, the relation between a man and his sister's children is especially close. The relation is expressed by the word *matuana*, which is a reciprocal term, being applied both by the nephew to his uncle and by the uncle to his nephew. The maternal uncle, we are told, "takes the chief place in the Melanesian family, and the parents fall into the background before him. The whole law of the family and of inheritance is regulated by the relation between kinsfolk on the mother's side; kinship on the father's side is not considered. The children belong neither to the father nor to the mother but to the mother's brother or to her nearest kinsman. If a woman marries a man

Close relationship between a man and his sister's children.

[1] Rev. G. Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories illustrated and compared* (in manuscript). The author has kindly allowed me to quote from some portions of this forthcoming work.

[2] P. A. Kleintitschen (Missionary in New Britain), *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel* (Hiltrup bei Münster, preface date Christmas, 1906), p. 191. According to Monsignore Couppé, the term which people apply to their own class is *A-temavet*, from *a-te* "sprung from" and *a-vet* "we"; and the term which they apply to the other class is *A-tematan*, from *a-te* "sprung from" and *tan* "some one," "another." See Mgr. Couppé, "En Nouvelle-Poméranie," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxiii. (1891) p. 365. According to Mr. R. Parkinson the terms in question are *tavevet* "we" and *tadiat* "they." See R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 67. In the Duke of York Islands "we" is *dat* and "they" is *diat*. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), p. 116.

[3] See above, p. 70.

of another tribe, all the children must return to the tribe of the mother and to her sept. The maternal uncle has the full right to dispose of his nephews and nieces, and in coming to his decisions he need not trouble himself about the wishes of the parents. When the children are grown bigger, they leave their father and mother and go to their *matuana*. They live in his house and work for him. They have every motive to stand on a good footing with him, for they look to him entirely and are dependent on him. From their parents they have nothing to expect, after they have received from them bare life. When they are marriageable, the maternal uncle must buy them a wife. On the death of the *matuana*, it is not his own children but his nephews who come forward as heirs. With the inheritance goes also the honour to bury the deceased and to divide his shell-money."[1]

Mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters,

The mutual avoidance between brother and sister which we have met with in Southern Melanesia[2] is practised to some extent among the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain. After her marriage a sister is not allowed to have social intercourse or to talk with her brother; she never utters his name, but designates him by another word.[3]

and of relations by marriage.

Strict rules of etiquette also regulate the relations between a man and his wife's family; a violation of them would be regarded as a grave breach of decorum and punished correspondingly. A man and his wife's parents call each other *nimuan*, but they never call each other by their own names, indeed it is forbidden to do so. The taboo goes so far that if, for example, the father-in-law is called Breadfruit (*kapiaka*), or Coco-nut (*lama*), two not uncommon names, the son-in-law may not call breadfruit breadfruit or coco-nuts coco-nuts, but must use some other word for one or the other. Son-in-law and parents-in-law may offer each other betel-nuts, but they may not eat with each other nor see each other eat. A man may not enter the house of his wife's parents. After her marriage a woman stands in precisely the same relations to her husband's family.[4] Brothers-in-law are also

[1] P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 190 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 77 *sq.*

[3] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 67 *sq.*

[4] R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* p. 67.

forbidden to mention each other's names. If one of them speaks to another, he always uses the plural form; the proper name of his brother-in-law never passes his lips. A man who addresses his brother-in-law by his name, offers thereby the greatest insult to the whole of his wife's family. How deeply the insult is felt may be inferred from its punishment; for the affront is a capital offence, and the offender is put out of the way.[1]

Classificatory system of relationship in New Britain.

As usual, exogamy coexists with the classificatory system of relationship. "While we, for example, specially designate by the word 'father' the person who is father, the Melanesian rather expresses by that word the relation which exists between father and son. Thus he says of a father and son '*Dir tamana*,' 'They two are fathers,' that is, the relation of fatherhood exists between them. The uncle on the father's side is also addressed as father, and the children of different brothers call each other brothers. But if the father of one child and the mother of another are brother and sister, then these children call each other *a Nauvana*. The Melanesian child gives the name of mother not only to the woman who bore it, but also to all its aunts on the mother's side. A European who is not familiar with these relations is surprised when he hears a Melanesian boasting of having three mothers. His confusion becomes greater when the three mothers in question stoutly assert '*Amital qa kava ia*,' 'We all three gave birth to him.'"[2] This passage, which I have translated literally from the account of a Catholic missionary who has lived among the people he describes, well illustrates the difference between the savage and the civilised conceptions of fatherhood and motherhood, and proves once more, if another proof were needed, how vain it is to attempt to understand the classificatory system of relationship if we persist in associating the ideas of

[1] P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 190.

[2] P. A. Kleintitschen, *op. cit.* pp. 188, 190. The Rev. B. Danks writes: "The uncle (maternal) has often been called *father* in my hearing, while the father's brother has been termed on Duke of York *Labag*, and on New Britain *Matwaqu*, which may be rendered uncle. The aunt on the mother's side has also been termed mother" (B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 294). In this statement it would seem that the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle have been inadvertently interchanged.

procreation with the terms which in that system are the nearest equivalents to our terms "father" and "mother."

Totemism and exogamy in New Ireland.

In New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) marriage may only take place between persons who have different family crests or totems; sexual intercourse between persons of the same totemic group is regarded as incest and is still punished with the death of the woman at least and often with that of both the culprits. The avengers are always men of the same totem. The totems are birds (*manu*). Children always take their totem from their mother. Persons who have the same totem regard each other as near relations, even if they are quite strangers, and they receive and entertain each other in their houses, as if they had been friends and acquaintances for years. As a rule they band together to carry out enterprises in common. In wars between the districts, if there should be men of the same totem arrayed on both sides, they will tacitly avoid each other and attack men of a different totem. In the great carvings which serve as memorials of the dead the totemic bird (*manu*) of the deceased must always be represented. Among these totemic birds are the hornbill and the dove. But other animals, such as serpents, lizards, sharks, dolphins, and pigs, also figure in the memorial carvings, some of them representing evil spirits which combat and are vanquished by the totem.[1]

Totemic dances.

The natives of New Ireland dance totem-dances in imitation of the movements of their totemic birds, and the dancers who personate the bird always belong to its totemic group. For example, men who have the hornbill (*Rhytidoceros plicatus Forst.*) for their totem stand in pairs, one pair behind the other in a long row, each man holding in his mouth a carved and painted mask of a hornbill's head. The hornbill is a shy and wary bird which, while it eats the fruits on the tree-tops, keeps a sharp look-out for its foes, turning its head in all directions, and flying away with a peculiar scream and a loud flapping of

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 267, 648-651. The word *manu*, with variations of it (*man*, *men*, *mon*, etc.), stands for "bird" in many Melanesian languages. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages*, p. 39.

its wings whenever it takes alarm. These motions and these sounds are all mimicked by the dancers. Another totemic dance represents a dove, which is a totem, pursued by its enemy the serpent. Two men personate doves hopping from bough to bough, while two long lines of men represent the serpent wriggling after its prey.[1]

Two exogamous classes (*Pakilaba* and *Tarago*) with bird totems in Central New Ireland.

In the central part of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) the whole native population is divided into two exogamous classes which bear the names of *Pakilaba* or *Malabar* and *Tarago* or *Taragau* respectively.[2] These names are borrowed, with slight changes, from the native names for two birds *Malaba* (*Haliaetus leucogaster*) and *Taraga* (*Pandion leucocephalus*). Both the birds are sacred to the natives, who say of them *a man tabu*, "a bird sacred," and will not catch or kill them. They are also displeased if the birds are shot by a European or a Chinese; and should they obtain possession of the dead bird, they treat it like a human being. Members of the exogamous class to which the bird gives its name bury it and give a feast in its honour, just as is customary at the death of a man. However, this custom is more and more on the wane. The two birds may provisionally be called the totems of their respective classes.[3] It is commonly supposed that the original ancestor of each class had his abode in a flowing water especially in a mountain spring. The waters of the *Pikalaba* or *Malabar* class do not allow people of the *Tarago* class to bathe in them, and *vice versa*. The souls of all the dead, whether men, women, or children, go to the water of their totem and sometimes live in great trees beside it. They may not stray far from the spot, but at night they can quit the water,

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 279 *sq.*

[2] P. G. Peckel, "Die Verwandtschaftsnamen des mittleren Neumecklenburg," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 458; Albert Hahl (Herbertshöhe), "Das mittlere Neumecklenburg," *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313. The former writer gives the names as *Pakilaba* and *Tarago*, without noting any variations. The latter writer gives the names as *Malabar* and *Taragau* or *Tarago*, but notes that alternative names for *Malabar* class are *Pikalabar* (*sic*) and *Manikulai*. The names *Pakilaba* and *Malabar* seem to be merely other forms of the names *Pikalaba* and *Maramara*. See above, pp. 119 *sqq.*

[3] P. G. Peckel and A. Hahl, *ll.cc.* According to the latter writer, the dead bird is buried in the chief's enclosure or compound (*tahul*). Both these writers speak of the two birds as the totems of their respective classes.

and then it is dangerous for living people of the other totem to meet them. However, in such a ghostly encounter a man is protected by the ghosts (*taberan*) of people of his own totem.[1]

Maternal descent of the classes: marriage within the class punished with death.

The wife of a *Pakilaba* man must always be a *Tarago* woman, and the wife of a *Tarago* man must always be a *Pakilaba* woman; in short, the two classes *Pakilaba* and *Tarago* are exogamous. All the children belong to the class of their mother and take her totem. If nevertheless two persons of the same class marry, they fall under what is called the *budo* or ban. The punishment for their crime is hanging, which the culprits must inflict upon themselves. However, under the influence of the whites this custom is falling into desuetude. The children of such an incestuous union are called *a nat-na-tahanuo*.[2]

Sub-divisions of the two classes.

Each of the two exogamous classes is divided into numerous clans or families called *a Hun* or *a Huntunan*, all of them with their own names, which are said to be those of influential ancestors long dead. Thus the *Pakilaba* class includes the clans or families *a Tunubuah*, *a Hunanar*, *a Isnamarodu*, etc.; and the class *Tarago* includes the clans or families *a Sosir*, *a Ḳapis*, *a Selaman*, *a Ulohothot*, etc.[3] In Sohun the clans, arranged under their respective classes, are as follows:—[4]

Pakilaba or Malabar	1. Bisakubar (said to mean "red earth"). 2. Banban (said to mean "arbour"). 3. Sarauai (meaning ?). 4. Balage (?). 5. Dunobua (name of a stream in Sohun). 6. Heba (?).
Tarago	1. Baka (name of a river in Kudukudu ?). 2. Karbabus (name of a tree). 3. Buranta (name of a stream in Sohun). 4. Matalapuau (name of a stream in Matanangas). 5. Dul (name of a serpent).

[1] A. Hahl, "Das mittlere Neumecklenburg," *Globus*, xci. (1907) pp. 313, 314.

[2] P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 458. Compare A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313, who says that the punishment of death is inflicted on the criminals by their nearest kinsfolk.

[3] P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 459.

[4] A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313.

At her first menstruation every girl must retire into a small house or chamber (*mbak*), which is built in the ordinary large house of the women. Here she has to hide herself for ten months, though at night she is allowed to go into the open on condition of cowering down so that no one may observe her state. She is attended to by old women, who introduce to her all the men, even the married men. But after she emerges from her seclusion, she belongs to her future husband alone.[1] This custom appears to be a relic of sexual communism or of group marriage.

Apparent relic of group marriage or sexual communism.

The natives of Central New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) combine, as usual, totemism and exogamy with the classificatory system of relationship. Children apply the same term *mama* or *tamagu* (both meaning "my father") to their own father and to his brothers; and conversely a man applies the same term *natigu* ("my child") both to his own children and to the children of his brothers. Descent being in the maternal line, the totem of a man and his brothers is always different from the totem of their children.[2] Children apply the same term *makai* ("my mother") to their own mother and to her sisters; and conversely a woman applies the same terms *r'anugu bulu* ("my boy") and *r'anugu hinasik* ("my girl") both to her own children and to the children of her sisters. Descent being in the maternal line, the totem of a mother and her sisters is always the same as the totem of their children.[3] The sons of two brothers or of two sisters call each other brothers (*hatatasin*), and the sons of these sons also call each other brothers, and so on through all generations. Brothers in the same generation have always the same totem.[4] The daughters of two sisters or of two brothers call each other sisters (*hatasahin*), and the daughters of these daughters also call each other sisters, and so on through all generations. Sisters in the same generation have always the same totem.[5] The son and daughter of two brothers (*hatatasin*) or of two sisters (*hatasahin*) call each other brother and sister (*hatahinen*), and the son and

Classificatory system of relationship in Central New Ireland.

[1] A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313.
[2] P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 463, 472.
[3] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* pp. 464, 472.
[4] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 464.
[5] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 465.

daughter of that son and that daughter call each other brother and sister (*hatahinen*), and so on through all generations. Such a son and daughter in the same generation have always the same totem.[1] The sons of a brother and a sister call each other *dir lapun*; and the daughters of a brother and a sister also call each other *dir lapun*. Such sons have always different totems, because their mothers have different totems; and such daughters have also always different totems, because their mothers have different totems.[2] The son and daughter of a brother and a sister (*hatahinen*) call each other *dir hinen kokup*. They have always different totems, because their mothers have different totems.[3]

Some marriages between persons near of kin are prohibited by the class-law and others by custom.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that marriage between a mother and her son is excluded by the law of class exogamy, because mother and son belong to the same class and totem. Further, marriage between a brother and sister is excluded for the same reason, because both belong to the same class and totem. Further, marriage between cousins who are children of two brothers is excluded, for the same reason, because the children are of the same class and totem. Further, marriage between cousins who are children of two sisters is excluded for the same reason, because the children are of the same class and totem. But on the other hand the law of class-exogamy does not, with maternal descent of the classes, exclude the marriage of a father with his daughter, because he and she always belong to different classes and totems; nor does it exclude the marriage of cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, because such cousins always belong to different classes and totems. Yet both such marriages, though not forbidden by the law of class-exogamy, are most rigidly forbidden by custom. The penalty for incest with a daughter is death by hanging.[4]

Mutual avoidance of cousins.

Cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively not only may not marry each other; they may not approach each other, they may not shake hands or even touch each other, they may not give each other presents, they may not

[1] P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 465 *sq.*

[2] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 467.

[3] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 470.

[4] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 463.

mention each other's names. But they are allowed to speak to each other at a distance of some paces.[1]

The mutual avoidance of cousins and of brothers and sisters is a precaution against incest.

There can be no doubt that this mutual avoidance of cousins who are forbidden by custom, though not by the class-law, to marry each other is a precaution to prevent the violation of the custom; whether it has been instituted deliberately or grown up instinctively, its effect is to raise an artificial barrier between the forbidden persons and so far to deliver them from temptation. Now similar rules of avoidance are observed not only between such cousins but also between brother and sister, although brother and sister, being always of the same totem, are forbidden by the law of class-exogamy to marry each other. There is a mutual shyness or shame between them. They may not come near each other, they may not shake hands, they may not touch each other, they may not give each other presents; but they are allowed to speak to each other at a distance of some paces. The penalty for incest with a sister, like that for incest with a daughter, is death by hanging.[2] We can therefore scarcely doubt that the mutual avoidance of brother and sister has been either instituted deliberately or grown up instinctively as a precaution against incest between them; sexual intercourse between a brother and sister is apparently viewed as a crime so serious, that the ordinary rule of exogamy is not a sufficient safeguard against it, but must be reinforced by other and stringent measures. In Southern Melanesia, as we have seen, the same mutual avoidance of brother and sister exists and is to be explained in the same way.[3]

Totemism in Southern New Ireland.

A brief account of totemism and exogamy in Southern New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) is given by Messrs. E. Stephan and F. Graebner. It applies to the coast from Umuddu to Cape St. George and runs as follows:—

"The social life is founded on marriage, and the marriage union is first of all influenced by the circumstance that the inhabitants of every district belong to two totems, as to which, with the exception of those of Laur, it is doubtful whether, in spite of their designation as *Pissin*,

[1] P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 467, 470 *sq.*

[2] P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 467.

[3] Above, pp. 77 *sqq.*

they are named after birds. It was only after long acquaintance with the people of Lamassa that we were able to penetrate in some measure into these complicated relations. There the people belong either to the class [1] *baumbaum* or to *marrmarr*, and every native in the village can tell with surprising certainty the 'class bird' [2] of every inhabitant. These two totems extend, according to Tompuan's statements, to Lambell, Kandass and Mioko. Mioko and Lamassa are quite different linguistic areas, but the inhabitants trade with each other and live on good terms. . . . Laur has for its class birds *tarrangau* (*Pandion haliaetus*) and *mannigulai* or *mallawa*. Marriages between Laur and the districts Kandass and Pugusch seem not to take place. Persons who have the same totem may not marry each other. The children always belong to their mother's totem, that is, mother-right is the rule." To which the writers add: "It must always be emphatically stated that the terms father-right and mother-right indicate simply and solely the group to which the individual belongs and the other definite systems of relationship determined thereby; they have not the least to do with the higher or lower position of women. Indeed it might on the contrary be affirmed that in general women are more highly esteemed in districts where father-right is the rule than in districts where mother-right prevails." [3] Of these two exogamous classes *baumbaum* and *marrmarr* the name of the latter appears to be identical with *maramara*, the name of one of the two exogamous classes in New Britain.[4]

Mother-right does not imply mother-rule, rather the contrary.

Off the east coast of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) lie two groups of islands, the one called Tanga or Caens and the other Aneri or St. John. In these islands and in the district called Siara on the south-eastern coast of New Ireland all the natives have totems, which they call *manu* ("birds"), though in fact among the totems are animals as well as birds. These totemic creatures are the sea-eagle

Totemism in the islands of Tanga and Aneri.

[1] *Stammesgenossenschaft.*

[2] *Stammesvogel.*

[3] Emil Stephan und Fritz Graebner, *Neu-Mecklenburg (Bismarck-Archipel), Die Küste von Umuddu bis Kap St. Georg* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 106 *sq.*

[4] See above, pp. 119 *sqq.*

(*manlam*), the dove (*am bal*), the black and white fly-catcher (*an dun*), two kinds of parrots (*angkika* and *am pirik*), the sea-gull (*tagau*), the dog (*fumpul*), and the pig (*fumbo*). No man may marry a woman of his own totem, and more than that, the men of any one totem clan are not free to marry the women of any other totem clan. The Sea-gull men always marry Sea-eagle women. The Parrot men of one clan (the *am pirik*) may only marry Parrot women of the other clan (the *angkika*) or Dove women. The Black and White Fly-catcher men may marry Sea-eagle, Sea-gull, and Dove women, and also the women of one of the two Parrot clans (namely, the *angkika*). The Pig men may marry women of any other totem except Sea-eagle women, and Dog men may marry women of any totem but their own. Sexual intercourse between men and women of the same totem is punished with death. At festivities and gatherings of all sorts, as well as in the frequent feuds, members of the same totem keep together. The totem birds and animals are not in any way respected; they are eaten just like any ordinary beasts and birds.[1]

Totemism in the St. Mathias, Kerue, and Admiralty Islands.

In the St. Mathias and Kerue or Emirau Islands, to the north of New Hanover, the natives are divided into exogamous classes each with its totem or totemic badge, but no particulars as to the system have been obtained.[2] Lastly, the totemic system exists among the natives of the Admiralty Islands, which may be regarded as forming the north-western extremity of Melanesia. The Admiralty Islanders are divided into three tribes or stocks, the Moanus, the Matankor, and the Usiai. Of these the Moanus are a sea-faring folk, who inhabit the coast; they build their villages on the beach or in shallow water on reefs; the houses always stand upon piles. The Usiai are an inland people who build their houses on the ground. The Matanakor are intermediate between the other two tribes, for they are tillers of the soil as well as mariners. In many respects the islanders resemble the Papuans of New Guinea, but the population seems to be hybrid; for there are traces of a fairer race mixed with the swarthy Papuan element, which

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 652 *sq.*

[2] R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* p. 337.

dominates the breed.[1] All three tribes of the Admiralty Islanders are divided into totemic clans or groups, of which the following have been recorded :—

1. The group *Kol*, with five different totems, namely a kind of fish (*kanas*), the pig (*pou*), the cuscus (*lauat*), the crocodile (*mbuai*), and a large fish (*kemendra*). The *Kol* group is strongly represented in Papitalai.
2. The group *Poendrilei*, a kind of fish, dominant in Siwisa.
3. The group *Pal*, the dove, strongly represented in the island of Pak.
4. The group *Peu*, the shark.
5. The group *Kobat*, the crab.
6. The group *Tjunjak*, a kind of oyster, and *Sawol*, the pearl-oyster.
7. The group *Tjauka*, Philemon coquerelli, and *Pongopong*, a fruit.
8. The group *Uri*, a species of silurus (German *Schweinfisch*).
9. The group *Kareng*, a parrot, and *Kararat*, the turtle.
10. The group *Karipou*, a kind of heron.
11. The group *Tjilim*, a kind of starling, and *Tjihir*, a parrot.
12. The group *Ngong*, the sea-swallow, and *Palimat*, the flying squirrel.
13. The group *Kata*, the frigate-bird, and *Kanaui*, the tropic-bird.
14. The group *Kanau*, a kind of sea-swallow.

Rules of marriage and descent.

The totem (*patandrusu*) is inherited by children from their mother. Persons of the same totem may not marry each other, but of late the rule has been less strictly observed, especially among the Usiai and Matankor. Among the Moanus, on the other hand, marriage with a woman of the same totem is viewed as incestuous and disgraceful.

Relations between persons of the same totem.

Persons of the same totem arrayed on opposite sides in battle will not attack each other. Castaways and strangers are treated as friends by people of the same totem ; and a man will not steal from members of his totemic group. But there is no outward mark or badge to distinguish the persons, the houses, or the canoes of the different totem clans.

Respect for the totem.

When the totem is an edible animal, members of the totem clan abstain from eating it.[2]

§ 6. *Totemism in Eastern Melanesia (Fiji).*

Exogamous classes not found in Fiji.

The most easterly branch of the Melanesian stock are the Fijians, whose archipelago, including the two large islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, is situated in the

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 351, 354.

[2] R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 392 *sq.*

Pacific Ocean to the eastward of the New Hebrides. While exogamous classes such as prevail in the rest of Melanesia have not been found in Fiji, clear traces of totemism have been detected in the respect which tribes and subdivisions of tribes pay to particular species of animals and plants. Thus the English missionary Thomas Williams, one of our earliest and best authorities on the people of Fiji, writes as follows: "Certain birds, fish, plants, and some men, are supposed to have deities closely connected with or residing in them. At Lakemba, Tui Lakemba,[1] and on Vanua Levu, Ravuravu,[2] claim the hawk as their abode; Viavia, and other gods, the shark. One is supposed to inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so on until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of some deity. He who worships the god dwelling in the eel, must never eat of that fish, and thus of the rest; so that some are *tabu* from eating human flesh, because the shrine of their god is a man. The people clearly maintain the Popish distinction between the material sign and the spiritual essence symbolized; but, in one case as in the other, the distinction seems sometimes to be practically lost. Thus the land-crab is the representative of Roko Suka, one of the gods formerly worshipped in Tiliva, where land-crabs are rarely seen, so that a visit from one became an important matter. Any person who saw one of these creatures, hastened to report to an old man, who acted as priest, that their god had favoured them with a call. Orders were forthwith given that new nuts should be gathered, and a string of them was formally presented to the crab, to prevent the deity from leaving with an impression that he was neglected, and visiting his remiss worshippers with drought, dearth, or death."[3] On the coast of Viti Levu another English missionary, the Rev. Lorimer Fison, found a native teaching his son to worship his god, which was the native Fijian rat, at a small shrine near the beach. On being asked why he worshipped the rat, the man answered, "Because he is our father."[4]

Traces of totemism.

Thomas Williams on the indwelling deities of animals, plants, and men in Fiji.

[1] A god.

[2] Another god.

[3] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 219 *sq.* Compare B. Seeman, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands* (Cambridge, 1862), p. 392.

[4] Rev. Lorimer Fison, "On Apparent Reminiscences of Totemism in Fiji," *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136.

Father de Marzan on totemism in Fiji.

A Catholic missionary, Father J. de Marzan, reports that in the large island of Viti Levu certain tribes have each a pair of principal totems consisting of a tree and an animal, and that some tribes call themselves by the name of one or other of their totems, but oftener by the name of their tree totem than of their animal totem. Thus the Vunaqumu tribe has for its totem the *qumu* tree; the Bau tribe has for its totem the *bau* tree; the Namoto tribe has for its totem the *moto* or *voto* tree; and the Nareba (Naremba) tribe has for its totem the *reba*, which is a kind of hawk. But many tribes are not named after their totems. Father de Marzan gives the following list of tribes with their totems :—

List of Fijian tribes with their totems.

Tribe.	Tree Totem.	Animal Totem.
Vunaqumu	*qumu*	*auna* (eel)
Nasalia	*wi*	*balei* (serpent)
Namoto	*moto*	*kula* (kind of parrot, French *perruche*)
Jubai	*baka* (banyan)	*beka* (bat)
Naboro	*boro* (pepper)	*ura* (shrimp)
Nanuyamalo	*vasili*	*vokai* (lizard)
Naha	*boa*	*beli* (? loach, French *lochet*)
Batinikia	*vasa*	*boto* (frog)
Navitilevu	*sou*	*lele* (titmouse)
Waimaro (Solo i ra)	*molaca*	*sici* (a shell)
Oralau	*boa*	*saca* (Fijian quail)
Nareba	*yakona* (kava)	*reba* (hawk)
Nagole	*dakua*	*reve* (perch)
Lomairuna	*masulele*	*waituitui* (hawk)
Naboubuco	*mako*	*soge* (pigeon)

Accessory totems.

The subdivisions of a tribe sometimes have what may be called accessory totems of their own in addition to the general tribal totem. For example, the Nanuyamalo tribe has for its totem the lizard, and the division of the tribe which lives at Wainimala has for its accessory totem the parrot (*kaka*) in addition to the lizard, the totem of the whole tribe.

Respect paid to the totems.

The respect paid to the principal totems was very great. Thus the tree totem might not be cut, except to procure its

leaves or branches as a personal decoration in the dances; the animal totem might not be eaten without incurring death or the anger of the spirits. Hence old people still abstain from eating their totems. The younger generations are less particular, but still they have a great respect at least for the totem animal. Strangers passing through the territory of another tribe may not eat the tribal totem, and they are strictly forbidden to mention its name aloud. Any stranger who infringes these rules must pay a fine to the tribe or receive a beating. A woman who is married in another tribe respects the totems of her husband's tribe as well as her own. But her children respect only the paternal totems, unless they go to live in their mother's tribe. The totem animal was supposed always to appear to a mother just before the birth of her child. Further, the totem was consulted in war, in sickness, at marriage, and so forth. Its appearance was a good or bad omen, a sign of life or of death according to the place where it appeared. Before a war the priest or diviner used to dream of the totem and in accordance with his dream he predicted to the people the issue of the war. For example, if the tribal totem was a lizard, and the priest in his dream saw the lizard going up a tree, it was an omen of victory; but if he saw it coming down the tree, it was an augury of defeat.[1]

Appearance of the totem animal to women before child-birth; omens drawn from it in war.

Further traces of totemism in Fiji were independently observed and recorded by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers during a short visit which he paid to the islands in 1908.[2] He tells us that the people of the interior of Viti Levu form a number of independent communities, which may probably be regarded as tribes, and each tribe is again divided and subdivided into sections which now bear little resemblance to totem clans of the ordinary pattern. The animals from which descent is traced and whose flesh is forbidden as food are usually associated with the tribes rather than with their divisions, though some of these divisions have often sacred animals or plants peculiar to themselves in addition to those which are

Dr. Rivers on totemism in Fiji.

Belief in descent from the sacred animals.

[1] J. de Marzan, "Le Totémisme aux Isles Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907) pp. 400-405.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Fiji," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 133-136. In his researches Dr. Rivers was helped by Mr. A. B. Joske, who has long been in charge of the northern and eastern parts of the interior of the island.

sacred or tabooed to them as members of the tribe. The following are examples all taken from a small district in the northern part of the interior of Viti Levu. The people of Cawanisa have as their sacred animal the *dravidravi*, a small aquatic creature of some kind; they believe that they are descended from it, and they will not eat it. The Nadrau (Nandrau) or Navuta people have as their sacred animal the *qiliyago*,[1] a small black bird with a long beak, and this bird is tabooed to the whole tribe. But some of the divisions of the tribe have in addition taboos peculiar to themselves; thus the Wailevu division will eat neither the dog nor a fish called *dabea*, and the Kaivuci division may not eat snakes. Again, the Navatusila people had as the sacred animal common to them all the *ganivutu*, a fish-hawk; but one of their divisions, the Hamarama, was also forbidden to eat fowls; another, the Vadrasiga, might not eat the *cogi*, a pigeon; the Naremba (Nareba) might not eat the bird called *reba*;[2] and three divisions, the Ivisi, Nanoko, and Iasawa, might not eat the dog. In each case the members of the smaller groups believed in their descent from the tabooed animal. Other sacred animals of this part of the island were the owl, a bird called *tuitui*, a species of lizard, the kingfisher, and a prawn. The people who believed in their descent from a prawn were allowed to eat the animal, but only with its shell.

Additional totemic taboos.

On the foregoing evidence Dr. Rivers observes:[3] "I think that few will doubt that the foregoing facts demonstrate the existence of totemism in Fiji. There are present the three characteristic features of this institution: belief in descent from the totem, prohibition of the totem as an article of food, and the connection of the totem with a definite unit of the social organisation. In the third feature Fijian society differs from that usually associated with totemism in that the sacred animal usually belongs to a group which appears

In Fiji the sacred animals are associated rather with tribes than with their subdivisions, and marriage is regulated by kinship, not by exogamous classes.

[1] In the official spelling of Fijian words *q* stands for the sound of *ng* in finger, *g* for the sound of *ng* in singer, *b* for the sound of *mb*, and *d* for the sound of *nd*. Some writers adopt the official spelling, others retain the ordinary English mode of representing the sounds. I have not attempted to reduce these divergences in my authorities to uniformity; hence some inconsistencies in spelling may be observed in my statements.

[2] The *reba* is a hawk. See above, p. 136.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Fiji," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 134 *sq*.

to correspond to a tribe instead of belonging to a division of the tribe. The Fijian social organisation has, however, departed so widely from the primitive type that this is not surprising. At present marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and there is no evidence that any of the social divisions are exogamous. Though the sacred animals usually belong to the tribe, they are, as we have seen, still also frequently connected with the smaller divisions which may possibly be the representatives of exogamous septs; and the customary connection of a sacred animal with the tribe as a whole is probably late, a result of the high development of chieftainship in Fiji, the chief having imposed his totem on the whole tribe.

Fijian totems have passed or are passing into gods with animal attributes.

"Among these hill tribes it seemed clear that the sacred animals had become gods, which had, however, retained their animal form definitely. I was told by one of the Nadrau people of certain rules of conduct given to them by the bird *qiliyago*, and it would seem that we have here an early stage in the evolution of a god from a totem animal. During a short stay in the Rewa district in the low country, I found a condition showing a later stage in this evolution. Here each village had a deity called *tevoro* with a name which usually showed no sign of an animal origin, but in many cases these deities had the power of turning into animals, and in such cases the people of the village in question were not allowed to eat the animal. Thus, the people of Lasakau, a division of Bau, had a *tevoro* called Butakoivalu, who turned into the *sese*, a bird of the same shape as the *qiliyago*, but of a different colour, being blue with a white breast. The bird could not be eaten, and here, as in the hills, it was clear that the restriction extended to the whole people and was not limited to either of the two divisions of which the Lasakau people are composed. The village of Tokatoka had as *tevoro*, Rokobatidua, lord of one tooth (mentioned by Williams),[1] who could turn into a hawk. The

Deities (*tevoro*) who turn into animals.

[1] "Roko Mbati-ndua, 'the one-toothed lord,' has the appearance of a man with wings instead of arms, and emits sparks of fire in his flight through the air. On his wings are claws with which to catch his victims, and his one tooth, fixed in the lower jaw, rises above his head" (Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*,[2] i. 218). The wings and claws of this deity may well be vestiges of his former character as a hawk.

people of Vunivaivai had as *tevoro* Gonirogo, who could turn into a snake. The *tevoro* of Moana and Naluna were Ranasau and Rokodelana respectively, both of whom were in the habit of turning into the large shark called *qio*."

Fijian totemism throws light on the myths of ancient Egypt and Greece.

Dr. Rivers appears to be unquestionably right in holding that the sacred animals associated with tribes or subdivisions of tribes in Fiji are totems in the process of evolving into gods, and that a more advanced stage in this evolution is represented by the village deities called *tevoro*, which, though no longer conceived as animals, can yet assume at pleasure the shapes of those animals with which they were formerly identical; while the ancient totemic prohibition to eat of the totem survives in the rule which forbids the worshippers of the village god to partake of the particular creature, be it bird, or beast, or fish, into which their deity can thus transform himself. Such transformations throw light on the fables of ancient Egypt and Greece, which describe the metamorphoses of the gods into animals.

Classificatory system of relationship in Fiji.

If the tribal divisions in Fiji no longer observe the rule of exogamy, and thus a characteristic feature of totemism has disappeared, nevertheless a record of the former existence of exogamous classes survives in the classificatory system of relationship, which appears to be universally prevalent among all peoples who retain or have lately lost the totemic organisation. Thus in the generation above his own a Fijian applies the same term *tama-nggu* "my father" to his own father and to his father's brothers; and if he wishes to distinguish between his father's brothers, he calls his father's elder brother "my great father" (*tama-nggu lavu*) and his father's younger brother he calls "my little father" (*tama-nngu lili*). But he applies a different term, namely *vungo-nggu* "my uncle" to his mother's brother. He applies the same term *tina-nggu* "my mother" to his own mother and to his mother's sisters; and he calls the wife of his father's elder brother "my great mother" (*tina-nggu lavu*), and he calls the wife of his father's younger brother "my little mother" (*tina-nggu lailai*). But he applies a different term, namely, *vungo-nggu*, to his father's sister. In her own generation a woman applies the same term *wati-nggu* "my husband" to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In

the generation below his own a man applies the same term *luve-nggu* "my child" to his own children and to his brothers' children; a woman applies the same term *luve-nggu* "my child" to her own child and to her sisters' children.[1] But while a man calls his brothers' children his own children, and a woman calls her sisters' children her own children, a man applies a quite different term (*vungo-nggu* "my nephew" or "my niece") to his sisters' children, and a woman applies quite a different term (*vungo-nggu* "my nephew" or "my niece") to her brothers' children.[2] And corresponding to these differences, whereas the children of two brothers are themselves regarded as brothers and sisters, and are therefore not marriageable with each other, and whereas similarly the children of two sisters are themselves regarded as brothers and sisters, and are therefore not marriageable with each other, on the other hand a man's children are not regarded as the brothers and sisters of his sister's children, and these two sets of children, the offspring of a brother

Distinction between marriageable and not marriageable cousins.

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), pp. 573, 576, from information supplied by the Rev. Lorimer Fison. Morgan's work forms vol. xvii. of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. On the classificatory system in Fiji, see further L. Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 360-371; and Basil H. Thomson, *ibid.* pp. 371-387. A different set of classificatory terms was obtained among the Nandrau people of Fiji by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars. A man applies the same term *kamu* to his father and to his father's brothers; the same term *nau* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; the same terms *tutua* "elder brother" and *tathinggu* "younger brother" to his brothers and to the sons, elder or younger, of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *nganenggu* to his sisters and to the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters; and the same term *luvenggu* to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters both of his brothers and sisters. A man calls his wife *mangua*, but his wife's sisters *veilavi* or *tavali*. A wife calls her husband *mani*, but her husband's brothers *ndaku*. The distinctions thus drawn between a wife and her sisters, and between a husband and his brothers, and the confusion between a man's children and his sister's children, mark the decay of the classificatory system. Dr. Rivers confirms the accuracy of the classificatory terms given by Mr. Lorimer Fison for the coast of Fiji.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 570, 573; Basil H. Thomson, "Concubitancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 372; *id.*, *The Fijians, a Study of the Decay of Custom* (London, 1908), p. 183. The form of the word given by Mr. Thomson (*vugo*) in the former of these two passages differs from that given by Morgan (*vungo*) only in spelling. See above, p. 138, note[1], as to the spelling of Fijian words.

and a sister respectively, are marriageable with each other; indeed they are each other's proper mates. Thus sharply, as regularly happens under the classificatory system, do the Fijians distinguish cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, from cousins who are the children of two brothers or of two sisters. The former, when they are male and female, are born husband and wife to each other; the latter are born brother and sister to each other and may on no account marry. The relation of the former to each other is expressed by the Fijian term *veindavolani*, which means "marriageable," literally "concubitants"; the relation of the latter is expressed by the Fijian term *veinganeni*, which means "not marriageable," literally "those who shun each other."[1] "The young Fijian is from his birth regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. The girls can exercise no choice. They were born the property of their male concubitant if he desire to take them."[2] *Veindavolani* or concubitants "are born husband and wife, and the system assumes that no individual preference could hereafter destroy that relation; but the obligation does no more than limit the choice of a mate to one or other of the females who are concubitants with the man who desires to marry. It is thus true that in theory the field of choice is very large, for the concubitous relation might include third or even fifth cousins, but in practice the tendency is to marry the concubitant who is next in degree—generally a first cousin—the daughter of a maternal uncle."[3]

Veindavolani (marriageable) and *veinganeni* (not marriageable).

It is interesting to observe that whereas first cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are generally in Fiji regarded as the proper mates for each other, "in Lau, Thakaundrove, and the greater part of

In some parts of Fiji first cousins, the children of a brother

[1] L. Fison and Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 360 *sq.*, 371-373; Basil H. Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 182 *sqq.*

[2] Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 373; *id.*, *The Fijians*, p. 184. Elsewhere Mr. Thomson observes that "every man went to his mother's tribe for a wife, and was indeed under an obligation to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother" (in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 343).

[3] Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 375; *id.*, *The Fijians*, pp. 186 *sq.*

Vanualevu, the offspring of a brother and sister respectively do not become concubitant until the second generation. In the first generation they are called *tabu*, but marriage is not actually prohibited."[1] Thus in respect of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, the general Fijian practice resembles that of the Urabunna in recommending or even enjoining their marriage; whereas the practice of Lau, Thakaundrove, and the greater part of Vanualevu resembles that of the Dieri, in discouraging, if not forbidding, the marriage of such first cousins, while at the same time it allows their children, who are second cousins, to marry each other freely.[2] As I have already pointed out the rule which enjoins the consanguineous marriage of certain first cousins is older than the custom which forbids it. The prohibition was another step onward in the exogamous march, another impediment opposed to the freedom of marriage, another degree added to the table of forbidden kin.

and a sister respectively, are not allowed to marry; but second cousins, the offspring of these first cousins, are allowed to do so. This agrees with the practice of the Dieri as against the Urabunna.

It is to be remarked that under the ordinary Fijian rule all a man's female first cousins, the daughters of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers, were equally his concubitants or legitimate wives; in other words, he had the right to marry all his wife's sisters. "This brings us," says Mr. Basil Thomson, "to a fresh starting-point from which the concubitous relationship is established. Since a man who is the concubitant of a woman is necessarily also the concubitant of all her sisters, by a natural evolution, if he marries a woman unrelated to him by blood, and *ipso facto* makes her his concubitant, all her sisters become his concubitants also. In the past they would have been his actual wives, for a man could not take one of several sisters —he was in honour bound to take them all. In the same way a woman and her sisters became the concubitants of all her husband's brothers, and upon his death she passed naturally to her eldest brother-in-law if he cared to take her. This does not imply polyandry or community among brothers, but rather what is known to anthropologists as

Right of a man to marry all his wife's sisters.

[1] Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 190 *sq.*; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 379.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 177 *sq.*, 180 *sq.*, 346.

Levirate, a woman's marriage to her brother-in-law being contingent on her husband's death."[1]

This right, taken with the right of a man to marry his brother's widow, points to a former system of group marriage between a number of brothers on the one side and a number of sisters on the other.

The rule that when a man marries a woman he has a right to marry her sisters also is widespread, notably among the Indians of North America.[2] It is clearly the converse of the rule which assigns a man's widows to his brothers, and as the latter rule points to the marriage of women to a group of brothers,[3] so the former rule points to the marriage of men to a group of sisters. Taken together, the two customs seem to indicate the former prevalence of marriage between a group of husbands who were brothers to each other and a group of wives who were sisters to each other. In practice the custom which permits a man to marry several sisters has diverged in an important respect from the custom which permits a woman to marry several brothers; for whereas the permission granted to a man to marry several sisters simultaneously in their lifetime has survived in many races to this day, the permission granted to a woman to marry several brothers has generally been restricted by the provision that she may only marry them successively, each after the death of his predecessor. We may conjecture that the cause of the divergence between the two customs was the greater strength of the passion of jealousy in men than in women, sisters being more willing to share a husband between them than brothers to share a wife.

Temporary reversions to group marriage in Fiji.

The Fijian classificatory term *veindavolani*, denoting groups of men and women who are by birth potential spouses to each other, corresponds to the *unawa* of the Arunta, the *nupa* of the Urabunna, and the *noa* of the Dieri.[4] And just as in Australia the terms expressive of group marriage coexist with customs which can only be regarded as temporary reversions to an actual practice of group marriage, so it is apparently also in Fiji. On this subject Mr. Fison tells us that "the term *veindavolani* expresses something more than is conveyed by our own

[1] Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 185 *sq.*; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 374 *sq.*

[2] The evidence will be given in the sequel. The custom is practised also by some Australian tribes. See above, vol. i. p. 577, note[2].

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 501 *sqq.*

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 363.

word 'marriageable.' It expresses a *right*, and an *obligation*, as well as a *qualification*; a right which asserts itself clearly enough, even in settled agricultural tribes such as the Fijian, on certain ceremonial occasions. Under ordinary circumstances it is overridden by the later proprietory right conferred by actual marriage or betrothal, but it is still strong enough to assert itself on those occasions when the people deem it necessary to revert for a time, as they say, to the customs of their ancestors." [1]

Revival of group marriage at rites of circumcision.

One of the occasions when the old group rights between men and women are temporarily revived is the celebration of the rites of circumcision. In some parts of Viti Levu, namely in those in which the mysteries of the *nanga* or Stone Enclosure are practised, when a man of note is dangerously ill, the relations meet in council and agree to circumcise a lad as a propitiatory measure. Notice having been given to the priests, an uncircumcised lad, either the sick man's son or one of his brother's sons, is taken by his kinsmen to the *Vale tambu* or God's House and there presented as a *soro*, or offering of atonement, that his father may recover. His escort at the same time make valuable presentations of property and liberal promises of more. The priest graciously accepts both the presents and the promises and appoints a day for the performance of the operation. When the day has come, and the son of the sick chief has been circumcised along with other lads whose friends have agreed to take advantage of the occasion, the bloody foreskins, each stuck in the cleft of a split reed, are taken to the *nanga* or sacred stone enclosure and there presented to the chief priest. Holding the reeds in his hand, the priest presents the foreskins to the ancestral gods, and prays for the sick man's recovery. "Then follows a great feast, which ushers in a period of indescribable revelry. All distinctions of property are for the time being suspended. Men and women array themselves in all manner of fantastic garbs, address one another in the most indecent phrases, and practice unmentionable abominations openly in the public square of the town. The nearest relationships—even that of own brother and sister—seem to be no bar to the

[1] L. Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 367.

general licence, the extent of which may be indicated by the expressive phrase of an old Nandi chief who said, 'While it lasts, we are just like the pigs.' This feasting and frolic may be kept up for several days, after which the ordinary restrictions recur once more. The rights of property are again respected, the abandoned revellers settle down into steady-going married couples, and brothers and sisters may not so much as speak to one another. Nowhere in Fiji, as far as I am aware, excepting in the Nanga country, are these extravagances connected with the rite of circumcision."[1]

On these occasions tribal brothers and sisters were intentionally coupled.

Fuller accounts of the licence permitted on these occasions, based in part on a written statement taken down by Mr. Edward O'Brien Heffernan, Native Advocate and Stipendiary Magistrate, from the lips of a native in presence of the principal chiefs of Nandi, Vunda, and Sambeto, were sent in manuscript by Mr. Fison to Professor E. B. Tylor, who writes on the subject as follows: "The details of indecent dances and rites referred to may be left in MS., but it is of interest, as bearing on the argument as to early communal intercourse, of which such customs may possibly be ceremonial survivals, to notice that their principle is formulated in an accepted native phrase. On the fourth day, when the food is no longer *tabu*, but *tara* (permitted), and the great feast is prepared, it is said that there are no *taukei ni vuaka se alewa* ('owners of pigs or women'). Not only does it appear that the groups of tribal brothers and sisters (using this term according to the native system of kinship) are not excluded from this temporary communion, but another MS. account by Mr. Fison mentions their being intentionally coupled, falling in one behind another in the Nanga procession, with the accompanying chant in the most explicit terms, *Ne cégenía e tu e mata.* This rite seems at least open to interpretation as a remarkable case of 'consanguine marriage' being kept up as a ceremonial institution."[2] Similarly Mr. Fison himself,

[1] Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 27 *sq.* As to the *nanga* or sacred stone enclosure and the rites performed in it, see further A. B. Joske, "The Nanga of Viti-levu," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889) pp. 254-266.

[2] E. B. Tylor, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 28, note [2].

commenting on the temporary licence accorded to the sexes at these times, justly observes: "We cannot for a moment believe that it is a mere licentious outbreak, without an underlying meaning and purpose. It is part of a religious rite, and is supposed to be acceptable to the ancestors. But why should it be acceptable to them unless it were in accordance with their own practice in the far away past?"[1]

In ordinary life brothers and sisters, own or tribal, are forbidden to touch or speak to each other.

The full force of the argument from this coupling together of brothers and sisters in a licentious orgy can only be appreciated when we remember that in Fiji brothers and sisters, whether own or tribal, are in ordinary life forbidden even to touch or to speak to each other. On this subject Mr. Fison tells us that "in Fiji, my sister's son's son looks upon my daughter's daughter or my brother's daughter's daughter as his sister (*ngané*) quite as much as if she were his own sister. He will *nganena* (avoid) her as carefully as if she were the daughter of his own mother. If she enter a house in which he is sitting with his legs extended, he will draw up his feet and look away from her. If he meet her in the path he will ignore her existence. It would be indecent for him to be alone with her, to touch her, or even to speak to her. If he must speak of her, he will not use the term of relationship between them; he will not say 'my *ngane*' (my sister)—he will refer to her as 'one of my kinsfolk.' In short, he makes no distinction between her and his own sister, the daughter of his own father and mother."[2] Similar rules of avoidance, as we have seen, are observed between brothers and sisters in other parts of Melanesia and appear to be only explicable on the hypothesis that they are intended to obviate the danger of incest between these near relations.[3] That hypothesis is rather confirmed than weakened by the Fijian custom which permits and even apparently compels incest between brothers and sisters, whether own or tribal,

The permission or even obligation of incest between

[1] Rev. Lorimer Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 30.

[2] Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 363. Compare Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*[2], i. 136 *sq.*: "Brothers and sisters, first cousins, fathers and sons-in-law, mothers and daughters-in-law, and brothers and sisters-in-law, are thus severally forbidden to speak to each other, or to eat from the same dish."

[3] See above, pp. 77 *sqq.*, 124, 131.

brothers and sisters, own or tribal, as a solemn rite can only be explained as a temporary reversion to an ancient custom.

as a solemn rite; for if such a thing were known to be possible on certain special occasions and it was deemed most desirable, as it was, to prevent it at all other times, we can easily understand why in common life not merely decorum but the most scrupulous reserve should be observed between brothers and sisters. The two extremes of habitual reserve and occasional licence are equally explained by the theory that the licence is a temporary reversion to an old and discredited practice, against the general recrudescence of which the reserve is intended to act as a safeguard. For it is to be borne in mind that notwithstanding the sexual orgy which takes place at circumcision the Fijians, like all the other peoples with whom we have been dealing, hold the incest of brothers with sisters, whether own or tribal, in great horror. If a man in ordinary life were to run off with a girl who stands in the relation of sisterhood (*veinganeni*) to him, even though the sisterhood were not own but tribal, "the whole tribe would be up in arms, for he has brought pollution upon them all, and all are in danger."[1] Thus the very same act which ordinarily is regarded as a crime that endangers the whole tribe is at other times permitted or even enforced as a religious rite for the opposite purpose of propitiating the deified ancestors on whose favour the welfare of the community is believed to depend.[2]

The Fijian custom which gives a man a right to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of

[1] Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 368.

[2] As to the place of ancestor-worship in the religion of Fiji, see Basil H. Thomson, "The *Kalou-Vu* (Ancestor-Gods) of the Fijians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 340-359, who observes (p. 343): "You are not to understand that every man when he died was deified by his sons and grandsons. . . . It was rather the masterful and oppressive chiefs that were deified, because their subjects doubted whether even in death they lost their power to harm. This brings us to the second fact about the gods of Fiji. They were malevolent. Firstly, they had been chiefs of the blood royal who had been masterful and oppressive in life; and secondly, they were malevolent and must be appeased by propitiatory sacrifices. If you pressed a Fijian to say what became of the kind and wise chiefs, he would perhaps say that they too became spirits honoured in the world to come, but that since they were by nature inoffensive there was no object in propitiating them and so they were forgotten." However, Williams distinguishes the *kalou vu*, or gods strictly so-called, who are supposed to be eternal, from the *kalou yalo*, or deified mortals, the spirits of chiefs, heroes, and friends. See Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*,[2] i. 216.

his father's sister, was carefully investigated by Mr. Basil H. Thomson, formerly in charge of one of the Government departments in Fiji. In order to ascertain the frequency of such concubitous (*veindavolani*) marriages and their effect on the offspring he and his coadjutors caused a census to be taken of twelve villages, not selected from one province, but chosen only for convenience of enumeration in the widely separated provinces of Rewa, Colo East, Serna, and Ba. As regards the frequency of marriage between relations, whether first cousins or others, an analysis of the census shewed that the concubitous (*veindavolani*) relations, who had married together and who in nearly every case were actual first cousins, formed 29.7 per cent of the total number of families, and that "the concubitant and other relations who have intermarried number over two-fifths of the people, while one-third of the married people have been brought up together in the same village, and only one-fourth, not being relatives, have come from different towns."[1] With reference to the effect on the offspring, the results of the census shewed that concubitous marriages, that is, the marriages of first cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, were much superior to any of the other marriages as regards both the number and the vitality of the children; for not only were more children born to them, but a larger proportion of the children born survived.[2] "In every respect," says Mr. Basil H. Thomson, "the concubitants appear to be the most satisfactory marriage class";[3] and he adds: "I am aware that the figures are far too small to allow of any generalisation from them, but at the same time, it is to be remembered that the inhabitants of these twelve villages represent a fair sample of the population, and also that we found the relative positions of the married classes to be generally the same in each village taken individually. We have here a phenomenon probably unique in the whole

Frequency and effect of cousin marriage in Fiji.

Superiority of the offspring of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

[1] Basil H. Thomson, "Concubitancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 382 *sq.* Of the relations other than concubitous cousins who have married two-fifths "are near relations, uncle and niece, and non-marriageable cousins-german, brother and sister according to the Fijian ideas. But the remaining three-fifths are more distantly related than are the concubitants" (*ibid.* p. 383).

[2] Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 383.

[3] Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 385.

range of anthropology—a people who for generations have married their first cousins and still continue to do so, and among whom the offspring of first cousins were not only more numerous but have greater vitality than the children of persons unrelated. Nay more, the children of concubitants—of first cousins whose parents were brother and sister—have immense advantages over the children of first cousins who are the offspring of two brothers or two sisters respectively."[1] And in conclusion he asks: "Is the classificatory system of relationships after all more logical in an important respect than our own? Is there really a wide physical difference between the relationship of cousins who are offspring of a brother and sister respectively and that of cousins whose parents respectively were two brothers or two sisters? Ought marriage in the one case to be allowed or even encouraged, and in the other case as rigidly forbidden as if it were incestuous?"[2]

[1] Basil H. Thomson, "Concubitancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 386.

[2] Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 387. The results of Mr. Thomson's investigations into cousin-marriages in Fiji have been republished by him in his book *The Fijians* (London, 1908), pp. 195 *sqq.*

CHAPTER VIII

TOTEMISM IN POLYNESIA

§ 1. *Traces of Totemism in Samoa*

Totemism and exogamy in the Pelew Islands.

IN the wide area occupied by the Polynesian race totemism and exogamy appear to exist, or at all events to be reported, together only in the Pelew Islands, which are situated in the extreme west and are inhabited by the Micronesian branch of the Polynesian family. It is true that in some of the other islands, particularly in Samoa, there exists or existed a system of animal-worship and plant-worship associated with families or clans which bears a close resemblance to totemism, and has probably been developed out of it. But in these islands the system lacks one of the characteristics of ordinary totemism in that the families or clans are not reported to be exogamous; and moreover in Samoa the sacred animals and plants seem certainly to have advanced beyond the stage of totems pure and simple and to have attained to the dignity of gods. Thus it would appear that in this part of Polynesia totemism has developed into a religion. Accordingly, it is better not to speak, as I and others have spoken, of the Samoan system as if it were totemism of the ordinary type.[1] An excellent account of that system has

In Samoa there is a worship of animals and plants which seems to have been developed out of totemism.

[1] In my *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887), which is reprinted above, vol. i. pp. 1 *sqq.*, I spoke of Samoan totems without qualification, though I pointed out (pp. 81 *sq.*) rightly, as I still believe, that in Polynesia and particularly in Samoa, totemism was passing into the worship of anthropomorphic deities with animal or vegetable attributes. Professor E. B. Tylor objects to the application of the term totems to the sacred animals and plants both of Samoa and Fiji ("Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1898) pp. 142 *sq.*), and I so far agree with him that I think I should not have spoken of them as totems without qualification;

been given us by the experienced English missionary Dr. George Turner,[1] and it deserves our attention, since it exhibits what seems to be the passage of pure totemism into a religion of anthropomorphic gods with animal and vegetable attributes, like the deities of ancient Egypt and Greece.

Dr. Turner's account of the household and village gods of Samoa.

Dr. Turner distinguishes the gods of the household from the gods of the village. The following are the general explanations which he gives in regard to both these classes of deities :—

"At his birth a Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some god, or *aitu*, as it was called. The help of several of these gods was probably invoked in succession on the occasion, and the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born was fixed on as the child's god for life.

Animal incarnations of the Samoan household gods.

"These gods were supposed to appear in some *visible incarnation*, and the particular thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan an object of veneration. It was, in fact, his idol, and he was careful

for they are, in my judgment, not normal totems but totems developed or developing into deities. But if, as I understand, Professor Tylor denies all connection between them and totemism, I am unable to follow him. I am not alone in holding that both in Fiji and in Samoa we can detect the passage of pure totemism into religion. Dr. Rivers, as we have seen (pp. 138 *sq.*), is decidedly of this opinion with regard to Fiji. And other experienced observers, the Rev. G. Taplin, the Rev. George Brown, and Mr. R. Parkinson, agree in interpreting the sacred animals and plants of Samoa as totems or survivals of totems. See the Rev. G. Taplin, quoted above, vol. i. pp. 481 *sq.* ; the Rev. G. Brown, "On Totemism in New Britain and Samoa," *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 137. ("We have both in New Britain and in Samoa customs which certainly appear to be survivals of totemism," etc.); R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 673 ("*Auch auf einigen polynesischen Inseln finden wir Überreste einer Institution, welche ich nur als Totem deuten kann. So hatte auf Samoa jede bedeutende Familie irgend ein Tier*," etc.). That Dr. George Turner, to whose admirable work we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the Samoan religion, should not have compared the sacred animals and plants of the Samoans to the totems of the North American Indians and other savages is not surprising when we remember how little attention the subject of totemism had received even from anthropologists at the time (1884) when his book was published. It was not to be expected that a missionary engaged in his own absorbing work in remote islands of the Pacific should make himself acquainted with the latest results of comparative anthropology and mythology.

[1] George Turner, LL.D., *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before*, with a preface by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S. (London, 1884). Much of the information contained in this very valuable book had already been published by the author in an earlier work (*Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, by the Rev. George Turner, London, 1861).

never to injure it or treat it with contempt. One, for instance, saw his god in the eel, another in the shark, another in the turtle, another in the dog, another in the owl, another in the lizard, and so on throughout all the fish of the sea, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. In some of the shell-fish, even, gods were supposed to be present. A man would eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but the incarnation of his own particular god he would consider it death to injure or eat. The god was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body, and causing to generate there the very thing which he had eaten, until it produced death. This class of genii, or tutelary deities, they called *aitu fale*, or gods of the house.

The father of the family was the priest of the household god.

"The father of the family was *the high priest*, and usually offered a short prayer at the evening meal, that they might all be kept from fines, sickness, war, and death. Occasionally, too, he would direct that they have a family feast in honour of their household gods; and on these occasions a cup of their intoxicating ava draught was poured out as a drink-offering. They did this in their family house, where they were all assembled, supposing that their gods had a spiritual presence there, as well as in the material objects to which we have referred. Often it was supposed that the god came among them and spoke through the father or some other member of the family, telling them what to do in order to remove a present evil or avert a threatened one. Sometimes it would be that the family should get a canoe built and keep it sacred to the god. They might travel in it and use it themselves, but it was death to sell or part with a canoe which had been built specially for the god.

Samoan village gods.

"*Another class of Samoan deities* may be called gods of the town or village. Every village had its god, and every one born in that village was regarded as the property of that god. I have got a child for so-and-so, a woman would say on the birth of her child, and name the village god. There was a small house or temple also consecrated to the deity of the place. Where there was no formal temple, the great house of the village, where the chiefs were in the habit of assembling, was the temple for the time being, as occasion

required. Some settlements had a sacred grove as well as a temple, where prayers and offerings were presented.

Samoan temples.

"*In their temples* they had generally something for the eye to rest upon with superstitious veneration. In one might be seen a conch shell, suspended from the roof in a basket made of cinnet network; and this the god was supposed to blow when he wished the people to rise to war. In another, two stones were kept. In another, something resembling the head of a man, with white streamers flying, was raised on a pole at the door of the temple, on the usual day of worship. In another, a cocoa-nut shell drinking cup was suspended from the roof, and before it prayers were addressed and offerings presented. This cup was also used in oaths. If they wished to find out a thief, the suspected parties were assembled before the chiefs, the cup sent for, and each would approach, lay his hand on it, and say, 'With my hand on this cup, may the god look upon me, and send swift destruction, if I took the thing which has been stolen.' The stones and the shells were used in a similar way. Before this ordeal, the truth was rarely concealed. They firmly believed that it would be death to touch the cup and tell a lie.

Priests of village gods.

"*The priests* in some cases were the chiefs of the place; but in general some one in a particular family claimed the privilege, and professed to declare the will of the god. His office was hereditary. He fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deity, received the offerings, and thanked the people for them. He decided also whether or not the people might go to war.

Offerings to Samoan gods.

"*The offerings* were principally cooked food. The first cup was in honour of the god. It was either poured out on the ground or waved towards the heavens. The chiefs all drank a portion out of the same cup, according to rank; and after that the food brought as an offering was divided and eaten there before the god. This feast was annual, and frequently about the month of May. In some places it passed off quietly; in others it was associated with games, sham-fights, night-dances, etc., and lasted for days. In time of war special feasts were ordered by the priests. Of the offerings on war occasions women and children were

forbidden to partake, as it was not their province to go to battle. They supposed it would bring sickness and death on the party eating who did not go to the war, and hence were careful to bury or throw into the sea whatever food was over after the festival. In some cases the feasts in honour of the god were regulated by the appearance in the settlement of the bird which was thought to be the incarnation of the god. Whenever the bird was seen the priest would say that the god had come, and fix upon a day for his entertainment.

Animal incarnations of the Samoan village gods.

"The village gods, like those of the household, had all some particular incarnation: one was supposed to appear as a bat, another as a heron, another as an owl. If a man found a dead owl by the roadside, and if that happened to be the incarnation of his village god, he would sit down and weep over it, and beat his forehead with stones till the blood flowed. This was thought pleasing to the deity. Then the bird would be wrapped up and buried with care and ceremony, as if it were a human body. This, however, was not the death of the god. He was supposed to be yet alive, and incarnate in all the owls in existence. The flight of these birds was observed in time of war. If the bird flew before them, it was a signal to go on; but if it crossed the path, it was a bad omen, and a sign to retreat. Others saw their village god in the rainbow, others saw him in the shooting star; and in time of war the position of a rainbow and the direction of a shooting star were always ominous."[1]

From this account it appears that what Dr. Turner calls the household god was determined for each person at birth, and that consequently a person's household god need not be that of his father or of his mother or of his brothers and sisters; every member of a family might have a different household god. However, a preference was apparently given first to the household god of the father and next to that of the mother. For when a woman was about to be delivered of a child, her father or her husband generally prayed to the household god of the child's father first; but if the birth was tedious or difficult, he would invoke the god of the mother's family; and when the child was born, the mother

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 17-21.

would call out, "Whom were you praying to?" and the god prayed to just before was carefully remembered and its incarnation duly acknowledged throughout the future life of the child.[1]

Examples of Samoan household gods.

"Child of the Moon."

The following are examples of the household gods of Samoa. The name of one household god was "Child of the Moon" (*Aloimasina*) and the god was seen in the moon. When the new moon appeared in the sky, all the members of the family called out, "Child of the moon, you have come." They assembled also, and presented offerings of food, and feasted together, and joined in the prayer:

Oh, child of the moon!
Keep far away
Disease and death.[2]

"The Long God."

Another household deity was called "the Long God" (*Leatualoa*), and was seen in the centipede. A tree near the house was the abode of the divine insect; and when one of the family was sick he used to spread a mat under the tree and draw an omen of recovery or death according as a centipede crawled over or under it.[3]

"The Red Liver."

Another family god bore the title of "the Red Liver" (*O le Auma*), and he was seen or was incarnate in the wild pigeon. If any visitor staying with the family roasted a pigeon, some member of the household had to pay the penalty by being wrapt up in leaves and laid in a cool oven, as if he were about to be baked. That was intended to appease the wrath of the god at the roasting of a pigeon. The use of the reddish-seared leaves of the bread-fruit was also thought to be insulting to this deity, and no member of the family might employ them for any purpose under pain of suffering from rheumatic swellings and an eruption like chicken-pox all over his body.[4]

"Ends of taro leaves."

Another family god was called "Ends of the taro leaves" (*Iulautalo*). To him the ends of leaves and of other things were sacred and might not be handled or used in any way by members of the family. In daily life it was no small trouble to this household to cut off the ends of all the taro,

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 78 *sq.*
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 67.
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 69.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp 69 *sq.*

bread-fruit, and coco-nut leaves which they needed for cooking. Ends of taro, yams, bananas, fish, etc., were also carefully laid aside and considered as unfit for food as if they had been poison. In case of sickness, however, the god allowed or even required that the patient should be fanned with the ends of coco-nut leaflets.[1]

"Chief of Fiji."

Another household god was called "the Chief of Fiji" (*O le alii o fiti*) and shewed himself in the shape of an eel; hence eels were never eaten by the household. They offered him the first-fruits of their taro plantations.[2] Another family had a god whom they called Vave, and he also was incarnate in the eel. When one of the family was ill, they prayed to Vave, and if next morning they found an eel among their household stuff, it was an omen of death.[3] Another household had its god in a tree with sweet-scented yellow flowers (*Conanga Odorata*), and the native name (*moso'oi*) of the tree was the name of the god.[4] Another family had two gods embodied in pig's heart and octopus, and Pig's Heart and Octopus (*fatupuaa ma le fe'e*) were accordingly the names bestowed on these divine beings. Men, women, and children of the family were most scrupulous never to eat either pig's heart or octopus, believing that to do so would be to swallow a germ of a living pig's heart or octopus, by which the insulted gods would bring about the death of the sacrilegious eater.[5]

Other Samoan gods of families.

Another family god bore the name (*pua*) of a large tree (*Hernandia Peltata*) and lived in the tree, of which accordingly no member of the family dared to pluck a leaf or break a branch. The same god was also incarnate in the octopus and likewise in the land crab, and if one of these crabs crawled into the house, it was a sign that the head of the household would die.[6] Another family god called Samani was seen in the turtle, the sea eel, the octopus, and the garden lizard. Any one who ate or injured any of these creatures had either to make-believe to be baked in an unheated oven or else to drink rancid oil as a penance and a purgative.[7] A household god in several families was called

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 70.
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 70 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 66.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 71.
[5] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.
[6] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.
[7] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.

Soesai. In one he was seen in the domestic fowl; in another his incarnations were the eel, the octopus, and the turtle. Prayers for life and recovery were offered to him in great danger and also at child-birth.[1] Again, another god named Tongo had different animals for his incarnations in different families. In one family he was incarnate in the bat and had a partiality for turmeric. In another he was incarnate in the stinging ray fish. If the family heard that a neighbour had caught a fish of that sort, they would go and beg him to give it up and not to cook it. If he refused, they fought him. In a third family Tongo was incarnate in a mullet, and if a member of the family ate a mullet he fell ill and squinted.[2] The mullet and the stinging ray fish were also the incarnations of another household god called Moso. If any member of the family tasted of these sacred fish, he had to drain a cup of the dregs of rancid oil as a punishment and to stay the wrath of the god. But if visitors or friends caught one of the sacred fish, whether a stinging ray or a mullet, a child of the family would be laid down in a cold oven as a peace-offering to the deity for the indignity done to him by the strangers.[3] Similarly a family god called "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) was incarnate in the cuttle-fish in one family, in the mullet in a second, and in the turtle in a third. If one of these incarnations had been cooked in the family oven, whether by a member of the family or by a stranger, the oven could not be used again till some one had been laid in it as a mock burnt-offering. It was death to the family to use the desecrated oven without performing this expiation.[4] The god Moso seems to have been a veritable Proteus or Vishnu in respect of the number of his avatars or incarnations. Not content with appearing to one family, as we have seen, as a mullet and a stinging ray fish, he appeared to another as a pigeon, to another as a domestic fowl, to another as a cuttle-fish, to another as a creeper-bird called *fuia* (*Sturnoides atrifusca*), and to another as a man. The human incarnation of this deity helped himself to food from the plantations of his neighbours. If they chased him, he disappeared out of their

The god Tongo.

"Tide gently rising."

The god Moso and his many incarnations.

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 74.
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 74 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 38.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 59.

sight, from which they inferred that he was a god, and prayed and sacrificed to him accordingly.[1] The household god, "Tide gently rising," likewise presented himself to one family in the likeness of a man, a member of the family, who used to be consulted by his kinsfolk as an oracle on all occasions of importance. If his answers were not to their liking, they might turn and beat him. In another place the same god "Tide gently rising" was incarnate in an old man, who acted as the doctor of the family. The neighbours also brought their sick to him to be healed. His principal remedy was to rub the affected part with oil, to shout "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) five times in a loud voice, and five times to call on the god to come and heal.[2]

"King of Chiefs."

Another family god, who bore the high-sounding title of "King of Chiefs" (*Tuialii*) had the sea eel, the octopus, and the mullet for his incarnations; and he was moreover seen in the ends of banana leaves. If any one used the end of a banana leaf as a cap, he was punished with baldness. All the children born in this family were called by the name of their god.[3]

Butterfly god.

Another god called Taumanupepe, which means "fight creature butterfly," was incarnate in butterflies. If any member of the household caught or killed a butterfly, he was liable to be struck dead by the god.[4] Again, in one of the villages of Aana there was a household which had the fresh-water prawn or crayfish (*ulavai*) for its god. The reason was said to be that once upon a time a woman had been bathing and was brought to bed prematurely. When she told her friends, they searched for the child but could find only an unusually large number of prawns or crayfishes, into which they imagined that the infant must have been changed. From that time they began to regard the crayfish as the incarnation of a new household god, to offer it food, and to pray to it for the prosperity of the family.[5]

The god Sepo and his various incarnations.

Again there was a household god named Sepo, who assumed different animal shapes in different families. An inland family in Upolu called him "Lord of the mountain" and believed him to be incarnate in the domestic fowl and

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 36 *sqq.*
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 58 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 75 *sq.*
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 76.
[5] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 77.

the pigeon. Another family saw him in a very small fish, which is hard to catch; and a third family discerned the deity in the prickly sea-urchin. The penalty for eating this last incarnation was that a prickly sea-urchin grew inside the body of the eater and killed him.[1] A similar penalty was exacted by other household gods for similar offences.

The cuttle-fish god.

Thus there was a family which had the cuttle-fish (*fe'e*) for their household god. If any visitor caught a cuttle-fish and cooked it, or if any member of a family had been where a cuttle-fish was eaten, the family would meet in consultation and choose a man or woman to go and lie down in a cold oven and be covered with leaves, as if he or she were being baked, this being a peace-offering to avert the wrath of the divine cuttle-fish. And while the man or woman was lying in his leafy shroud in the oven, the rest of the family engaged in prayer, saying, "O bald-headed cuttle-fish, forgive what has been done—it was all the work of a stranger." If they did not thus humble themselves before the cuttle-fish, they thought that he would come and cause a cuttle-fish to grow in their insides and so be the death of them.[2]

The turtle god.

Again, in another family the household god was called "Sacred Fulness" (*Apelesa*) and was incarnate in the turtle. A member of the family dared not eat a turtle, but he might help a neighbour to cut up and cook one; only while he was doing so he kept a bandage tied over his mouth, lest an embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and cause his death.[3] Again, there was a family god called Salevao, who was incarnate in the eel and the turtle. If any member of the family was rash enough to consume an eel or a turtle, he was taken ill, and before he died the god was heard to say from his inside, "I am killing this man; he ate my incarnation."[4]

Samoan village gods.

So much for the family or houschold gods of Samoa. The following are examples of the general village gods.

The cockle god.

There was a village god called Nonia who was supposed to be incarnate in the cockle. If any person of the village picked up a cockle on the shore and carried it away, a cockle would appear on some part of his body; if he ate the shell-fish, it would grow on his nose. May was the

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 51.
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 31 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 67 *sq.*
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 50 *sq.*

month when the cockle-god was specially worshipped with feasts and prayers; for that is the time when the wet season changes into the dry, and coughs and other ailments are then prevalent. On the days of worship the people of the village went about with bundles of cockles and through them prayed to their cockle-god.[1] The people of a small island saw their god in the sea-eel (*Maraena*), on which they bestowed the title of "Beginner of the Heavens" (*Fuai langi*). If a sea-eel were cast up on the beach by a gale or a great wave, it boded ill and the whole people were in commotion.[2] Some villages worshipped twin gods called "the Lizard and the Stone" (*pili ma le maa*) in time of war, famine, and pestilence. The month of May was specially appointed as the season for prayer and sacrifice. The lizard was the guiding incarnation, and lizards were carefully watched in time of war. If a lizard darted across the path before the warriors, they faced about and returned home at once; but if it ran on ahead of them they advanced cheerfully to meet the enemy. Another way of taking omens from a lizard was this. The middle post of the great house was wrapt in coco-nut leaves from the floor to the ridge-pole, and the chiefs assembled and watched it. If a lizard ran straight down the leafy pole, it was a good omen; but if it took a zigzag course, it was a bad sign, and fighting was suspended.[3] A village god in Upolu bore the name of Swift (*tili tili*) and was seen in the lightning, and omens were drawn from lightning in time of war. If the flashes were frequent, it meant that the god had come to help and direct his people. If the lightning played constantly over a particular spot, it was a warning that the enemy was lurking there in ambush. Continual flashes in front shewed that the foe was being repulsed; but if the lightning came from the front backwards, it betokened danger and was an order to retreat.[4] Another village god bore the name of Shade (*faamalu*) and was seen in a cloud or shade. If a cloud went before the army marching to war, they advanced boldly; but if the clouds were behind them, they were afraid. In time of war the same deity was also represented

The sea-eel god.

"The Lizard and the Stone."

The lightning god.

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 40 *sq.*
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 32.
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 44.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 59 *sq.*

by a fish, the movements of which were watched and served as omens. But in ordinary life the god was represented by a trumpet-shell. In the month appointed for the annual worship, all the people met in the place of public assembly with heaps of cooked food. First, they made offerings and prayed to the god to avert calamities and give prosperity; then they feasted with and before their god, and after that any strangers present might eat.[1]

Village gods in stones.

Some village gods were believed to reside in stones, and such deities were apparently associated especially with rain and the fertility of the ground. Thus, for example, two oblong smooth stones stood on a raised platform of loose stones inland of a village. They were thought to be the father and mother of Saato, a god who controlled the rain. Offerings of cooked taro and fish, accompanied by prayers, were laid on these stones to secure a spell of fine weather; and when food was scarce and the people went to search for wild yams, they would give a yam to the stones, because they thought that these gods caused the yams to grow and could lead them to the places where the edible roots grew most plentifully.[2] Again, in another village two smooth stones were guarded with great care in a temple. One of them was believed to create the yams, the bread-fruit, and the coco-nuts; the other sent fish to the net.[3] In another village a stone was housed as the representative of a rain-making god. When rain was wanted, the priest and his followers, arrayed in fine mats, carried the stone to a stream, dipped it in the water, and prayed for rain. But when the weather was rainy and they wished to make it fine, they laid the stone by the fire and kept it hot till the clouds rolled away and the rain was over.[4]

Village gods incarnate in men.

In Savaii some village gods were believed to be incarnate in men. One of these human incarnations was a cannibal, and human flesh used to be laid before him whenever he called for it. His power extended to several villages and his descendants were traced down to the time when Dr. Turner wrote.[5] Another village god in Savaii was supposed

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 26 *sq.*
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 24 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 44 *sq.*
[4] G. Turner, p. 45.
[5] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 48 *sq.*

to be incarnate in a man who walked about unseen by the people. But strangers could see him in the likeness of a handsome young man with a girdle of leaves. He bore the name of Tuifiti or "King of Fiji." His special abode was a grove of large trees (*Afzelia bijuga*), which nobody dared to fell. They say that a party from Upolu once tried to cut timber in the sacred grove, but blood flowed from the tree and all the sacrilegious strangers fell ill and died.[1]

Worship of the cuttle-fish god.

Some of the village gods were identical, at least in name, with the family or household gods. Thus the cuttle-fish (*fe'e*) was a general village god in some places. In one village the month of May was sacred to him. No traveller might then pass through the village by the public road, and no canoe might appear in the lagoon. There was much feasting, and athletic sports, such as club-exercise, spear-throwing, and wrestling, were held. A new temple was also built at this time, and every man, woman, and child had to contribute something towards it, if it were only a stick or reed for the thatch. While some of the people built the temple, the rest fought each other in good earnest with a view to settle any old scores that might be outstanding. He who got most wounds was thought to be most favoured of the god. The fighting ended with the completion of the temple; and if at any other time neighbours quarrelled and came to blows, the god viewed them with displeasure, because they had not saved up their difference for the day of the year on which his temple was built.[2] In another district the worship of the cuttle-fish lasted three months. Any one who passed along the road or paddled his canoe in the lagoon during that sacred season would be beaten, if not killed, for insulting the god. For the first month torches and all other lights were forbidden, because the deity was about and did not wish to be seen. At this time, also, all unsightly projecting burdens, such as a log of wood on the shoulder, were prohibited, lest the divine cuttle-fish should take umbrage at these things as an impious mockery of his tentacles.[3] Again, "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) was the deity of a whole district in Upolu as well as of particular

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 62 *sq.* [2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 29 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 30.

Worship of the goddess "Tide gently rising."

families. She was said to have been a lady who went away among the gods and was worshipped first by her family and then by all the people of the land. The bat was one of her incarnations, and bats flew about her temple in unusual numbers in time of war. One of them flying ahead of the troops was a good omen. If a neighbour killed a bat, a war might follow to wipe out the insult in blood. Another representative of this deity was a shrub (*Ascarina lanceolata*). June was the usual month for her worship. All kinds of food from land and sea were provided for a feast, but only the priest's family might partake of it. Whatever they could not eat was buried at the beach. After that the people battered each other's scalps with clubs till the blood streamed down over their faces and bodies. Old and young, men, women, and children all took part in the scrimmage. The blood shed was regarded as an offering which pleased the deity, and induced her to grant their prayers for health, good crops, and victory.[1]

Worship of the god Moso.

Once more the god Moso, who took so many forms,[2] was a village god in one place and represented by a stone on which travellers laid scented wreaths as offerings. In another place he was represented by a large wooden bowl called "sudden death" (*lipi*), because curses shrieked by the priest over the bowl consigned thieves and other undetected miscreants to instant destruction.[3] Again, one of the kings of the district of Atua was supposed to be the god Moso by night and far away, but in the daytime he moved about in the likeness of a mortal man among men.[4]

Samoan war-gods and their incarnations.

Besides their family or household gods and their village gods the Samoans had also war-gods, who in character resembled the other deities, being commonly thought to be incarnate in animals or embodied in inanimate objects.

War-gods incarnate in owls.

Thus there was a war-god called "Destruction" (*Fanonga*), who was supposed to be incarnate in the Samoan owl (*Strix delicatula*). In time of war, offerings were presented to a pet owl, which was kept for the purpose. If it hovered over the troops on the march, it was a good omen; but if it flew away towards the enemy, it was thought that the god had

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 56 *sq.*
[2] Above, p. 158.
[3] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 30 *sq.*, 36.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 36 *sq.*

gone to join the foe. If a dead owl was found under a tree in the village, all the people assembled on the spot, burned their bodies with firebrands, and beat their foreheads with stones till the blood flowed by way of testifying their sorrow. Yet the god was not dead; he still lived and moved about in all the other owls of the country.[1] Another war-god named "Mangrove" (*Tongo*) was also incarnate in an owl and gave omens to the warriors by his flight. If a dead owl were found under a tree, the person who discovered it would at once cover it with native white cloth. Then all the people of the village would gather round the dead owl, and sitting down would beat and bruise their foreheads with stones as an offering of blood to the god, while they raised the death wail to testify to the deity their sorrow at the calamity which had befallen him. Yet their god was not dead: he continued to live in all the surviving owls.[2] Other war-gods were deemed to be incarnate in herons, king-fishers, rail-birds (*Rallus Pectoralis*), and the *Porphyris Samoensis*, and omens were drawn in time of war from the flight or appearance of these birds.[3] Another war-god called "Swift" (*Vave*) was incarnate in a pigeon, which was carefully kept and fed by the different members of a family in turn. But the special residence of the god was an old tree, which was a place of refuge for murderers and others whose life was forfeit in the eyes of the law. A criminal who reached the tree was safe. The avenger of blood might pursue him no further.[4] The large bat or flying-fox was the incarnation of a war-god "Sepo the Strong" in Savaii; if it flew before the warriors, all was well, but if it turned round and shut up the way, it was a warning to go back.[5] In a number of villages the war-god Salevao was incarnate in a dog, generally a white one. If the beast wagged his tail, barked, and dashed ahead in sight of the enemy, the omen was good; but if he slunk back or howled, it was bad.[6] In other villages the war-god was incarnate in a lizard; and before the warriors went out to

War-gods incarnate in pigeons, bats, dogs, and lizards.

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 25 *sq.*
[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 60 *sq.*
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 48, 52, 54 *sq.*, 61, 64, 65.
[4] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 64.
[5] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 51.
[6] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 49.

battle, omens were drawn from the movements of a lizard in a bundle of spears. If the reptile ran about the points of the spears and the outside of the bundle, the omen was favourable; but it was unfavourable if the animal crept for concealment into the middle of the bundle.[1] Two different war-gods were believed to be in the rainbow, and in war the position or brightness of a rainbow was ominous of victory or defeat.[2] Once more, another war-god was represented by a long spear made of coco-nut wood to which the people made offerings and prayed. They carried the spear with them on the war-fleet as a sign that the god was with them. In time of peace the god acted as a good physician, healing sickness on receipt of his fee, which took the shape of prayer and sacrifice.[3]

Rainbow and spear gods.

The Samoan worship of animals, plants, and other natural objects appears to have been developed out of totemism but not to be totemism pure and simple.

From the foregoing summary it appears plainly that the Samoan worship of animals, plants, and other natural objects was not pure totemism. For in pure totemism there is nothing that can properly be described as worship of the totems. Sacrifices are not presented to them, nor prayers offered, nor temples built, nor priests appointed to minister to them. In a word, totems pure and simple are never gods, but merely species of natural objects united by certain intimate and mystic ties to groups of men. But in the Samoan system the worshipful beings are clearly gods. The people pray and sacrifice to them, hold festivals in their honour, build temples and maintain priests for their worship. Some of the deities are purely anthropomorphic, since they appear in human form and are incarnate in living men. But most of them retain a close affinity with natural objects, especially with various species of animals, in which they are believed to be incarnate. It is a reasonable hypothesis that this affinity with natural objects and particularly with species of animals is a survival of totemism; in other words that the Samoan gods, or most of them, have been developed directly out of totems. The hypothesis is necessarily incapable of demonstration, but it seems to explain the curiously complex Samoan pantheon in a simple and natural way. The reverence shewn by families for species of animals which

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 46 *sq.* [2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 43.
[3] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 61 *sq.*

they are forbidden to injure or eat is parallel to the reverence which totemic people exhibit for their totems; the story that a family worships crayfishes because an ancestress gave birth to crayfishes, or at all events to a child which turned into crayfishes,[1] resembles the stories told by many totem clans of their descent from their totemic animals; and, further, the belief that to eat or otherwise injure a sacred animal may be punished by the growth of an animal of the same sort in the body of the culprit has its analogies among the totemic tribes of Australia.[2]

No exogamous classes in Samoa.

In regard to marriage we are told that exogamous classes do not exist in Samoa, and that the only restrictions on marriage are those which bar the union of relatives, the Samoan table of prohibited degrees being more extensive and stringent than ours. However, it was a common practice in the old days for a man in his wife's lifetime to take her sister or sisters as concubines.[3]

§ 2. *Traces of Totemism in Rotuma*

Family gods with animal incarnations in Rotuma.

To the west of Samoa and north-west of Fiji lies the island of Rotuma, the natives of which are Polynesians. The island was formerly divided into five districts, and these districts "were subdivided into *hoag*, a name applied to all the houses of a family, which were placed together, forming, if the family was a large one, a small village; it is also applied to the family itself. Each of these *hoag* had a name, which was conferred on one member of the *hoag*, who was invariably *ipso facto* its head, or *pure*."[4] Each family or clan, as we may perhaps call these *hoag*, had its *atua* or god, who was usually incarnate in some species of animal,

[1] See above, p. 159.

[2] See above, pp. 428 *sq.*, 482.

[3] Rev. George Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories illustrated and compared* (in manuscript). Dr. Brown lived many years in Samoa and is intimately acquainted with the people and their customs. Compare W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 160.

[4] J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) pp. 428, 429. As to the physical characteristics of the natives Mr. Gardiner says: "Here and there individuals could be picked out typical of Samoa and Tonga; but I have seen none, save direct descendants of Fijians, that had curly hair or any appearance approximating to that of the Melanesian" (*op. cit.* p. 408).

such as the hammer-headed shark (*tanifa*), the sandpiper (*juli*), the lizard (*olusi*), the gecko (*mafrop*), and so on. If a man happened to kill one of the animals in which his god was incarnate he had to make a great feast, cut all his hair off, and bury it just in the same way that a man would be buried. But the members of a family or clan (*hoag*) were free to kill the sacred animals of other families; for it was only their own god (*atua*) who had power over them. The hammer-headed shark (*tanifa*) was the god, or the incarnation of the god, of the district or village of Maftau. He had a priest (*apioiitu*) who officiated on all great occasions, and a priestess whose business it was to heal sickness and remedy all minor ills. People were forbidden to sing and dance round the priest's house. When Maftau was in trouble or going to war, a great feast would be held and the best of everything would be thrown into the sea for the hammer-headed shark. These offerings comprised a root of kava, a pig, taro, yams, and always a coco-nut leaf. Much uncooked food was also given to the priest, who would presently come out of his house, smeared with paint, foaming at the mouth, and quivering all over. He would perhaps drain a bowl of kava, tear a pig in pieces and eat it raw, or take great mouthfuls of uncooked yams, the taste of which is exceedingly fiery. Then he would fall down in horrible convulsions and speak oracularly; for the hammer-headed shark was now supposed to be in him and to speak with his voice. For the time being he was all-powerful, and whatever he told the people they had to do; but when he came to himself he forgot what he had said in the state of possession and was an ordinary man again. The priestess healed sickness by falling into a frenzy and driving out the devil which was troubling the patient, for which she received a pig and a mat as payment. The god of Matusa, another village or district of Rotuma, was the stinging ray (*hoie*), which is common on the reef. An old man of the priestly family claimed that these fish used to come round him on the reef and follow him about.[1]

Priest and priestess of the hammer-headed shark.

Priest of the stinging ray fish.

From this account, for which we are indebted to Mr. J.

[1] J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) pp. 467 *sq.*

Stanley Gardiner, it would seem that the religious system of Rotuma closely resembled that of Samoa; in both we see family gods incarnate in species of animals which are sacred to all the members of the family; in both, too, it is believed that the gods may be at least temporarily incarnate in human beings and speak with their voice.

Resemblance of the religious system of Rotuma to that of Samoa.

In the island of Rotuma, as among the Dieri, second cousins were allowed to marry each other if they were the grandchildren of a brother and sister respectively, but not if they were the grandchildren of two brothers or of two sisters.[1]

Cousin marriages in Rotuma.

The natives of Rotuma have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *oi-fa* "my father" to his father, to his father's brothers, to his mother's brothers, to the husbands of his father's sisters, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *oi-hon-i* "my mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, to his father's sisters, to the wives of his father's brothers, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *sa-si-gi* "my brother" and *sag-hon-i* "my sister" to his brothers and sisters and to all his first cousins, namely, to the sons and daughters of his father's brothers, to the sons and daughters of his father's sisters, to the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers, and to the sons and daughters of his mother's sisters. He calls his wife *hoi-e-na* or *hen*, "my wife"; but he calls his wife's sister *hom-fu-e*, "my sister-in-law." A wife calls her husband *ve-ven-i* "my husband," but she calls her husband's brother *hom-fu-e*, "my brother-in-law." In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *le-e fa* "my son" and *le-e hon-i* "my daughter" to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters of his brothers and to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *le-e fa* "my son" and *le-e hon-i* "my daughter" to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters

Classificatory system of relationship in Rotuma.

[1] J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 478. As to the marriage of second cousins among the Dieri, see above, vol. i. p. 346.

of her sisters and to the sons and daughters of her brothers.[1]

Thus the Rotuman form of the classificatory system distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. On the other hand it confuses the mother's brothers and the husbands of the father's sisters with the father: it confuses the father's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers with the mother: it confuses all first cousins, whether the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister respectively, under the appellation of "brothers" and "sisters"; and it confuses all nephews and nieces, whether the children of brothers or of sisters, under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters." We may safely assume that a form of the classificatory system which distinguishes a wife's sister from a wife, and a husband's brother from a husband, is later than one which, like the Australian, confuses a wife's sister with a wife and a husband's brother with a husband.[2] But what are we to say of the confusion of the mother's brothers and of the father's sisters' husbands with the father? of the confusion of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers' wives with the mother? of the confusion of all first cousins under the appellations of "brothers" and "sisters"? of the confusion of all nephews and nieces under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters" of their uncles and aunts? Is the Polynesian form of the classificatory system, which confounds these relationships, earlier or later than the Australian form which distinguishes them? L. H. Morgan, the discoverer of the classificatory system of relationship, believed that the Polynesian, or, as he chose to call it, the Malayan, form of the classificatory system was the earlier of the two; indeed that it is the absolutely primitive form of the system. His reasons for thinking so were in brief these. The confusion of the mother's brother with the father and of the father's

Thus the Rotuman form of the classificatory system distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. On the other hand it confuses the mother's brother with the father, and the father's sister with the mother; it confuses all cousins as "brothers" and "sisters," and all nephews and nieces as "sons" and "daughters." Morgan thought that these confusions were primitive and originated in the group marriage of own brothers to their own

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 419-423. The Rotuma terms of relationship are reported by Morgan on the authority of the Rev. John Osborn, Wesleyan missionary at Rotuma (*op. cit.* p. 403, note [1]). A brief indication of the classificatory system of relationship in Rotuma is given by Mr. J. Stanley Gardiner in his statement that "the term *oifa* applies to the father or uncle, and *oihoni* to the mother or aunt" ("The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 478).

[2] See vol. i. pp. 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, etc.

sister with the mother appears to point to the marriage of brothers with their own sisters; and this form of marriage was assumed by him to be the first stage in the advance from a former condition of unlimited sexual promiscuity. On his theory the first limitation imposed on a state of absolute sexual communism was the custom which restricted men to cohabitation with their own sisters instead of allowing them to cohabit with all women indifferently. This marriage of a group of own brothers with their own sisters gave rise, in Morgan's opinion, to the oldest form of the human family, namely, to the consanguine family, as he called it, out of which he believed all other forms of the family to have been afterwards developed. The evidence for the former wide prevalence of this marriage of own brothers with own sisters in groups was mainly, almost exclusively, drawn by Morgan from the Polynesian or, as he called it, the Malayan form of the classificatory system with its characteristic confusion of the mother's brother with the father, of the father's sister with the mother, and of a brother's children with his sister's children.[1] But in recent years Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, arguing from similar confusions in other forms of the classificatory system, particularly the forms which prevail among the Torres Straits' Islanders, the Kurnai of South-East Australia, and the Two Mountain Iroquois of North America, has made it highly probable that the confusion of these relationships in the Polynesian form of the classificatory system is not early but late, and that it marks the decadence rather than the primitiveness of the system.[2] If he is right, as I believe him to be, Morgan's principal, almost his only, argument in favour of the former wide prevalence of a form of group marriage in which the husbands were own brothers and their wives were their own sisters, falls to the ground. It does not, of course, follow that the theory of the former prevalence of such group marriages is false because the argument on which it has been rested is weak or nugatory; but it does follow that if the theory is to be accepted as

sisters; but more probably they are late and mark the decadence of the classificatory system.

1 See L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 385 *sq.*, 401 *sq.*, 408 *sq.*, 412 *sq.*

2 W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 310-315.

proved or probable it must be supported by other evidence. To this subject we shall recur later on in this work.

§ 3. *Traces of Totemism in Hawaii and Tahiti*

In Hawaii gods were thought to be embodied in animals, trees, stones, etc.

A system of gods embodied in animals, trees, stones, and so forth appears to have obtained in Hawaii. At least this is suggested by the following passage from a history of Hawaii which was composed by natives in their own language in the year 1820, and was printed by the natives themselves at Lahainaluna, in the island of Maui, in the year 1838. In this interesting record of a state of things which has long passed away we read as follows: "Another subject of oppression was the taboo (*kapu*) of the idols. The trees were idols for the people and for the chiefs. If a man had for his idol the *ohia* tree, the *ohia* was taboo for him; if the bread-fruit tree was the idol of another, the bread-fruit tree was taboo for him. Similarly the taboo applied to all the trees of which men had made for themselves divine images, and it was the same also for the food. If *kalo* was a person's idol, *kalo* was taboo for that person. It was the same for all the eatables of which they had made gods. Birds served as idols for some people; if it was a fowl, the fowl was taboo for the worshipper. Similarly for all the birds that were deified. The idol of another was a quadruped, and if it was a pig, the pig was taboo for him. Similarly for all the animals which became gods. Another had for an idol a stone; it became taboo, and he might not sit upon the stone. The idol of another was a fish, and if it was a shark, the shark was taboo for him. It was the same for all the fish, and in the same manner they deified everything on earth and in the sky and all the bones of men."[1]

Similarly the French traveller, L. de Freycinet, who visited Hawaii in the early part of the nineteenth century, informs us that some of the inhabitants worshipped fowls,

[1] Jules Remy, *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii, Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien (Iles Sandwich), Texte et Traduction* (Paris and Leipsic, 1862), pp. 163, 165. In this work the Hawaiian text is printed with a French translation on the opposite page. I have translated the passage from the French version.

lizards, owls, rats, and so forth.[1] Apparently the worshippers believed that the souls of the dead transmigrated into the bodies of their sacred animals. At least this is affirmed by Freycinet with regard to sharks. He says that a man who worshipped sharks would throw his stillborn child, with an offering of taro, kava, and sugar-cane, into the sea, believing that the child's soul would enter the body of a shark and that afterwards sharks would spare the living members of the family. Moreover, there were temples dedicated to sharks where the priests at morning and evening offered prayers to the shark-idol. These men rubbed themselves with water and salt, which drying on their skin produced an appearance of scales. They also clothed themselves in red, uttered piercing cries, and leaping over the temple-enclosure pretended that they knew the exact moment when the children which had been thrown into the sea were changed into sharks. For this welcome revelation they received presents of pigs, kava, coco-nuts, and so forth from the grateful parents.[2] Fishermen in Hawaii sometimes wrapped their dead in the native red cloth and threw them into the sea to be devoured by sharks, believing that the souls of the departed would animate the sharks which devoured their bodies, and that accordingly these voracious monsters would afterwards spare their living human kinsfolk.[3]

Shark gods in Hawaii. Transmigration of the souls of the dead into sharks.

Similarly in Tahiti there were "*atua mao* or shark gods; not that the shark was itself the god, but the natives supposed the marine gods employed the sharks as the agents of their vengeance. The large blue shark was the only kind supposed to be engaged by the gods; and a variety of the most strange and fabulous accounts of the deeds they have performed are related by their priests. These voracious animals were said always to recognize a priest on board any canoe, to come at his call, retire at his bidding, and to spare him in the event of a wreck, though they might devour his companions, especially if they were not his *maru*, or worshippers. . . . The shark was not the only fish the

Shark gods in Tahiti.

[1] L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde executé pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, et 1820*, tome ii. Première parte (Paris, 1829), p. 594.

[2] L. de Freycinet, *op. cit.* pp. 595 *sq.*

[3] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) p. 361.

Sacred birds in Tahiti.

Tahitians considered sacred."[1] "Among the animate objects of their worship, they included a number of birds as well as fishes, especially a species of heron, a kingfisher, and one or two kinds of woodpecker, accustomed to frequent the sacred trees growing in the precincts of the temple. These birds were considered sacred, and usually fed upon the sacrifices. The natives imagined the god was imbodied in the bird, when it approached the temple to feast upon the offering; and hence they supposed their presents were grateful to their deities. The cries of those birds were also regarded as the responses of the gods to the prayers of the priests."[2]

These Hawaiian and Tahitian customs and beliefs are not totemism, but it is possible that like the similar Samoan superstitions they may have been developed out of it.

Classificatory system of relationship in Hawaii.

The Hawaiians have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a man applies the same term *ma-ku-a ka-na* "my father" to his father, to his father's brothers, to his mother's brothers, to the husbands of his father's sisters, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *ma-ku-a wa-hee-na* "my mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, to his father's sisters, to the wives of his father's brothers, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *kai-ku-a-a-na* "my elder brother" and *kai-ku-wa-hee-na* "my elder sister" to his elder brothers and sisters and to all his elder first cousins, namely to the elder sons and daughters of his father's brothers, to the elder sons and daughters of his father's sisters, to the elder sons and daughters of his mother's brothers, and to the elder sons and daughters of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *wa-hee-na* "my wife" to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. Similarly a woman applies the same term *ka-na* "my husband" to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *kai-kee ka-na* "my son" and *kai-kee wa-hee-na* "my daughter" to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces,

[1] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*,[2] i. (London, 1832) p. 329.
[2] W. Ellis, *op. cit.* i. 336.

namely, to the sons and daughters of his brothers and to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *kai-kee ka-na* "my son" and *kai-kee wa-hee-na* "my daughter" to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters of her brothers and to the sons and daughters of her sisters.[1]

In the Hawaiian system the confusion of the wife with the wife's sister and of the husband with the husband's brother is primitive. In other respects the Hawaiian system agrees with the Rotuman and is decadent.

Thus though the terms of relationship in the Hawaiian system differ throughout from those of the Rotuman system,[2] the principles of classification are the same in the two systems, except that whereas the Hawaiian confounds the wife's sister with the wife and the husband's brother with the husband, the Rotuman distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. In that respect, therefore, the Hawaiian system is doubtless the older of the two and agrees with the Australian. In all the other relationships which have been enumerated the Hawaiian form of the classificatory system agrees in principle with the Rotuman. Like the Rotuman, it confuses the mother's brothers and the husbands of the father's sisters with the father: it confuses the father's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers with the mother: it confuses all first cousins, whether the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister respectively, under the appellation of "brothers" and "sisters"; and it confuses all nephews and nieces, whether the children of brothers or of sisters, under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters." All such confusions we have seen reason to regard as innovations imported into the classificatory system and as marks of its decadence.[3]

§ 4. *Traces of Totemism in Ponape and other parts of Polynesia*

Traces of totemism in other parts of Polynesia.

Brief indications of totemism or of a religion developed out of it are reported from other parts of Polynesia. Thus in Nukulaelae, or Mitchell Group, "household gods were incarnate in certain birds and fishes, and, as in Samoa of old, no one dared to eat the incarnation of his god."[4]

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 419-422.

[2] See above, pp. 169 *sq.*

[3] See above, pp. 170 *sqq.*

[4] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 280.

In Nukufetau and Namumanga also household gods were incarnate in fishes,[1] and in Nui they were seen in fish, birds, and so forth.[2] Of the Kingsmill Islanders we are told that "some worship the souls of their departed ancestors, or certain birds, fish, and animals. . . . The natives always refuse to eat the animals, fish, etc., worshipped by them, but will readily catch them, that others may partake of the food. . . . Fish and animals that are held sacred are only addressed with prayers by their worshippers."[3] As to the natives of Banabe or Ascension Island it is said that "certain animals, also, particularly fish, are esteemed sacred among them,—some, as eels, being so to the whole people, while others are merely prohibited to particular families. O'Connell supposes this to proceed from some rude system of metempsychosis, connected with their religious belief."[4] Again, in the island of Tikopia, which is inhabited by Polynesians though it lies between the Santa Cruz group and the New Hebrides, some if not all of the natives are said to have gods whom they take from among the animals. One, for example, has the eel for his god, another a fish, another the bat, and so on. Indeed we are told that the eel and the ray-fish take rank among the principal deities of Tikopia, and that it would be a crime to eat them.[5] Again, in Ponape, one of the Caroline Islands, "the different families suppose themselves to stand in a certain relation to animals and especially to fishes, and believe in their descent from them. They actually name these animals 'mothers'; the creatures are sacred to the family and may not be injured. Great dances, accompanied with the offering of prayers, are performed in their honour. Any person who killed such an animal would expose himself to contempt and punishment, certainly also to the vengeance

Traces of totemism in Ponape, one of the Caroline Islands.

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 285, 289.

[2] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 301.

[3] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (New York, 1851), v. 86.

[4] Horatio Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 84. James O'Connell, a shipwrecked mariner, spent five years on the island. He escaped in 1833 and published at Boston an account of his adventures "containing much valuable information" (*ib.* p. 80).

[5] J. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du monde et à la recherche de la Perouse*, v. 195, 305, 307. The Tikopians are Polynesians (*ib.* p. 304).

of the insulted deity. They believe that blindness is the consequence of such disregard of the totem. But conjuration and medicine may interfere to avert the evil. The eel (*kamijik*) is sacred to the Tipunpanemai and Lajilap, the shark to the Lipetan, the cuttle-fish to the Tipenuai, and so on."[1] According to others, however, the sacred animal of the Tipenuai is not the cuttle-fish but the sting-ray, for which they shew great veneration. When one of these fish is left high and dry on the beach, they put it back in deep water; and formerly when one of the clan died, they used to pour coco-nut milk on the water as if for the benefit of a sting-ray, which might perhaps be thought to lodge the soul of the deceased in its body.[2] In Ponape the people are divided into families or clans (*yau* or *tip*) with descent both of the family and of the property in the maternal line. A man's proper heirs are his sister's sons.[3] The names of some of these clans are derived from birds. Thus one clan is named after the blue heron, another after the devil-bird or native owl, and another after the boatswain-bird.[4]

§ 5. *Traces of Totemism in Tonga*

Dr. Rivers's evidence of totemism in Polynesia.

Further evidence of the diffusion of totemism, or of a system derived from it, in Polynesia was obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the course of his expedition to the Pacific in 1908. In Tonga he learned that each family

[1] Dr. Hahl, "Mittheilungen über Sitten und rechtliche Verhältnisse auf Ponape," *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, vol. ii. Heft 2 (Berlin, 1901), p. 10. Dr. Hahl is, or was, Vice-Governor. In the passage which I have translated the words "*Missachtung des Toten*" seem to be a mistake of the German printer for "*Missachtung des Totem*" and I have translated them accordingly. Compare F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), p. 75: "The worship of the *Ani* or deified ancestors, coupled with a sort of zoolatry or totemism, is the backbone of the Ponapean faith. Every village, every valley, hill or stream has its *genius loci*, every family its household god, every clan its presiding spirit, every tribe its tutelary deity. . . . All these *Ani* are honoured under the guise of some special bird, fish, or tree in which they are supposed to reside, and with which they are identified."

[2] J. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), p. 122, note. Mr. F. W. Christian also says that "the totem," as he calls it, of the Tip-en-uai tribe is the sting-ray. See F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), pp. 324, 381.

[3] Dr. Hahl, *op. cit.* pp. 7 *sq.*, 9 *sq.*; F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 74.

[4] F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 324.

Traces of totemism in Tonga.

had its god (*otua*), and that these family gods were thought to be embodied in animals, stones, or a man. Among animals regarded as incarnations of family gods were the octopus, the flying fox, and the pigeon. People never ate animals in which they supposed their gods to be incarnate. Dr. Rivers was informed that the natives believed themselves to be descended from their sacred animals; and he adds: "This scanty Tongan evidence distinctly strengthens the belief that we have to do with true totemism, for while there is a close resemblance with the beliefs and practice of Samoa there is in addition the belief in descent from the totem-animal."[1]

The classificatory system of relationship in Tonga

While the Tongan families or clans are not known to have been exogamous within the time during which the islands have been under European observation, the prevalence of the classificatory system of relationship among them raises a presumption that exogamy was practised at some time, perhaps a remote time, by their ancestors. The following are examples of classificatory terms of relationship in the Tongan language. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *eku tamai*, "my father," to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *eku fae*, "my mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. But he applies different terms, namely, *hoku tuajina* and *hoku mehekitaga*, to his mother's brothers and to his father's sisters respectively. In his own generation he applies the same term *hoku taokete*, "my elder brother," to his elder brothers, to his male cousins, the sons of his father's elder brothers, and the sons of his mother's elder sisters. He applies the same term *hoku tehina*, "my younger brother," to his younger brothers and to his male cousins, the sons of his father's younger brothers or of his mother's younger sisters. But he applies other terms,

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 160. William Mariner, who lived for some years in Tonga from 1806 onwards, reports that "the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water-snake, hence these animals are much respected" (W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Second Edition (London, 1818), ii. 99).

namely *hoku tama-amehekitaga* and *hoku tama'a tuajina*, to his other cousins, the children of his father's sister and of his mother's brother respectively. He applies the same term *hoku unoho*, "my wife," to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. A woman applies the same term *hoku unoho* "my husband" to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *hoku foha* "my son" and *hoku ofefine* "my daughter" to his sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. But he applies a different term *hoku ilamutu* "my nephew" or "my niece," as the case may be, to the sons and daughters of his sisters.[1]

Differences of the Tongan form of the classificatory system from the Rotuman and the Hawaiian forms.

In thus distinguishing (1) the mother's brother from the father, (2) the father's sister from the mother, (3) the children of the father's brother and of the mother's sister on the one hand from the children of the father's sister and of the mother's brother on the other hand, and (4) the children of a man's sister from his brother's children and from his own, the Tongan form of the classificatory system differs both from the Hawaiian and from the Rotuman form and has thereby preserved, if Dr. Rivers is right and Morgan wrong, a number of older features which are now lost in the other two.[2]

§ 6. *Traces of Totemism in Tikopia*

Animal gods (*atua*) in Tikopia.

Further, Dr. Rivers obtained fuller particulars as to the animal gods of Tikopia, about which, as we saw, the French explorer J. Dumont D'Urville had already briefly reported.[3] Tikopia is a tiny island about a hundred and twenty miles east of the Santa Cruz group. In spite of its neighbourhood to Melanesia, the inhabitants of the island are Polynesian by blood, language, and institutions. They apply the name of god (*atua*) to a number of animals which may not be

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 573 *sqq.*

[2] See above, pp. 170 *sqq.*, and W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 314.

[3] See above, p. 176.

eaten, and they use the same term in speaking of an ancestor. Some of the divine animals are revered by the whole people, but others only by the members of one or other of the four sections into which the population is divided. The names of the four sections are the Kavika, the Taumako, the Tafua, and the Fangalele. The Taumako may not eat the sea-eel (*toke*) nor a bird called *rupe*. The Tafua may not eat the fresh-water eel (*tuna*), the flying fox (*peka*), and the turtle (*fonu*). The two latter animals are forbidden food to the whole community; but they are held to be especially sacred to the Tafua. The Fangalele may not eat a small black bird called *moko* nor a fish called *one*. The Kavika may not eat the octopus (*feke*); but it is also tabooed to the whole people. Similarly the sting-ray (*fai*) may not be eaten by any one. A man of a division may not kill the animal which he is forbidden to eat. If one of the Fangalele caught an *one* fish, he usually threw it back into the water; but he might give it to a man of another division. On the other hand Dr. Rivers was told that if a man of one division killed the sacred animal of another division he would fall sick and would then send for a man of the division to which the animal belonged, and the man would come and call upon the sacred creature (*atua*) to make the patient well.[1]

The four sections of Tikopia and their *atua*.

Further, says Dr. Rivers, "it was quite clear that there was a belief in descent from the animal *atua*. This presents difficulties when a division has more than one *atua*, but according to my informant in some cases a division had more than one animal ancestor. He said that the Kavika were descended from the octopus, and the Taumako from the eel, the story being that in the old times a man of each division died and became an octopus in the one case and an eel in the other. The Tafua believe chiefly in their descent from the flying fox, but they also believe that a second man of this division became after death a fresh-water eel. Similarly, two men of the Fangalele became animals, one the *one* fish and the other the *moko* bird. Thus the belief is not so much in descent

Belief in descent from the sacred animals.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 160 *sq.*

from an animal as in descent from a man who became an animal.

"In addition to these animals there are also plant *atua*. One of these is a plant with large leaves like the taro, called *kape*, which is sacred to the Kavika and may not be eaten by the people of that division while free to the rest of the community. This plant seems to belong to the same category as the animal *atua*, and it will be noticed that it belongs to a division which but for this would have only one sacred object. Three of the divisions have also vegetable *atua* which seem to belong to a different category. These are the yam, the taro, and the coconut, belonging respectively to the Kavika, the Taumako, and the Tafua. These plants might, however, be eaten by all, but the Kavika do not like to see any one cut the taro with a knife, and they scrape off the skin with the shell of a mussel. In this case it was said that it was the top of the yam which was especially regarded as the *atua*. Similarly, the Taumako do not like to see the taro cut with a knife, and here again it was a special part, the eye of the taro, which was regarded as the *atua*. The Tafua also objected to a knife being used to open a coconut, and always used a stone. This restriction on the use of a knife is of course recent, and is an interesting example of the feeling that sacred objects should not be subjected to usages which have come from without into the ordinary life of a people.

Sacred plants in Tikopia.

"The special relation between each division of the people and their sacred plant is shown in the planting season, the first yams being planted by the chief of the Kavika, while the chief of the Taumako plants the first taro. The chiefs of the respective divisions are also the first to eat their sacred vegetables. In the case of the coconut the special privilege of the Tafua is that its chief has the power of imposing a *tapu*. The Fangalele have no plant *atua*, but their chief assists the chief of the Kavika in planting the first yams."[1]

Customs as to planting the sacred plants and eating the firstfruits.

Although exogamy is not found in Tikopia, the inhabi-

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 161 *sq.*

Dr. Rivers on totems in Tikopia.

tants being free to marry members of their own or of other divisions, Dr. Rivers believes that the sacred animals of the divisions and the sacred *kape* plant of the Kavika division are probably true totems; while with regard to the sacred plants—the yam, taro, and coco-nut—of the other three divisions, he inclines to think that their association with the divisions springs from some beliefs quite independent of totemism.[1]

The classificatory system of relationship in Tikopia.

The natives of Tikopia have the classificatory system of relationship.[2] Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *pa* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *nau* to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *taina* to his brothers and to all his male first cousins, whether the sons of his father's brothers, or of his father's sisters, or of his mother's brothers, or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *kave* to his sisters and to all his female first cousins, whether the daughters of his father's brothers, or of his father's sisters, or of his mother's brothers, or of his mother's sisters. A man calls his wife *nofine*, and she calls him *matua*. He calls his wife's sisters by the same name (*taina*) which he applies to his brothers; and she calls her husband's brothers by the same name (*taina*) which she applies to her brothers. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *tama* to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers and sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same term *tama* to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of her brothers and sisters.

The Tikopian form of the classificatory system agrees with the

Thus the Tikopian form of the classificatory system has departed from the original pattern in several respects. First, it distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. Second, it confuses first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 162.

[2] For the following particulars as to the classificatory terms of relationship in Tikopia I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

on the one hand, with first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively on the other hand, calling them all "brothers" and "sisters" indifferently. Third, it confuses a man's children with his sister's children, and a woman's children with her brother's children. In all these respects the Tikopian system agrees with the Rotuman; and we have seen reason to think that all these deviations from the original pattern are signs which mark an incipient breakdown of the classificatory system.[1]

Rotuman in certain deviations from the primitive pattern.

§ 7. *Totemism in the Pelew Islands*

Another part of Polynesia, in the widest sense of the term, where pure totemism or something practically indistinguishable from it has been recorded is the group of the Pelew Islands, which lies at the extreme western limit of the Polynesian area, about midway between the Caroline Islands on the east and the Philippine Islands on the west. The natives belong to that branch of the Polynesian stock which is called Micronesian. They are divided into a large number of exogamous families or clans (*blay*) with descent in the maternal line. In an ordinary village there will be members of a score of such clans living together.[2] Each clan has its sacred animal, bird, or fish, in which perhaps, though this is not certain, the souls of dead members of the clan may formerly have been supposed to lodge. Among these sacred creatures or clan totems, as we may call them, are sea-eels, crabs, fish, and parrots.[3] Further, each district or village has its god, and all these district or village gods have their sacred animals, which are generally fish. Among the sacred animals of the village

Exogamous clans with totems and maternal descent in the Pelew Islands.

[1] See above, pp. 170 *sq.*

[2] J. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 33-36; *id.* "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 16.

[3] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 12-16, 20 *sq.*, 38, 68. The native name for these clan totems is *kalid*, *adalsahel*, or *kasingl*. Of these terms the first (*kalid*) seems to be the most general and to be equivalent to "god." According to Professor K. Semper these *kalids* or sacred animals are "absolutely identical with the *totems* of the Americans, the *kubongs* of the Australians, etc." The word *kalid*, he tells us, means "holy." See K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln* (Leipsic, 1873), pp. 87 note, 193 *sq.*

gods are the shark, the ray-fish, the *Platyurus fasciatus*, the *Dysporus*, the *Birgus latro*, a species of crab, the puffin, and a species of night-heron (*Nycticorax manilensis*). According to Mr. J. Kubary, our principal authority on the Pelew Islands, the sacred animals of the village gods have certainly been developed out of the sacred animals of the families or clans.[1] If he is right, the analogy with the Samoan system of family and village gods, each of them often incarnate in a species of animals, strongly suggests that in Samoa also the village gods with their animal incarnations have been developed out of the family gods with their animal incarnations, and that these animal incarnations themselves were originally totems. The inference, if it is sound, points to totemism as the origin of all those cases of sacred animals associated with families which have met us in other parts of Polynesia.[2]

Classificatory system in Polynesia.

Lastly, the classificatory system of relationship, which appears to be found all over Polynesia, raises a presumption that the Polynesians or their ancestors were formerly divided into exogamous classes.[3]

[1] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 20, 38 *sq.*

[2] That totemism and exogamy were formerly prevalent all over Polynesia appears to have been the view also of the experienced observer J. Kubary, though he uses neither of these terms. See J. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, pp. 35 *sq.*; *id.* "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 12 *sq.*

[3] As to the classificatory system of relationship in Polynesia, see above, pp. 169 *sqq.*, 174 *sq.*, 178 *sq.*, 182 *sq.*, and L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 448 *sqq.*, 517 *sqq.*, 568 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 401 *sqq.* As to the classificatory system of relationship among the Maoris, see further Elsdon Best, "Maori Nomenclature," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 185-190, 198-201; *id.* "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi. (1903) pp. 24-28.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE

CHAPTER IX

TOTEMISM IN INDONESIA

§ 1. *Totemism and Exogamy in Sumatra*

The Indonesian race.

THE interior of the large islands of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and other lesser islands of the Malay Archipelago is inhabited by a race of men to whom the name of Indonesian is now given. They resemble the Malays in appearance, speak dialects of the same family of speech, and, like the Malays, are for the most part tillers of the soil.[1] The Dutch writers, to whose laudable diligence we owe many valuable accounts of the native races of the Indian Archipelago, commonly call the aborigines of these islands by the name of Alfoors, to distinguish them from the Malays, and it might be convenient to adopt this designation in English, reserving the name Indonesian as a general term to include the two different yet kindred races. Among these aborigines perhaps the best known are the Battas or Bataks in the interior of Sumatra, who, while they practise agriculture and cattle-breeding, live in well-built houses, and even possess an ancient literature written in an alphabet of their own, are nevertheless addicted to cannibalism in a peculiarly ferocious form,[2] and have also preserved a system of totemism and exogamy. Their principal seat, from which the various tribes have spread,[3]

The Battas of Sumatra.

[1] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 486-488.

[2] F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (Berlin, 1847), ii. 155 *sqq.*; J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), pp. 205 *sqq.* As to the literature and alphabet of the Battas, see F. Junghuhn, *op. cit.* ii. 254 *sqq.*; W. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), pp. 200 *sq.*

[3] J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Neder-*

is Lake Toba, a great sheet of dark blue water enclosed by high steep banks, which are broken into winding bays.[1]

Exogamous clans (*margas*) of the Battas.

The Battas are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *margas* or *mergas* with descent in the male line; in other words, husband and wife must always be members of different clans and the children belong to the clan of their father, not to the clan of their mother. The clans are further divided into subclans, which often dwell far apart from each other.[2] There is no local division between the clans; members of different clans live mixed up together, though certain clans predominate in certain districts. There are said to be five principal clans which are represented in all the Batta tribes. Members of the same clan regard each other as kinsfolk; on a journey a man will receive hospitality in a strange village from a member of his clan.[3] The relationship between members of the same clan (*marga* or *merga*) is regarded as very close; according to the generation to which they respectively belong they are to each other brothers and sisters, fathers and children, aunts and nieces, and so on. Not only is marriage forbidden between members of the same clan, but sexual intercourse between such persons is viewed as incest in the highest degree and severely punished.[4] Further,

landsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 1 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 9.

[1] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), p. 70.

[2] L. de Backer, *L'Archipel Indien* (Paris, 1874), p. 470; G. W. W. C. Baron van Hoëvell, "Iets over 't oorlogvoeren der Batta's," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, N.S. vii. (1878) p. 434, note [1]; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het huwelijks- en erfrecht bij de volken van het maleische ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 20 *sq.*, 36 (reprinted from *De Indische Gids* for May 1883); J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 473, 491; J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 197; P. A. L. E. van Dijk, "Eenige Aanteekeningen omtrent de verschillenden Stammen (Margas) en de Stamverdeling bij de Battaks," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxxviii. (1895) pp. 296 *sq.*

[3] W. Volz, "Die Battak-Länder in Zentral-Sumatra," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1907, p. 685.

[4] M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 388 *sq.*; J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 242, and No. 3, p. 491.

each clan has its sacred animal or plant, which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat, and some of the clans are named after their sacred animals or totems. Thus the clan Nasoetion is forbidden to eat the flesh of a white buffalo (*horbo badar*); the clan Si Regar and its subdivisions may not eat the flesh of goats; the clan Harahap and its subordinate septs may not partake of white turtle doves (*balam*); the clan Babijat is prohibited from eating tigers, panthers, and such creatures; the clan Tompoel is debarred from eating dogs, the clan Si Pospos from eating cats, the clan Sagala from eating apes; and members of the Hasiboean clan may make no use of paddy-melons.[1] Further, the members of the Guru Singa clan are forbidden to partake of the flesh of the hornbill;[2] members of the Kataran clan may not eat locusts; and the flesh of deer and doves is tabooed to the Gersang Sahing clan.[3] Various reasons are assigned by the Battas for the observance of these totemic prohibitions. Sometimes they say that they are descended from their totemic animals and that their souls transmigrate into these creatures after death; sometimes they allege that one of the animals saved the life of their forefathers or conferred other obligations on them.[4] Thus the members of the Kataran clan say that once upon a time, when their ancestor Si Kataran had hidden himself in a field from his enemies, a locust alighted on his head and by its cheery chirping beguiled his pursuers into the belief that there was no man in the field; hence no member of the clan will now eat a locust.[5] Again, members of the Ginting clan refuse to partake of the flesh of a white buffalo because they

Totems of the *margas*.

Reasons assigned for the totemic taboos.

[1] J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 311 *sq.*; *id. ib.* Tweede Serie, iv. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 1 (Amsterdam, 1887), pp. 8 *sq.*

[2] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 199; M. Joustra, "Naar het landschap Goenoeng," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlv. (1901) p. 81.

[3] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, pp. 198, 199.

[4] J. B. Neumann, *ll.cc.*; J. E. [B. ?] Neumann, "Kemali, Pantang en Rĕboe bij de Karo-Bataks," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlviii. (1906) p. 512.

[5] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 199.

say that some of their ancestors were suckled and reared by a white buffalo cow;[1] and members of a dog clan abstain from eating dogs because they believe that a dog saved the life of one of their forefathers.[2]

Classificatory terms of relationship among the Battas.

There are indications that the Battas employ the classificatory system of relationship. Thus we are told that members of the same exogamous clan are, according to their respective age and sex, brothers and sisters, or fathers and children, or aunts and nephews, etc., to each other, even when the relationships thus expressed are not those of blood; and further, that the terms father and mother, etc., are used in a much looser sense by the Battas than by us in cases where the kinship is very remote.[3] Another hint of the classificatory system of relationship is that a man has a right to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, and the girl very seldom refuses him, even rejecting the offers of richer and handsomer suitors in order to marry her cousin. Such marriages between cousins are very customary, indeed they are regarded as desirable and normal. If a man does not wed the daughter of his mother's brother, his uncle may take offence, nay, some people even say that the gods (*dibata*) are angry. On the other hand, marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is not only forbidden but punishable.[4] The same distinction between marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother, which is allowed and even recommended, and marriage with the daughter of a father's sister, which is forbidden, will meet us again in Sumatra.[5]

Cousin marriages.

Rules of avoidance between brother

Like other peoples with the classificatory system of relationship the Battas observe certain rules of avoidance in regard to near relations by blood or marriage; and we

[1] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 201; M. Joustra, "Naar het landschap Goenoeng," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlv. (1901) p. 81.

[2] J. Freiherr von Brenner, *op. cit.* p. 200.

[3] M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 389, 391.

[4] J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 243, No. 3, p. 492; M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) p. 390.

[5] See below, p. 191.

are informed that such avoidance springs not from the strictness but from the looseness of their moral practice. A Batta, it is said, assumes that a solitary meeting of a man with a woman leads to an improper intimacy between them. But at the same time he believes that incest or the sexual intercourse of near relations excites the anger of the gods and entails calamities of all sorts. Hence near relations are obliged to avoid each other lest they should succumb to temptation. A Batta, for example, would think it shocking were a brother to escort his sister to an evening party. Even in the presence of others a Batta brother and sister feel embarrassed. If one of them comes into the house, the other will go away. Further, a father may never be alone in the house with his daughter, nor a mother with her son. A man may never speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law. The Dutch missionary who reports these customs adds that he is sorry to say that from what he knows of the Battas he believes the maintenance of most of these rules to be very necessary. For the same reason, he tells us, as soon as Batta lads have reached the age of puberty they are no longer allowed to sleep in the family house but are sent away to pass the night in a separate building (*djambon*); and similarly as soon as a man loses his wife by death he is excluded from the house.[1]

and sister, father and daughter, mother and son, etc.

On the death of a man his wives pass with his property to his heir, who is his younger brother or eldest son. If the brother desires to marry them, the women have no right to refuse. In regard to sons, the custom has changed. Marriage with a stepmother is now forbidden. Formerly, the eldest son might marry his stepmother as soon as his father died. His own mother, when the eldest son was heir, might either remain a widow or go to her late husband's

Custom of the Levirate.

[1] M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 391 *sq.* As to the avoidance between a man and his daughter-in-law and between a woman and her son-in-law, see further J. H. Meerwaldt, "Gebruiken der Bataks in het maatschappelijk leven," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlix. (1905) pp. 123 *sq.*, 125. From the latter writer we learn that a man and his daughter-in-law are expected to communicate with each other only through a third person, and that he may not utter her name. In like manner a woman may not mention the name of her son-in-law.

younger brother as she chose. If her deceased husband had no younger brother or he refused to have her, she might marry another man with the consent of her son. This custom is still observed.[1] In one Batta tribe all the children whom a woman has by her second marriage are reckoned the children of the first husband.[2]

Burial according to totem.

Members of the various totem clans are buried in different positions. Thus members of the Harahap clan, which has wild turtle-doves for its totem, are buried with the head to the west; members of the Si Regar clan, which have goats for their totem, are interred with the head to the east; and members of the Dadi clan are laid in the grave with their heads to the north.[3] We have seen that a similar custom was observed by the Wotjobaluk tribe of Australia.[4]

Totemism and exogamy in Mandailing.

Exogamy and apparently totemism are also found in Mandailing, a district on the west coast of Sumatra. Here the population is divided into exogamous clans (*margas*), each of which traces its descent from a male ancestor. Marriage within the clan (*marga*) is forbidden and viewed as incest. In some cases the prohibition of marriage extends over a group of clans, all of which regard themselves as related in the male line. The names of nine such exogamous clans are recorded. Children belong to the clan of their father. It is not easy to ascertain the origin of these divisions. The people themselves, when asked, can generally give no answer. However, the members of one clan, called Parindoeri, assert that they are descended from a tiger, and at the present day when a tiger is shot the women of the clan are bound to offer betel to the dead beast. When members of this clan come upon the tracks of a tiger, they must, as a mark of homage, enclose them with three little sticks. Further, it is believed that the tiger will not attack or lacerate his kinsmen, the members

Reverence shewn by members of the tiger clan for tigers.

[1] J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane-en Bila-stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, III. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 487 *sq.*

[2] F. Warneck, "Das Eherecht bei den Toba-Batak," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, liii. (1901) p. 542.

[3] J. B. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 503.

[4] Above, vol. i. pp. 454 *sqq.*

of this clan. Marriage between two persons of the same clan has occasionally happened. Such an event is regarded as a disgrace to the community in which it takes place, and the guilty couple are banished from it. The husband is obliged to sacrifice a buffalo, a cow, or a goat for the common weal. When a husband dies, his widow goes to his younger brother or other male kinsman by blood, who almost always marries her. But an older brother may not marry her; such a marriage would be regarded as incest. The children of brothers are reckoned brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother is regarded as very desirable,. but marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is forbidden.[1] This extended application of the terms brother and sister, and this preference for marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, are so many indications of the classificatory system of relationship. The rule that a man's widow is inherited by his younger brother, but never by his elder brother, is a very characteristic feature of the north-central tribes of Australia,[2] and, as we shall see presently, it is very commonly observed in India.

The Levirate: the widow married by a younger brother of the deceased.

Cousin marriages.

Further, traces of a totemic system may perhaps be detected among the Gajos, a people who inhabit a district of Northern Sumatra inland from Achin. They are divided into families or clans, the members of which are forbidden to eat certain animals or other food. Such taboos are always explained by an oath or curse of an ancestor who swore the oath or uttered the curse in consequence of some event recorded by tradition. Thus the fish *lokot* is not eaten by an older branch of the clan of Petiambang. The flesh of the white buffalo (*koro djögöt*) is tabooed to a particular part of the same clan, whose foreign origin is still faintly remembered. The wood-pigeon is forbidden to another clan in Gajo Loeös. In Pepareq there are people who may not

Traces of totemism among the Gajos.

[1] H. Ris, "De onderafdeeling Klein Mandailing Oeloe en Pahantan en hare bevolking met uitzondering van de Oeloes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlvi. (1896) pp. 472 *sq.*, 490, 492, 493, 494, 508 *sq.*; Th. A. L. Heyting, "Beschrijving der Onderafdeeling Groot-Mandeling en Batangnatal," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, xiv. (1897) pp. 245 *sq.*, 257.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 510.

eat the shoots of bamboos. The inhabitants of Doeren may not use *dongra* leaves as plates for rice, etc.[1] The Gajo clans appear to be exogamous with descent in the male line.[2] When a clan grows too numerous to live together, part of it will choose a leader of their own and break off from the rest. After the separation the members of the two groups or clans thus formed no longer call each other brothers, but their common descent is regarded as a bar to marriage between them unless they mutually agree to remove the bar and solemnly to announce that henceforth the two groups or clans may take wives from each other. This deliberate abolition of exogamy receives different names in different places.[3] When we find exogamous clans with prohibited foods we may reasonably suspect the existence, present or past, of totemism. The Gajos, indeed, now profess Islam, but their Mohammedan creed is mixed with old pagan superstitions.[4]

Subdivision of a clan and deliberate abolition of the rule of exogamy.

Exogamy with paternal descent in Southern Sumatra.

While these are all the certain or probable cases of totemism which I have noted in Sumatra, the institution of exogamy both with paternal and with maternal descent is found in other parts of that great island. Thus the Pasemahers of Southern Sumatra are divided into five clans called *sumbui*; marriage is not permitted between members of the same clan (*sumbui*), and children belong to the clan of their father. If a man marries a woman of his own clan, the people believe that the gods will punish with destruction the guilty pair and their offspring.[5] Each Pasemaher clan inhabits a separate district, so that local exogamy here coexists and coincides with clan exogamy.[6] Again,

[1] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajõland en zijne Bewoners* (Batavia, 1903), p. 328.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* pp. 268, 271 *sq.*

[3] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* pp. 79 *sq.*

[4] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* p. 327.

[5] G. A. Wilken, *Over het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van Zuid-Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), pp. 6-8 (reprinted from *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 5th Series, vol. vi.) Each *sumbui* is subdivided into a number of *suku*, and each *suku* has a number of villages (*dusun*). Compare G. G. Batten, *Glimpses of the Eastern Archipelago* (Singapore, 1894), p. 104.

[6] G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), p. 13 (reprinted from *De Indische Gids*, May 1883).

the inhabitants of Lebong, a district of Southern Sumatra, are similarly divided into exogamous clans (*suku*), with paternal descent; in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and children belong to the clan of their father. The father is the head of the family, and his sons are his heirs.[1]

Exogamy with maternal descent in Sumatra. The Menangkabaw Malays of the Upper Padang province are divided into exogamous clans (*suku*), which are inherited from the mother.

On the other hand exogamy combined with maternal descent is found among the Menangkabaw Malays, who inhabit chiefly the province of Upper Padang in the interior of Sumatra. These people are divided into a number of clans (*suku*): no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and the children belong to the clan of their mother. Members of the different clans live side by side in the same district. It seems that the Malay race was originally divided into four clans (*suku*), which have multiplied by subdivision. No settlement is thought complete which does not contain members of all the four original clans, the names of which are Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Tjeniago. Nevertheless, though members of the different clans live in the same village, each clan has its separate quarter or ward of the village, where it dwells apart from the others. There is a legend that four king's sons married respectively a woman, a tiger, a dog, and a cat, and so became the ancestors of four different clans, but these clans appear to be local. A trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the legend of their descent.[2] It is reckoned incest if a man marries a woman of his own clan (*suku*). However, young people of the same clan, but not related to each other by blood, sometimes marry for love, and payment of a fine suffices to condone the offence.[3] Amongst these Malays of the inland district of Padang a woman at marriage remains in her mother's family and her mother's house, where she is visited by her husband by day or by night. The two do not live together, for the husband also remains after marriage in his mother's

[1] A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), pp. 214 *sq.*, 252; G. A. Wilken, *Over het Huwelijks-en Erfrecht bij de Volken van Zuid-Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), p. 8.

[2] A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, pp. 182 *sq.*, 214; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 10 *sq.*, 18, 20, 24-26.

[3] J. C. van Eerde, "Een huwelijk bij de Minangkabausche Maliers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xliv. (1901) p. 393.

Husband and wife do not dwell together; each continues after marriage to live in his or her mother's house.

house. As a woman's family increases, the house is enlarged to accommodate it. Thus any one of the long houses in which the Menangkabaw Malays live will be found to contain only persons descended from the same mother, namely children with their mothers, their mothers' sisters and mothers' brothers, their grandmothers, their grandmothers' sisters and brothers, and so on. The husbands of the women, the fathers and grandfathers of the children, do not dwell in the house; they continue to live with their brothers and sisters in their mother's home. Hence naturally enough the head of the household and of the family, who has the title of *mamaq*, is not the woman's husband, but her eldest brother. He stands to his sister's children in the same social position in which amongst us a father stands to his own children, enjoying the privileges and incurring the obligations of paternity. When a man dies, his property passes, not to his children, but first to his brothers and sisters, and next to his sisters' children. When a woman dies, her property passes to her children or, if she has no children, to her brothers and sisters.[1] Further, the Malay inhabitants of Mapat-Toenggoel and Rantau-Binoewang, two districts in the north-east of Sumatra, are similarly divided into exogamous clans (*suku*) with descent in the maternal line: no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and the children belong to the clan of their mother. In Rintau-Binoewang a man at marriage goes to live with his wife's parents.[2]

Exogamous clans with maternal descent among the Orang-Mamaq of Indragiri.

Again, exogamy combined with maternal descent is practised by the natives of the Indragiri district on the eastern side of Sumatra. Here the Orang-Mamaq are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *suku*, each of which is understood to comprise all descendants exclusively in the female line from the same ancestress of the stock. The members of a clan (*suku*) live together and are very closely united to one another. Each clan is answerable for

[1] A. W. P. Verkerk Pistorius, *Studien over de inlandsche Huishouding in de Padangsche Bovenlande* (Zalt-Bommel, 1871), pp. 42-45; A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, pp. 245-247; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks-en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 24-27.

[2] G. A. Wilken, *De Verbreiding van het Matriarchat op Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), pp. 14 *sq.*

the deeds of all its members. Marriage within the clan is forbidden. Man and woman after marriage continue to belong each to his or her own clan; neither passes into the clan of the other. They seldom live together; when they do, it is the husband who comes to live with his wife. Husband and wife do not form a household; that is constituted only by the woman and her children. At the head of such a household stands the eldest brother of the mother; he is called the *mamaq*. At the head of the clan is a headman (*panghoeloe*) chosen by the maternal uncles, and the headman is confirmed in his dignity by the prince. The father has no right over his children; they belong wholly to their mother's clan. Titles, dignities, and property pass only in the female line. Since, in the opinion of the Orang-Mamaq, no relationship exists between children and their father, they naturally inherit none of his property at his death. He may, however, make them presents in his lifetime. A man's clan is responsible for his debts after his death; his children may not be taken in pledge for them.[1]

Exogamous clans with maternal descent in Tiga Loeroeng.

In Tiga Loeroeng, another part of Indragiri, the people are also divided into exogamous clans called *suku*, each with its headman (*panghoeloe*) chosen by the mothers' eldest brothers (*mamaqs*) and confirmed by the prince. The conception of the clan is here the same as among the Orang-Mamaq. But in Tiga Loeroeng the custom of husband and wife living together is almost universal. The husband either dwells in his wife's house or builds a house on land belonging to her clan. Yet though he lives in the house with his children, the father has little power over them; the *mamaq* or mother's eldest brother retains the greatest share of authority over them, his nephews and nieces. In this district there are more exceptions to the rule that dignities pass in the female line. As to inheritance, the property owned by each of the spouses before marriage remains his or hers or that of their clan after the death of the other; but the property acquired by them during marriage—the *harta-soearang*, as it is called—is divided on the death of one of

[1] A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriarchat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) pp. 42-44.

them, own children and sisters' children having equal rights to the inheritance. If a man dies leaving debts, his children are responsible for one half of them, while the other half must be paid by the members of his clan. If a wife dies leaving debts, her children are usually responsible for the whole amount and may be taken in pledge for them.[1] These customs mark a step towards the establishment of father-kin beside or instead of mother-kin; and an indication and probably to some extent a cause of the change is the cohabitation of husband and wife in the same house.

Clans in a transitional state between mother-kin and father-kin.

In the same region, up stream from Batoe Sawal, we find still clearer traces of a transition from mother-kin to father-kin. Here the clan (*suku*) still exists and forms a strong bond of union between its members, but its limits are not so sharply defined, for the rule of exogamy has broken down. Each clan has still its headman, chosen as before and confirmed by the prince; but sometimes the men of military age have a voice in his election as well as the mothers' eldest brothers (*mamaqs*). Marriages within the clan are common, even between blood relations who are forbidden by Mohammedan law to marry each other. When husband and wife belong to different clans, it seldom happens that both continue after marriage members of his and her clan respectively. Generally one of the two joins the clan of the other. It depends entirely on the comparative numbers, power, and dignity of the two clans whether the husband joins his wife's clan or she joins his. If the husband's clan is the more powerful, the wife will leave her village, and the family house will be built in the village of the husband's clan. In that case the children belong to their father's clan, and their mother's eldest brother has little or no power over them. Still, even when the husband's clan is the stronger, it sometimes happens that after a divorce the mother and her children return to her own clan. In matters of inheritance the relationship of the children to both parents is recognised. At the death of either parent the property is often divided equally between

[1] A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriarchat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) p. 44 *sq.*

the survivor and the children. Sister's children have no share in the inheritance, if the deceased left children of his own. Debts of either spouse or of both pass at death to the children, who may be taken in pledge for them.[1]

Exogamous clans with paternal descent in the island of Nias.

The inhabitants of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, are divided into a number of exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line. Clans of the same name are found distributed all over the island. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, and a younger sister is not allowed to marry before her elder sister. Men buy their wives and regard them as their property. On the death of a husband his widow passes to his son and heir, unless she is his own mother. Property descends to the children. The eldest son receives a double portion. A wife does not inherit from her husband, nor a husband from his wife.[2]

§ 2. *Totemism in the Moluccas*

Totemism in Amboyna and Ceram.

In some islands of the Moluccas, the archipelago which extends between Celebes on the west and New Guinea on the east, indications of totemism occur in the belief of the natives that they are descended from certain animals or plants, which accordingly they abstain from eating and injuring. Thus in Amboyna and the neighbouring islands the people of some villages allege that they are descended from trees, such as the *Cappellenia moluccana*, which had been fertilised by the *Pandion Haliaetus*. Others claim to be sprung from pigs, octopuses, crocodiles, sharks, and eels. People will not burn the wood of the trees from which they trace their descent, nor eat the flesh of the animals which they regard as their ancestors. Sicknesses of all sorts are believed to result from disregarding these taboos.[3] Similarly

[1] A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriarchat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) pp. 45-47.

[2] J. T. Nieuwenhuisen en H. C. B. von Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het Eiland Nias und deszelfs Bewoners," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxx. (Batavia, 1863) pp. 39, 84 *sq.*, 107; H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), pp. 154 *sq.*, 160; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 31, 45 *sqq.*

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 32, 61; G. W. W. C. Baron van Hoëvell, *Ambon en meer bepaaldelijk de Oeliasers* (Dordrecht, 1875), p. 152.

in Ceram, people who believe that they are descended from crocodiles, serpents, iguanas, and sharks will not eat the flesh of these animals.[1] Further, we find exogamy as well as traces of totemism in Ceram; for the people of Waai-Rama district are divided into at least five exogamous clans called *ifan*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan (*ifan*): a woman at marriage passes into her husband's clan; and the children belong to the clan of their father. On the death of her husband a woman may marry again, but only with a man of her late husband's clan. Usually she marries the nearest blood relation of the deceased.[2]

Exogamous clans (*ifan*) in Ceram.

Totemism and exogamy in Buru.

To the west of Ceram and Amboyna lies the large coral-girt island of Buru, a land of lofty mountains and deep valleys covered with forests of magnificent timber and watered by many rivers.[3] The aboriginal inhabitants of Buru, who belong to the light brown Indonesian race,[4] are divided into exogamous clans called *fennas*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan; the wife joins her husband's clan, and the children belong to the clan of their father. Each clan inhabits a separate district, which is the property of the clan and is also called a *fenna*, or more strictly *rahisin fenna*; at the head of each is a chief, whose office is generally hereditary. The names of the clans are said to be mostly derived from trees.[5] Since each exogamous clan (*fenna*) dwells apart in its own territory, it follows that here, as among the Pasemahers of Sumatra, local exogamy coexists and coincides with clan exogamy. Various legends are told to account for the origin of the clans. Thus the members of the Toefwai clan say that one day a *ketapan* tree

The aborigines of Buru are divided into exogamous clans (*fennas*) with paternal descent.

Legends of the origin of the clans.

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), p. 122.

[2] T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 7, 20.

[3] J. H. W. van der Miesen, "Een en ander over Boeroe," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 427-429; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 1.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 4.

[5] T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 100 *sq.*; G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis del Alfoeren van het eiland Boeroe," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxviii. (Batavia, 1875) pp. 3, 12, 16; *id.*, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 14 *sq.*; A. Bastian, *Indonesien*, i. (Berlin, 1884) pp. 136, 137; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 20, 22; J. H. W. van der Miesen, *op. cit.* pp. 431, 439.

split from top to bottom and their forefather came forth from it. The Wai Loewa on the coast allege that they are descended from a crocodile in the River Oki, and the crocodiles, which swarm there, are accordingly held by them in high veneration. They believe that a crocodile will never harm them, because he is their blood relation. The Reboet clan owes its existence to the compassion of a shark. For their ancestor was shipwrecked and would certainly have perished, if a shark had not taken pity on him and brought him safe to land. Since that time there has been a good understanding between the sharks and the Reboet clan, who firmly believe that if one of their number were to be cast away at sea, the sharks would at once rush to his rescue and bring him to shore.[1] A man's wife is purchased for him by his clan; hence when he dies any member of his clan has legally a right to marry the widow without paying for her. But the prior right always rests with the nearest male relations of the deceased. Usually the eldest brother of the dead man takes her to wife; but if he refuses, the right passes to his next brother, and so on. But a younger brother of the deceased is forbidden (*poto*) to marry his elder brother's widow. If the deceased left no brothers or only younger brothers, other members of the clan may claim the widow, for she is regarded as the property of the clan, having been paid for by them. When a young man has gained the affection of a girl, it is customary for him, with the knowledge of her parents, to run away with her to the forest, where the couple remain in hiding, while the parents of the girl negotiate with the young man's clan about the price that is to be paid for the bride. When that is settled the young couple return and are married in the usual way.[2]

The Levirate.

Elopement.

In the Babar Archipelago the inhabitants of some villages assert that they are descended from wild pigs or crocodiles and they revere the animals accordingly. People who are descended from wild pigs may not eat pork; and

Belief in the descent of families from wild pigs,

[1] J. H. W. van der Miesen, "Een en ander over Boeroe," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 431 *sq.*

[2] G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Alfoeren van het eiland Boeroe," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxviii. (Batavia, 1875) pp. 17, 18, 19 *sq.* As to the Levirate in Buru, compare J. H. W. van der Miesen, *op. cit.* p. 454.

crocodiles, sharks, eels, dogs, etc., which members of the families are accordingly forbidden to eat.

people who are sprung from crocodiles must cast half a pig, betel, and so forth as offerings into a river, and moreover they must hang golden earrings on a tree at the spot where they made their offering.[1] In the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor there are families that worship crocodiles and sharks; and some of these families may not eat shark's flesh, because they believe that one of their ancestors, drifting out to sea, was helped by a shark.[2] In the island of Keisar or Makisar some people think that they are descended from pigs, crocodiles, or the *Physeter macrocephalus*, and accordingly will not eat the flesh of these creatures. Persons who belong to the crocodile family make offerings to crocodiles by throwing betel and parts of a boiled fowl into the sea, while they invoke the reptiles. The sacrificer and his relations then partake of the rest of the fowl.[3] Again, in the island of Wetar or Wetter people are found in most villages who claim to be descended from serpents, crocodiles, turtles, wild pigs, dogs, and eels, and who are therefore forbidden to eat the flesh of these animals.[4] Further, in the Aru Archipelago, which lies to the south of the western end of New Guinea, some families revere crocodiles and sharks as their ancestors; they will not eat these creatures and they keep images of them in their houses.[5] Every family and every house in the Aru Islands has its badge or crest which is sacred (*pomali*) and may not be used by any one else. The badge is always carved on a beam of the house. Amongst these crests are serpents, crocodiles, dogs, the sea-slug called trepang (*bêche de mer*), elephants' tusks, chopping-knives, and human figures, both male and female. The misuse of a family crest often results in feuds which last for years between two villages.[6] The Aru Islanders are divided into two brotherhoods or confederacies called respectively Uli-lima and Uli-siwa, which are found also all over the Moluccas. The brotherhoods are hostile to each other, but

Traces of totemism in the Aru Archipelago.

Two brotherhoods or confederacies in the Aru Archipelago.

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 334, 341, 348.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 376, 377.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 412, 414.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 432.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 253.

[6] C. Ribbe, "Die Aru-Inseln," *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1888), pp. 165 *sq.*

their origin is uncertain. In the Aru Islands the Uli-lima brotherhood prevails on the coast and the Uli-siwa in the interior.[1] There is nothing to shew that these brotherhoods are exogamous classes or phratries. It is to be noted that the natives of the Aru Islands are not Indonesians but Papuans, of the usual type, with black or sooty brown skins, woolly or frizzly hair, thick-ridged prominent noses, and rather slender limbs. They may have migrated thither from New Guinea,[2] or may even have dwelt there from the time when the islands formed part of the mainland of New Guinea. For the Aru Islands are divided from New Guinea only by a shallow sea, and in their luxuriant tropical forests, stately palms, beautiful tree-ferns, and gorgeously-coloured birds and insects, they present many points of resemblance to the plants and animals of that great island-continent.[3]

Exogamous clans (*tofa*) with paternal descent in Halmahera.

Lastly, it may be noted that exogamy in a somewhat peculiar form exists among the natives of the northern part of Halmahera, a large island to the west of New Guinea. These people are divided into a number of exogamous clans, each called a *tofa*: the rules are that no man may marry a woman of his own *tofa*, and that the children belong to the *tofa* of their father. Sexual intercourse between members of the same *tofa* is deemed very culpable, but is not a crime. The lovers are parted, and each marries a member of another *tofa*. However, these *tofas* do not answer exactly to the exogamous clans which under the various names of *marga*, *suku*, and *fenna* are met with in Sumatra and Buru; for whereas "in these countries every clan has its own name which may be followed in the ascending or descending line so long as members of the clan exist, and which marks an eternal line of division so far as marriage is concerned between persons who are descended, in however remote a degree, from the same ancestor, in Halmahera, on the other hand,

[1] C. Ribbe, "Die Aru-Inseln," *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1888), p. 170.

[2] C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 160; A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*[6] (London, 1877), pp. 430, 433 *sq.*

[3] A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*,[6] pp. 428 *sqq.*, 431 *sqq.*, 435 *sq.*, 443 *sqq.*, 457 *sq.*, 463 *sq.*, 484 *sqq.*; C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* pp. 160 *sq.* Among the birds are various species of the exquisitely coloured Birds of Paradise.

the clan has no name of its own and is not reckoned after the fourth generation. Thus a great-great-grandson can marry the great-great-granddaughter of the same great-great-grandfather."[1] In Halmahera, also, taboos (*bobosso*) are observed which savour of totemism. Thus, one man may not eat venison, another may not eat pork, another may not eat fowls, another may not eat coco-nuts; and so on in great variety.[2]

§ 3. *Analogies to Totemism in Borneo*

Analogies to totemism in Borneo.

Among the many Indonesian tribes which inhabit the great island of Borneo no system of totemism in the strict sense has as yet been discovered; but on the other hand some of their customs and beliefs present analogies to those of totemic peoples, and might with some show of reason be interpreted either as traces of decadent or as rudiments of incipient totemism. Thus we are told that among the Sea Dyaks of Sarawak many families abstain from injuring certain animals or birds either in consequence of dreams or because the animals are traditionally said to have helped the ancestors of the families. Some Dyaks, for example, are forbidden to kill civet cats, others to kill orang-utans, and others to kill alligators; and they give such reasons as the following for respecting the creatures: "One of my ancestors, a clever man, cured a sick alligator, and then they made an agreement that neither should injure the other." Another said that when his great-grandfather first settled at the hill of Banting, on the Lingga, orang-utans abounded there and helped the settlers to repulse the enemies who attacked them; for these apes crowded to the edge of the fruit groves and glared fiercely at the foe. As a reason for not destroying cobras, the Dyaks say: "It has always been forbidden; those who dream of them are lucky, and often do the great spirits put on the forms of snakes."[3] "The superstitious dread of

Many Sea Dyak families abstain from injuring certain animals.

[1] T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 44 *sq.*, 53.

[2] C. F. H. Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherasche Alfoeren," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvii. (1882) p. 449.

[3] Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 84.

eating certain animals is a point of resemblance between them and the inhabitants of the west coast of Africa; the reason being, they suppose these animals bear a proximity to some of their forefathers, who were begotten by them, or begot them."[1] Again, most of the Dyaks are forbidden to eat the flesh of horned animals, as cattle and goats, and many tribes extend the prohibition to the wild deer. "They say, that some of their ancestors, in the transmigration of souls were formerly metamorphosed into these animals; and they slyly, or innocently add, that the reason why the Mohamedan Malays will not touch pork is, that they are afraid to eat their forefathers, who were changed into the unclean animal. It has often struck me that the origin of many of their superstitions arose from the greediness of the elders; as in some of the tribes they, together with the women and children, but not the sturdy young men, may eat eggs. In other instances the very old men and the women may eat of the flesh of the deer, while the young men and warriors of the tribe are debarred from venison for fear it should render them as timid as the graceful hind. The taboo which prevents certain families from consuming the flesh of snakes and other kinds of reptiles, most probably arose from some incident in the life of one of their ancestors, in which the rejected beast played a prominent part."[2] "The Silakau and Lara Dayaks who have emigrated from Sambas into Lundu, do not eat the flesh of the deer, from an opinion that they descended from Dayak ancestors, but Mr. Chalmers, in his experience of the Sarawak Land Dayak, never heard of any prejudice existing against killing or eating any animals except the

Prohibition to eat the flesh of horned animals, such as cattle, goats, and deer.

[1] Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London, 1866), i. 62. Compare *id.* i. 47, ii. 151.

[2] Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 186 *sq.* Compare P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling* (Zalt-Bommel, 1854-1856), ii. 314: "Many Dyak tribes abstain more or less strictly from the flesh of horned cattle, buffaloes, deer, goats, and fowls, from the milk and butter of cows, and from certain sorts of bullocks, which are eaten by other tribes. The abstinence from the flesh of horned cattle seems to be the most widely spread, but Mr. van Lijnden was assured at Silat that the Dyaks of that region felt no scruple about eating the flesh of horned cattle, provided they could procure it. The eating of venison, in the opinion of many, is punished by all sorts of misfortunes and even by madness."

faint-heartedness supposed to be produced by venison."[1] "The ox, the buffalo, the deer, the goat, fowls and some kinds of vegetables, are forbidden food to some or other of these tribes. Of these animals, those which are held most sacred are the bull and cow, and nothing would induce a Dyak of any of the tribes of Sarawak, to eat anything into the composition or cooking of which either the flesh of the animal, or any part of its productions has entered; so that, if offered any of the food which has been prepared for an European, they immediately ask if it has been cooked with butter or ghee; in which case they will not partake of it. . . . The prohibition against eating the flesh of deer is much less strictly practised, and in many tribes totally disregarded. . . . In the large tribe of Singhie, it is observed in its fullest extent, and is even carried so far, that they will not allow strangers to bring a deer into their houses, or to be cooked by their fires. The men of the tribe will not touch the animal, and none but the women or boys, who have not been on a war expedition, which admits them to the privileges of manhood, are allowed to assist the European sportsman in bringing home his bag. It is amongst this, the Sow, and other tribes on the same branch of the river, that goats, fowls, and the fine kind of fern (*paku*), which forms an excellent vegetable, are also forbidden food to the men, though the women and boys are allowed to partake of them, as they are also of the deer's flesh amongst the Singhie Dyaks. The tribe of Sow, whose villages are not far from the houses of Singhie, does not so rigorously observe the practice. Old men, women, and boys may eat of its flesh; the middle-aged and unmarried young men only being prohibited from partaking of it."[2]

The taboo on horned cattle and deer is too general to be totemic.

On the foregoing evidence it may be observed that the prohibitions to eat the flesh of horned cattle and deer seem to be too general to be totemic; since a characteristic feature of true totemism is that its taboos are observed not by whole tribes or communities but only by particular stocks or families which compose the tribe or community. In particular the prohibition to eat deer's flesh cannot be

[1] Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*,[2] i. 206.

[2] Hugh Low, *Sarawak* (London, 1848), pp. 265 *sq.*

totemic in tribes where venison is forbidden only to the fighting men but allowed to old men, women, and children. Wherever that distinction is observed, we may safely assume that the true reason for the abstinence from venison is the one assigned by some of our authorities, namely, a fear lest by partaking of deer's flesh the eater should be infected by the timidity of the deer.

Certain foods tabooed to certain families.

On the other hand when certain foods are tabooed not to whole tribes or communities but only to particular families, the resemblance of such taboos to totemism is much closer. For example, the family of a Kayan chief on the Tinjar River in Sarawak is known to have held the gibbon apes sacred for at least three generations; the animals were never killed by any member of the household, and the wall of the chief's private room was decorated with conventional representations of the apes. The chief himself regarded these creatures as his best friends, and that day was sure to be lucky when they crossed his path in the jungle, or when their musical, almost bird-like, call was heard near the house. In speaking of the animals he cast down his eyes and spoke in an almost inaudible voice, as if the very breathing of so sacred a name were profanation.[1] Such hereditary veneration for a species of animals certainly savours of totemism. Again, we are told of the Dyaks that "there is a fish which is taken in their rivers called a *puttin*, which they would on no account touch, under the idea that if they did they would be eating their relations. The tradition respecting it is, that a solitary old man went out fishing and caught a *puttin*, which he dragged out of the water and laid down in his boat. On turning round, he found it had changed into a very pretty little girl. Conceiving the idea she would make, what he had long wished for, a charming wife for his son, he took her home and educated her until she was fit to be married. She consented to be the son's wife, cautioning her husband to use her well. Some time after their marriage, however, being out of temper he struck her, when she screamed, and rushed away

Tradition to explain the taboo on a certain fish.

[1] W. H. Furness, *The Home-life of Borneo Head-hunters* (Philadelphia, 1902), pp. 55 *sq.*

into the water ; but not without leaving behind her a beautiful daughter, who became afterwards the mother of the race."[1]

Tales of the type of Beauty and the Beast.

The tradition thus told to account for the hereditary veneration of a species of fish clearly belongs to that type of tales of which the best-known examples are the story of Cupid and Psyche and the story of Beauty and the Beast. As such tales are told on the Gold Coast of West Africa to explain the origin of true totemic taboos,[2] the occurrence of a similar legend among the Dyaks may be reckoned as a hint or indication of totemism, past, present, or future, in Borneo. A similar story is told to explain why the Sea Dyaks revere the birds of omen. A chief named Siu, it is said, married a beautiful young woman, who was really a bird, though he knew it not. She made him promise never to kill or hurt a bird or even to hold one in his hands ; for if he did so, she would be his wife no longer. So they married and lived happily together for years, till one unhappy day the husband, forgetting his promise, took a bird in his hand and stroked it. Then his wife went away sadly to return no more. The sorrowful husband and the son she had borne him sought the lost wife and mother till they found her in her old home, the house of the Ruler of the Spirit World. Fain would he have persuaded her to return with him, but she would not. So father and son had to go back alone. But before they departed the Ruler of the Spirit World taught them how to revere the sacred birds and to draw omens from them.[3]

Messrs. Hose and McDougall on evidence for totemism in Sarawak.

The question whether the superstitions connected with animals in Sarawak are or are not evidence of totemism has been carefully discussed by Messrs. C. Hose and W. McDougall.[4] Amongst the evidence which they adduce the following facts may be particularly noted. In a Kenyah house a fantastic figure of a gibbon ape is carved on the ends of all the main cross-beams, and the chief of the people says that this has been their custom for many generations.

[1] The Bishop of Labuan, "Wild Tribes of Borneo," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. ii. (1863) pp. 26 *sq.*

[2] See below, Chap. XIV. § 3, *Totemism on the Gold Coast.*

[3] Rev. E. H. Gomes, "Two Sea Dyak Legends," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 41 (January 1904, Singapore), pp. 12-28.

[4] Charles Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 173-213.

None of these people will kill a gibbon and they claim that the ape helps them as a friend; but other Kenyahs kill and probably eat the animal.[1] Men of the Kayan tribe sometimes dream that they have become blood-brothers with crocodiles and exchanged names with them. Such men believe that they are safe from crocodiles and will not kill the reptiles. Moreover, the descendants of these men regard themselves as intimately related to crocodiles. For example, a man named Usong whose father and uncle had both become blood-brothers to crocodiles considered himself to be the son and nephew of the reptiles. His uncle was known by the generic name for a crocodile (*baiya*); Usong himself, when he went out hunting, would ask his crocodile-uncle and his crocodile-father to send him a wild pig.[2] Again, Usong's cousin Wan had a great-great-grandfather who became blood-brother to a crocodile; and Wan several times met this crocodile in dreams. Once he dreamed that he fell into a river swarming with crocodiles, and that he climbed on to the head of one of them, which told him not to fear and carried him to the bank. Wan's father received charms from a crocodile and would not on any account kill one of the monsters, and Wan regarded himself as intimately related to crocodiles in general.[3] Again, the Kayans have "a somewhat uncertain belief" that the coco-nut monkey (*Macacus nemestrinus*) is a blood-relative of theirs; hence they will kill the animal only when it plunders their rice-crop, but they will never eat it, as other people do.[4] Further, a chief of a Malanau household in the Kalamantan tribe, together with all his people, "will not kill or eat the deer *Cervulus muntjac*, alleging that an ancestor had become a deer of this kind, and that, since they cannot distinguish this incarnation of his ancestor from other deer, they must abstain from killing all deer of this species."[5] The reason thus assigned

Kayan men supposed to be blood-relations to crocodiles.

Kayans related to apes.

Kalamantans related to deer.

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 188.

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* pp. 190 *sq.*, 210.

[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[4] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[5] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 193.

for respecting the species resembles the reason which according to Sir George Grey the West Australian aborigines allege for respecting their *kobong* or totem.[1] Again, the people of Miri, who are also Malanaus and Kalamantans, claim to be related to the large deer (*Cervus equinus*) and some of them to the *muntjac* deer also; and the Bakongs, another group of Malanaus, hold a similar belief with regard to the bear-cat (*Artictis*) and the various species of *Paradoxurus*. The reason which the Bakongs give for regarding these animals as their relations is that when they go to the graveyards they often see one of the beasts coming out of a tomb. These tombs are rough wooden coffins raised only a few feet above the ground, so that carnivorous beasts can easily devour the corpses and make the coffins their lair. The Bakongs apparently believe that the souls of their dead transmigrate into the beasts which issue from the tombs.[2]

Kalamantans related to crocodiles.

Moreover, the Kalamantans seem to be more intimately related to crocodiles than other tribes of Sarawak. For example, one Kalamantan group, the Long Patas, claim the crocodile as a relative, because a certain man named Silau turned in his lifetime into a crocodile. Just as the transformation was taking place, he told his kinsmen that he was becoming a crocodile, and made them swear never to kill crocodiles in future. Hence when the Long Patas people come upon a crocodile lying on the bank of the river, they say, "Be easy, grandfather, don't mind us, you are one of us." Many people in the old days met Silau in his crocodile shape and spoke to him; his teeth and tongue were always like those of a man. He told his human friends that when they were travelling on the river they should always tie leaves of the *Dracaena* under the bows of their boats, in order that the crocodiles might know them and abstain from attacking them. So the people still tie the leaves under the bows when they are embarking to go on a journey by water. Some of the Kalamantans even refuse to eat anything cooked in a vessel in which crocodile's flesh had previously been cooked; they say that were a man

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 551.

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 193.

unwittingly to eat of such food, his body would be covered with sores.[1] Similarly, many of the Ibans or Sea Dyaks claim to be related to crocodiles and will not eat their flesh or kill them except in revenge for the destruction of a kinsman by a crocodile.[2]

Guardian-spirits (*nyarong*) among the Ibans or Sea Dyaks.

But the Ibans or Sea Dyaks have another institution which in some respects closely resembles totemism. This is what they call their *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. It is a subject on which they are very reticent. Indeed Dr. Hose lived on friendly terms with Ibans of various districts for fourteen years without ascertaining the meaning of the word *nyarong* or suspecting the great importance of the part which the thing plays in the lives of many of them. The *nyarong* or guardian-spirit resembles the *manitoo* of the North American Indian, being the special protector of some individual Iban to whom he reveals himself in a dream. Usually, but not always, he is thought to be the spirit of an ancestor or other dead relative. In the dream the *nyarong* first shews himself in human form and tells the man that he will be his guardian; at the same time he may or may not inform the dreamer what shape he will assume in future. Next day the Iban wanders through the jungle looking for signs by which he may recognise his spirit-helper. If an animal behaves in an unusual manner, if a startled deer gazes at him for a moment before bounding away, if a gibbon ape gambols persistently about in the trees near him, if he lights upon a bright quartz-crystal or a strangely twisted root or creeper, that animal or that thing is for him full of a mysterious significance, and is deemed the abode of his *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. Sometimes a man may dream that on going into the jungle he will meet his *nyarong* in the shape of a wild boar. He will then of course go to seek it, and if by chance other men of the house should kill a wild boar that day, he will go to them and beg for its head or buy it, if need be, at a great price. Having procured the head, he carries it home, offers it cooked rice and kills a

Like the *manitoo* of the North American Indians, the *nyarong* is obtained in a dream.

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 193 *sq.*

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 199.

fowl before it, smearing the blood on the head and on himself and humbly begging for pardon. Or he may leave the carcass in the jungle and sacrifice a fowl before it there. Next night he hopes to dream of his guardian-spirit again, and he may then be told to take the tusks of the dead boar for luck. Unless he dreams something of that sort he feels that he has been mistaken and that the boar was not really his guardian-spirit.

Not every one has a guardian-spirit.

It is not every one that has a guardian-spirit (*nyarong*), though all ardently desire it. Perhaps only one man in fifty or a hundred may be so fortunate. Many a young man goes out to sleep on the grave of some distinguished person or in a wild and lonely spot and lives for days on a very spare diet, hoping that a guardian-spirit will come to him in his dreams. Most commonly the guardian-spirit takes the form of some animal, and then all individuals of that species become objects of especial regard to the lucky Iban, who will neither kill nor eat them himself and will as far as possible restrain others from doing so. Sometimes the cult of a guardian-spirit (*nyarong*) spreads through a whole family or household. Children and grandchildren usually respect the species of animals to which their father's and grandfather's guardian-spirit belonged, and they may occasionally sacrifice fowls or pigs to it.[1]

When the guardian-spirit takes the form of an animal, an Iban will not kill an animal of that species.

The gibbon ape as a guardian-spirit.

To illustrate this general account of the Iban *nyarong* by particular instances, an Iban named Angus will not kill gibbon apes, because the guardian-spirit of his grandfather was a gibbon. Once a man came to his grandfather in a dream, said to him, "Don't you kill the gibbon," and then turned into a grey gibbon ape. This ape helped him to grow rich, and to take human heads, and in many other ways. When he died, he said to his sons, "Don't you kill the gibbon," and his sons and grandsons have obeyed the precept ever since.[2] Again, Messrs. Hose and McDougall were told by Payang, an old Katibas Iban, that when he was young a man came to him in a dream and said, "Some-

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 199 *sq.*

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 201.

times I become a python and sometimes a cobra, and I will always help you." Ever since then the cobra has helped him very much, but he cannot say for certain whether it has helped his children. However, he has forbidden them to kill it. The subject is one which he does not like to speak about.[1] Again, an Iban named Imban, who settled on the Baram River, was once sick and saw in a dream the large river-turtle (*Trionyx subplanus*) and made a promise that if he got well again he would never kill the animal. When he tried to impose a fine on his people for killing river-turtles, they appealed to Dr. Hose as resident magistrate, who decided that if Imban insisted on sparing the lives of river-turtles he must remove from the Baram River to a small tributary stream. This he did, a few of his people followed him, and on them he now enforces a strict observance of the cult of river-turtles.[2] Once more, a community of Ibans built a new house on the Dabai River some years ago, and one day, while they were building, a porcupine ran out of a hole in the ground hard by. That same night one of the men dreamed that the porcupine bade them join their new house to his, the porcupine's house. Ever since then they have held annual feasts in honour of the porcupines which live under the house, and nobody in the house dares to injure one of them, though they will still kill and eat other porcupines in the jungle. When any one is sick in the house, they offer food to the porcupines and regard their good offices as much more important than the ministrations of the medicine-man. Some relations of these Ibans afterwards settled in the village, and for a time the sacred mystery of the porcupines was hidden from them. At the end of three months the precious secret was disclosed to the new-comers, the porcupines were feasted with every sort of cooked rice, fowls were slain and their blood daubed on the face of every person in the house, and the old men prayed to the porcupines to grant them long life and health.[3]

The python or cobra as a guardian-spirit.

River-turtles as guardian-spirits.

Porcupines as guardian-spirits.

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 201.

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 201.

[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 202.

These superstitions in Borneo have no bearing on marriage.

In discussing the question whether these and kindred facts may be thought to constitute totemism or not, Messrs. Hose and McDougall observe that they have not been able to discover any vestiges of a social organisation based upon totemism. "There is no trace," they tell us, "of any general division of the people of any tribe into groups which claim specially intimate relations with different animals, except in the case of the Kalamantans; and in their case such special relations seem to be the result merely of the different conditions under which the various scattered groups now live. There are no restrictions in the choice of a wife that might indicate a rule of endogamy or exogamy. There are no ceremonies to initiate youths into tribal mysteries; certain ceremonies in which the youths take a leading part are directed exclusively to training them for war and the taking of heads in battle. We know of no instance of any group of people being named after an animal or plant which is claimed as a relative and in the case of the more homogeneous tribes, such as the Kenyahs and Kayans, all prohibitions with regard to animals and all benefits conferred by them are shared equally by all the members of any one community, and, with but very few exceptions, are the same for all the communities of the tribe."[1]

On the whole the Borneo customs are germs of totemism rather than the institution itself.

On the whole Messrs. Hose and McDougall conclude that the various superstitions entertained by the tribes of Sarawak with regard to animals are not to be regarded as survivals of totemism.[2] On the other hand they suggest that some of these superstitions contain the germs out of which a true totemic system might be developed. Such seeds of totemism may perhaps be detected in the Iban customs and beliefs with regard to the *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. Like the *manitoo* or personal totem of the North American Indians and of some Australians[3] these guardian-spirits, which are usually species of animals, are commonly obtained in dreams; and when the reverence for the species

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 204 *sq.*

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 209.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 49 *sq.*, 497 *sq.* The *manitoos* or guardian-spirits of the American Indians will be described later on.

of animals is transmitted, as it sometimes is, by inheritance to all a man's descendants or even, if he be a chief, to all the members of the community, the relation between such persons and the revered animals is hardly distinguishable from clan totemism. These facts and considerations accordingly support to a certain extent the view of some American ethnologists, who hold that the totems of clans have regularly been developed out of the totems of individuals.[1] That view will be considered more fully later on. Meantime with regard to Borneo in general and to the province of Sarawak in particular we may acquiesce in the opinion of Messrs. Hose and McDougall, that the superstitions of the natives with regard to animals do not constitute totemism proper, though they illustrate some of the ways in which a totemic system might originate. "The further development of such incipient totems among these tribes," says Messrs. Hose and McDougall, "is probably prevented at the present time, not only by their agricultural habits, but also by their passionate addiction to war and fighting and head-hunting; for these pursuits necessitate the strict subordination of each community to its chief and compel all families to unite in the cult of the hawk to the detriment of all other animal-cults, because the hawk is, by its habits, so much better suited than any other animal to be a guide to them on warlike expeditions."[2]

§ 4. *Alleged Sexual Communism in Indonesia*

Reported cases of sexual communism in Indonesia.

The Poggi or Pageh Islanders.

Before we quit Indonesia to pursue the evidence for totemism and exogamy elsewhere, it may be well to call attention to some reported cases of sexual communism in this region. One such report reaches us from the Poggi or Pageh Islands, two islands of the Mentawei group, which lies off the western coast of Sumatra. The natives of these islands are said to differ in their character and customs from all the other peoples of the Indian

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 211 *sq.* The relation of clan totems to individual or personal totems will be discussed later on in this work.

[2] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* pp. 211 *sq.* As to the cult of the hawk, which is the chief omen-bird of the Kenyahs, see *ibid.* pp. 175 *sqq.*

Archipelago and to stand at a very low level of culture. Their complexion is reddish-brown; their features have a Jewish cast and are full of expression. Men and women are tattooed nearly over their whole bodies; the men wear nothing but a loin-cloth. The tattooing is begun in childhood and lasts at intervals for years. The people live in large common houses from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet long, by thirty to thirty-six feet wide, solidly built of planks and heavy beams. The houses are dark and dirty; a smoky fire is kept smouldering in each of them day and night. In a large village there will be three or four such communal dwellings. The men occupy themselves with hunting and fishing. In the chase they use bows and arrows and sometimes a spear; in fishing they employ nets and a sort of harpoon, with which they are very expert. They also collect gum-elastic, coco-nuts, and other things which are in demand among the traders. The women till the ground, that is, they plant sugar-cane, tobacco, and bananas, generally beside a river and near the village. They prepare the food, look after the pigs, and help the men in making canoes and other work. Rice, salt, writing, and money are unknown to these islanders; the little trade they do with the few vessels which cross over from Sumatra is conducted by means of barter. Government does not exist. Every man protects himself. Yet the people live on peaceable and friendly terms with each other; quarrels are rare and murder almost unknown. They are said to have no religious worship, though they believe in certain evil spirits which haunt the woods, the caves, the air, the water, and the earth, manifesting their power in thunder and lightning, wind, rain, floods, earthquakes, and so on. However, the natives have "a very remarkable and strange custom to which they are strongly attached and which they observe faithfully under all circumstances. It consists in this, that on certain occasions they are bound to remain in their village and may not quit it for any cause whatever; further they will allow no stranger to enter the village, much less their dwellings; they may neither give nor receive anything; they must abstain from certain foods,

Communal houses.

Superstitions of the Poggi Islanders.

and may not trade."[1] These periods of seclusion closely resemble the communal taboos or interdicts (*gennas*) which are often laid on villages among the hill tribes of Assam.[2]

Such is in outline the description given of the Poggi Islanders in the year 1852 by two Dutch officers, a naval lieutenant and a civilian, who were charged by their government to examine and report upon the islands. Their account of the marriage customs of the natives runs thus: "The contracting of marriages, in the sense of the Malays, Javanese, and other indigenous peoples, is amongst the Poggians a thing unknown. They live in that respect entirely as they please among each other. The whole of the women are, as it were, the property of the men, and the men on the other hand are the property of the women. When a girl has conceived, the child is her whole and undivided property. The father, who indeed is generally unknown, has never any right over it. However, it happens that when men are tattooed all over and are therefore between forty and fifty years old, they take to themselves a separate wife: that occurs as follows. When the parties have agreed to enter into marriage, they give notice of it to all the inhabitants of the village; then they step into a canoe decked with leaves and flowers and put off to the fishing. Returning after three, four, or sometimes eight days they are deemed to be married, and the men have then respect for the woman even as the women have for the man. The children whom the woman in most cases brings with her into the marriage then become the property of the man, and so if these children (the girls) get children in turn. It generally happens that girls who have one or more children are thus taken in marriage. Sometimes also it occurs that younger men, when they imagine themselves the father of such and such a child, take the mother to be their separate and only wife; but in such cases the man is careful to be completely tattooed as soon as

Reported sexual communism among the Poggi Islanders.

Late marriages.

[1] P. A. M. Hinlopen en P. Severijn, "Verslag van een onderzoek der Poggi-eilanden in 1852," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, ii. (1854) pp. 319-337.

[2] T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 306 *sq.*; *id.* "The *Genna* amongst the Tribes of Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 92 *sqq.*

possible, for so long as that is not done he may not marry, or rather his wife would not be respected. The women, who are marriageable very early, are in their youth, from the age of twelve to twenty, very pretty, some of them even charming; but they age soon and are generally, while still in the heyday of life, quite withered. There is little or rather no jealousy among them; yet with respect to persons from other villages or strangers they are more on their guard with their women. But as that is a general characteristic of the people, it seldom happens that persons, whether men or women, of one village, come into close contact with persons of another village."[1]

The preceding account of the relations of the sexes in the Poggi or Pageh Islands, even if we assume it to be correct, hardly justifies the statement that among these people marriage is unknown.[2] It rather shews that individual marriage, though known, is exceptional and is usually deferred till comparatively late in life. "Another people," says the late Professor G. A. Wilken, "among whom marriage is quite unknown are the Loeboes. They practise absolutely free love and unite indifferently with any one according to the whim of the moment. Communal marriage also exists among the Orang Sakai of Malacca. A girl remains with every man of the tribe in turn till she has gone the round of all the men and has come back to the first one. The process then begins afresh. In Borneo, too, there are some tribes, such as the Olo Ot (those of Koetei), which contract no marriage. Lastly, we find the same thing reported of Peling or Poeloe Tinggi, one of the islands of the Banggaai Archipelago."[3]

Other alleged cases of sexual communism in Indonesia.

[1] P. A. M. Hinlopen en P. Severijn, "Verslag van een onderzoek der Poggieilanden in 1852," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, ii. (1854) pp. 327 *sq.*

[2] G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 263. On the other hand Colonel Henry Yule said more justly: "The community of women is positively asserted to exist among the Poggy or Pagi Islanders off the west coast of Sumatra" (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, i. 85, note [2]); and he referred for his authority to the paper in the *Tijdschrift* which I have quoted.

[3] G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 263. This was a posthumous work and contains few references to the original authorities, with which, however, no one was better acquainted than Prof. Wilken.

I do not know what authority Professor Wilken had for saying this, but he was a learned and careful writer, deeply versed in all that concerns the peoples of the Indian Archipelago, and no doubt he did not make these statements rashly. Still they would require to be carefully tested before we could feel sure of their accuracy. In such matters error is easy and the truth very difficult to ascertain.

Such reports should be further investigated.

CHAPTER X

TOTEMISM IN INDIA

§ 1. *Totemism in Central India*

In India totemism and exogamy are found especially among the wild hill tribes of the Dravidian stock.

IN those regions of India where high mountains and table-lands present natural barriers to the irruption of conquering races, there linger many indigenous tribes, who, in contrast to the more cultured peoples of the lowlands, have remained in a state of primitive savagery or barbarism down to modern times. Not a few of these aboriginal hill-tribes, especially of the Dravidian stock, retain a social system based on totemism and exogamy; for they are divided into numerous exogamous clans or septs, each of which bears the name of an animal, tree, plant, or other material object, whether natural or artificial, which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat, cultivate, cut, burn, carry, or use in any other way.[1] Amongst such tribes are the Bhils or Bheels, a people of the Dravidian stock in Central Indian, who inhabit the rough forests and jungles of the rocky Vindhya and Sātpura mountains. Into these fastnesses it is believed that they, like many other aborigines of India, were driven by the tide of Hindoo invasion. They are a race of dark complexion and diminutive stature, but active and inured to fatigue.[2] The Bhils of the Satpura mountains have been

[1] *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. Part I. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 530; Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 93. The first to call attention to the wide prevalence of totemism combined with exogamy in India was Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Risley. See his article, "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, pp. 71-96.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[9] iii. 630; Captain C. Eckford Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) pp. 2, 4. Compare Colonel Kincaird, "On the Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 397-406.

little affected by civilisation and lead an existence which has been described as most primitive. A mere report that a white man is coming often suffices to put these savages to flight. They have no fixed villages. The collection of huts which takes the place of a village is abandoned at the least alarm, and even in such a hamlet every man builds his hovel as far away as he can from his neighbours, whose treachery and lust he dreads.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Bhils.

The Bhils of these mountains are divided into many exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Thus the Bhils of Barwani, who inhabit the Satpura hills, are divided into forty-one such clans; while the Bhils of the Vindhya mountains are divided into more than fifty. When two clans have the same totem, they may not intermarry. Children belong to their father's clan.[2] Among the clan totems of the Bhils of Barwani are moths, tigers, snakes, cats, the fish called *khattia*, peacocks, pigeons, sparrows, and many species of trees and plants, including the bamboo, sal (*Shorea robusta*), pipal, *bor*, *sag* (*Tectonograndis*), *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*), *bahera* (*Beleria Myrobolan*), *nirgun* (*Vitex negundo* or *trifolia*), *astera* or *apta* (*Bauhinia tomentosa*), *semel* (*Bombax heptaphyllum*), the *kalami* plant (*Convolovous repens*), etc. The majority of the totems are trees or plants.

Reverence shewn by the Bhils for their totems.

All the Bhils revere and refrain from injuring or using their totems, and they make a formal obeisance to them in passing, while the women veil their faces. When women desire to have children they present an offering called *mannat* to their totem. One of the clans is named Gaolia-Chothania after its totem *gaola*, which is a creeper. Members of the clan worship the plant; they never touch it with their feet if they can help it, and if they touch it accidentally they salaam to it by way of apology. The Maoli clan worships a goddess at a shrine which women may not approach. The shape of the shrine is like that of the grain-basket called *kilya*; hence members of the clan may neither make nor use such baskets, and none of them may tattoo a pattern

[1] Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) p. 197.

[2] Captain C. E. Luard, *op. cit.* pp. 197-201, 228; Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 99; Colonel Kincaird, "On the Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 397.

resembling the basket on his body. The Mori clan has the peacock for its totem. When they wish to worship the bird, they go into the jungle and look for its tracks. On finding the footprints they salaam to them, clean the ground round about, and spreading a piece of red cloth lay an offering of grain on it. They also describe a *swastika* in the earth beside the offering. If a member of the clan knowingly sets foot on the track of a peacock, he is sure to suffer from some disease afterwards. If a woman of the clan sees a peacock, she must veil her face or look away. The Sanyar clan is called after its totem the cat (*sanyar*), which the members of the clan reverence. They may never touch a cat except to preserve it from harm, and they will not even touch anything into which a cat has thrust its mouth. It is deemed very unlucky if a cat enters the house, and to prevent this they commonly keep a dog tied up near the door. The Ava clan takes its name from its totem the moth (*ava*), and members of the clan will not hurt moths. The Khatta clan derives its name from its totem the *khattia* fish, which they preserve; the Piplia clan worships the pipal tree, and the Semlia clan worships the *semel* tree (*Bombax heptaphyllum*), and members of the clan will not touch a pot in which the flowers of this tree have been cooked.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Khangars.

Another totemic people of Central India are the Khangars of Bundelkhand, who, though they profess the Hindoo religion and claim to be Rajputs by descent, are probably Dravidians.[2] They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs (*gotras*), among which the following may be noted. The Bel clan reveres the *bel* tree, which they never cut nor injure. The Bela clan reveres the *bela* plant, which in like manner they neither cut nor injure. The Samad clan holds the *samad* tree sacred. The Suraj clan professes to be descended from the sun (*suraj*) and to worship that luminary. The Guae clan is called after its totem the iguana (*guae*), which they never injure. The Nag

[1] Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) pp. 198-201; also *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices* (Calcutta, 1903), pp. 162 *sq.* Compare Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 99.

[2] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and of Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), iii. 228-231.

clan reveres and claims kindred with the serpent (*naga*), and they never destroy any snake. The Ghur or Ghor clan reveres the horse (*ghur, ghora*); members of the clan never mount a horse nor will they allow one to be used in marriage processions. The Hathi clan reveres and claims kindred with the elephant (*hathi*); and at marriage, contrary to the practice of the Horse clan, they mount the bridegroom on an elephant. The totem of the Gau clan is the cow, and the totem of the Magar clan is the alligator, which is worshipped by them at weddings and on other occasions. The Nahar clan is of the kindred of their totem the lion (*nahar*); and the Bar clan is of the kindred of the banyan tree (*bar*), which they worship. The Kusam clan reveres the safflower (*kusam*) and they never wear clothes dyed in its juice. The Nim clan reveres the *nim* tree and they never cut it nor use its fruit. The Chanwar clan has rice (*chanwar*) for their totem and they never eat it. The Haldi clan reveres the turmeric plant and never makes use of its dye. Another clan has a species of iguana (*chandan-guae*) for their totem, and they never injure it. The rule of exogamy is that a man may marry neither in the clan (*gotra*) of his father nor in that of his mother until three generations have passed.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Arakhs.

The Arakhs of Bundelkhand, another Dravidian people related to the Khangars, are also divided into exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Thus the Lahher clan abstains from touching their totem the *lahera* tree; and the Chandan clan worships the *chandan* tree (*Santalum album*) and never harms it. The Chanwar clan takes its name from its totem, rice (*chanwar*), which they never touch nor eat. The Ghora clan reveres the horse (*ghora*) and the Hathi clan reveres the elephant (*hathi*). The Gau clan has the cow for its totem, and the Ent clan has a brick (*ent*) for its totem; hence members of this last clan never use bricks, but build their houses of plain wattle and mud.[2]

[1] Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Part I. p. 227, and vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 166; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and of Oudh*, iii. 229 *sq.* That *suraj* means "sun" is mentioned by W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 247.

[2] Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Part I. p. 228, and vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 166.

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Korkus.

The Korkus are a Kolarian tribe, speaking their aboriginal language and inhabiting the Satpura, Mahadeo, and Maikul hills in the Central Provinces. They are found in various stages of barbarism or civilisation, but for the most part they cling to the hills and jungles and visit the nearest towns in the plains only to market. They are a quiet, peaceable people, who cultivate the soil a little when they can find a level patch of ground, but subsist chiefly by cutting and selling bamboos, firewood, and other produce of the jungle. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans or septs (*gots*) with descent in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father. The clans take their names from their totems, among which are the following: *busum* (thatch grass), *jambu* (the jamun tree, with an edible fruit), *bethe* (another wild fruit-tree), *siloo* (another wild fruit-tree), *sewathi* (a small thorny creeper), *chilathi* (a large thorny creeper), *lota* (stalks of the Makai Jawari, etc.), *athoa* (a wooden ladle, made from *bethe* wood), *kollia* (ashes), *kasda* (a ravine), *takhar* (cucumber), *sakhum* (teak), and *makhya tola* (Indian corn). Persons of the same totemic clan may not marry each other. A younger brother is supposed to marry his deceased elder brother's wife.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Gonds.

The Gonds are a non-Aryan tribe, who on grounds of language are classed as Dravidian. They belong properly to the Central Provinces, though some of them are found in Chota Nagpur and other parts of Bengal.[2] In the Central Provinces the Gonds inhabit the hilly country which surrounds the wide plains of Chhattisgar. Sharp and striking is the contrast between these bare, open, well-cultivated and thickly-populated lowlands on the one hand, and the virgin forests and dense jungle of the highlands on the other hand, where tigers and wild buffaloes abound, where the antelope and spotted deer roam the wilds, and aboriginal tribes are thinly scattered among the woodland glades. Some of the Gonds, however, have adopted Hindoo manners and settled in the plains, renouncing social intercourse with

[1] W. H. P. Driver, "The Korkus," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxi. Part I. (Calcutta, 1893) pp. 128-130; R. V. Russell, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1892), i. 292.

their brethren in the jungle.[1] Like many other tribes of the Central Provinces, the Gonds are divided into exogamous clans, which take their names from a plant, animal, or other natural or artificial object. Among the things which give names to Gond clans are *markam* (mango), *marai* (a tree), *kunjam* (a tree), *marskola* (an axe), *taram* (a tree), *suiwadewa* (a porcupine), *urrum* (a large lizard), *tumrisar* (a *tendu* tree), *kumrayete* (a goat), and *tumram* (a pumpkin). Members of the *taram* clan will not eat the leaves of the keolari tree.[2]

Mr. Bose's account of the Gond clans.

A somewhat different account of the Gond clans (*gotras* or *gots*) in the Central Provinces was given at an earlier time by Mr. P. N. Bose, who writes as follows: "There appear to be special minor deities for each *got*. The Gonds are divided into five *gots*. One of these *gots* comprises worshippers of three deities, another of four deities, a third of five deities, and so on. The three deities of the first of these *gots* are, I was told, the bull, the tiger, and the crocodile! These animals are considered sacred by, and would not contribute towards the food of, those who belong to this particular *got*; but the members of the other *gots* would not scruple to eat the flesh of any of these animals! I cannot, however, vouch for the correctness of this information; I often inquired about the *got*-gods, but never got any satisfactory answer. The four deities of the four-god *got* are, I was informed at one place, the Budha Deo himself and his three brothers, Aginkumar, Rausarna, and Audia-Singha; at another place I was told the four gods were the tortoise, the crocodile, a kind of fish called *bodh*, and a ferocious bird the name of which was given as *sarewa*."[3] And after giving the names of many clans, arranged under five groups according to the number of deities worshipped by each, Mr. Bose adds: "It would be interesting to know the signification of these terms. The meanings of a few I could gather are

[1] P. N. Bose, "Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) pp. 269 *sq.*, 273.

[2] R. V. Russell, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902), p. 189.

[3] P. N. Bose, "Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) pp. 281 *sq.*

given. It will be seen that they refer to some tree or animal. The names of some of the special gods of the five groups just mentioned have been given before. They refer mostly to animals, such as the crocodile, the bull, the tiger, etc. The *gots* into which the worshippers of the three deities (which are the bull, the tiger, and the alligator) are divided are what are called *Bhaibunds*, and they cannot intermarry; they must form alliances with other *gots*. Similarly the worshippers of the four deities are *Bhaibunds*, and so on." [1]

Marriage of cousins among the Gonds.

In the Bilaspore district of the Central Provinces the Gonds and also the Ghasias permit the marriage of cousins on the mother's side, that is, of a man with the daughter of his mother's brother, because she is of a different exogamous clan (*gotra*) from his; but he may not marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's brother, because she is of his own exogamous clan (*gotra*) and is therefore forbidden to him by the law of exogamy. But the Gonds and the Ghasias are the only castes in Bilaspore which permit the marriage of cousins on the mother's side. Amongst all the other castes of the district "the marriage of cousins is held in abhorrence because they are regarded as brothers and sisters. In fact there is no one word for cousin in the language of the people. The words 'brother' and 'sister' include a cousin also. If a man wishes to be exact, he will say of his cousin: 'He is my older father's son,' meaning his father's elder brother's son. Or again, he may say, 'He is my aunt-mother's son,' meaning his mother's sister's son, and so on. He would be shocked at the mere mention of marriage with cousins." [2]

Cousin-marriage in India generally.

Nevertheless, marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, is a general custom in many parts of India, for example in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, and in the Telugu-speaking country, where it has a special name (*mēnarikam*). It is observed

[1] P. N. Bose, "Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) p. 285. Mr. Bose seems to apply the term *got* both to the exogamous clans themselves and to the five groups under which they are classed according to the number of deities which they worship.

[2] E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-tales* (London, 1908), pp. 6 *sq*. Compare *id*. "Some Notes concerning the People of Munghēlī Tahsīl, Bilaspur District," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxi. Part III. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 45.

with particular strictness by the Komatis, a Telugu people. Cases also occur in which marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a father's sister, is especially enjoined, but they are less common. More usually marriage is allowed with either the daughter of the mother's brother or with the daughter of the father's sister; and where both are permitted, the former (namely marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother) is sometimes preferred.[1]

Cousin-marriages among the Kallans.

A few examples of the marriage of first cousins in Southern India may be cited as examples. Thus "marriage among the Kallans[2] is said to depend entirely upon consanguinity. The most proper alliance is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister; and, if an individual has such a cousin, he must marry her, whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy, for example, of fifteen must marry such a cousin, even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon his so doing. Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece, or some near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter, and insists upon his marrying her, he cannot refuse: and this whatever may be the woman's age.

Cousin-marriages among the Vallambans.

Among the Vallambans (Tamil cultivators), the maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter is said to be claimed as a matter of right by a boy, so that a lad of ten may be wedded to a mature woman of twenty or twenty-five years, if she happens to be unmarried and without issue. Any elderly male member of the boy's family—his elder brother, uncle, or even his father—will have intercourse with her, and beget children, which the boy, when he comes of age, will accept as his own, and legitimatise.

Cousin-marriages among the Komatis.

One of the customs of the Komatis (Telugu traders) is that which renders it the duty of a man to marry his uncle's daughter, however sickly or deformed she may be. This custom is known as *mēnarikam*, and is followed by a number of

[1] See the evidence collected by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, in his paper, "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 625-628. In this paper (pp. 611-640) Dr. Rivers has discussed the significance as well as the diffusion of the custom in India.

[2] The Kallans are a Tamil caste of thieves in Madura and Tinnevelly. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), pp. 18, 24.

Dravidian castes, but it is perhaps more strictly observed by the Komatis than by others. Some Komatis have, in recent times, given up this custom, and, as the common folk among them put it, have suffered by the loss of their sons-in-law and other mishaps. *Kanyakapurānam*, the sacred book of the Komatis, is a lasting monument of the rigidity with which *mēnarikam* was maintained in ancient days. The custom has apparently been copied by the Desasta Brahmans of Southern India, in whom it would, but for modern enlightenment, have almost been crystallised into law. The Ayyar Brahmans have adopted it in order to keep the family property intact within it.

Cousin-marriages among the Nattamans.

"A Nattaman (Tamil cultivator) man has a right to marry the daughter of his father's sister, and, if she is given to another man, the father's sister has to return to her father or brother the dowry, which she received at the time of her marriage, and this is given to the man who had the claim upon the girl.

Cousin-marriages among the Goundans.

"Among the Goundans (cultivators) of Coimbatore, a boy of seven or eight is occasionally married to a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter of sixteen or eighteen. In this case it is said that the boy's father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and is hardly practised, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that, upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently the case), she will incite her friends to tie a *tāli* on the girl by fraud or force.[1] The maternal uncle's daughter is absolutely the correct relationship for a wife. It is the bride's maternal uncle who carries her to the *nāttu-kal* (place where grain seedlings are raised) at the village boundary, and this is equivalent to a publication of the banns. . . . The Idaiyan (Tamil shepherd) bridegroom makes a present of four annas and betel to each of the bride's maternal uncle's sons, who have a natural right to marry her. The acceptance of the presents indicates their consent to the marriage. One of the bride's maternal

Cousin-marriages among the Idaiyan and Yerukalas.

[1] To tie a *tāli* on the girl is to perform a mock marriage ceremony on her. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 121 *sqq.*

uncles carries her in his arms to the marriage booth, while another uncle carries a lighted torch on a mortar. . . . Among the Yerukalas (a nomad tribe in the Telugu country) polygamy is practised, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. Marriage of relations within the degree of first cousins is not allowed. The rule is relaxed with respect to a man marrying the daughter of his father's sister, which is not only allowed, but a custom prevails that the two first daughters of a family may be claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his sons." [1]

Cousin-marriages among the Todas.

To these examples of cousin-marriage in India may be added the custom of the Todas in the Neilgherry Mountains. Among the Todas a man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. Hence a Toda man applies the same term *mun* to his mother's brother and to his wife's father, because these two personages are, or ought to be, one and the same man. Similarly, he applies the same term *mumi* to his father's sister and to his wife's mother, because these two personages are, or ought to be, one and the same woman.[2]

Identity of terms for mother's brother and wife's father.

Similarly in two of the three great Dravidian languages of Southern India, the Tamil and the Canarese, the term for mother's brother and wife's father is one and the same: in Tamil it is *mama*, in Canarese it is *mava*. In the third great Dravidian language of Southern India, namely the Telugu, the name for the wife's father is *mama* (as in Tamil) and the name for the mother's brother is *menamama*. This identity or close correspondence between the terms for mother's brother and wife's father in the three great Dravidian languages of Southern India tends, with other evidence adduced by Dr. Rivers, to establish the conclusion which he draws from it, namely, that the custom of marrying a first cousin, the daughter either of the mother's brother or of the father's sister, is an ancient Dravidian institution, which probably in former times was observed by all the members of that great family, although at the present day

The marriage of first cousins is apparently an ancient Dravidian institution.

[1] E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 53-56.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 487 *sq.*, 502; *id.* "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 619 *sq.*

some of them have relinquished it. In point of fact it is among peoples of the Dravidian stock, whether they speak the Tamil or the Telugu language, that the right or the obligation to marry such first cousins still survives.[1]

The custom of cousin-marriage is probably a relic of the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes.

If we ask why a man should not only be allowed but in some cases expected and required to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, the only probable answer seems to be the one indicated by Dr. Rivers,[2] namely, that the custom is derived from the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes, such as we still find, or found till very lately, in the Urabunna and many other Australian tribes; for where such a bisection exists the children of a brother and the children of his sister necessarily belong to different exogamous moieties or classes and are therefore proper mates for each other. We have seen that amongst the Urabunna in Central Australia the custom of such cousin-marriages co-exists with the bisection of the community, and is obviously derived from it.[3] We may, therefore, with much probability infer that the Dravidians, who retain to a considerable extent the custom of such cousin-marriages, have inherited it from a time when their ancestors were divided, like many Australian tribes at the present time, into two exogamous moieties or classes. This inference is greatly strengthened by the observation that the Dravidians, like the Australians, seem to have universally possessed, as indeed they still to a great extent possess, the two institutions of totemism and the classificatory system of relationship,[4] both of which are bound up either (as is the case with the classificatory system of relationship) essentially or (as is the case with totemism) accidentally with the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes.

Hence the Dravidians seem to have had formerly a two-class exogamous system like that of many Australian tribes.

But this account of cousin-marriage in India has been a digression, though not an impertinent one. We now return to our immediate subject, which is the evidence for the

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 618-621, 623. As to the languages of the Dravidian family, see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 *sqq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 622 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 177-181.

[4] See below, pp. 329 *sqq.*

existence of totemism and exogamy among the natives of the Central Provinces of India.

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Savars.

Another totemic people of Central India are the Savars, an aboriginal tribe of cultivators and menials, who have been variously classed as Dravidians and as Kolarians. Some of them are found in Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal and Madras as well as in the Central Provinces.[1] They are divided into many exogamous clans with paternal descent. The wife belongs to her husband's clan after marriage, and the children belong to the clan of their father. Among the clans with their totemic taboos are the following. The Saram clan may not eat *sambar*; the Murmu clan may not eat the nilgau (a species of antelope); the Barhia clan may not eat wild pig; the Guincha clan may not eat tree-mice; the Ir-tirki clan may not eat guinea-pig; the Nag clan may not kill a cobra; the Sua clan may not kill nor eat a parrot; and the Toro clan may not kill nor eat a lizard.[2]

Exogamous and totemic clans among other tribes of the Central Provinces.

The division of a people into exogamous and totemic clans is found among many other tribes in the Central Provinces. Such clans, we are informed, "are confined for the most part to the Dravidian tribes, and where they are found in other castes, probably indicate either that the caste itself is of non-Aryan origin or that a section of a tribe has become enrolled in it as a sub-caste."[3] The following table exhibits the names of some of these totemic tribes with some of their clan totems:—[4]

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 241 *sq.*; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 149 *sq.* The Kolarian family of speech should rather be called the Munda, after one of its principal forms. Different opinions have been held as to whether it belongs to the same family as the Dravidian or not; but recent enquiries tend to show that the Munda or Kolarian and the Dravidian languages have not a common origin. See Mr. G. A. Grierson, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. India, Part I. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 278, note[1]; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 *sq.*, 382 *sq.*

[2] W. H. P. Driver, "Notes on some Kolarian Tribes, No. II." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lx. Part I. (Calcutta, 1892) p. 34.

[3] R. V. Russell, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

[4] R. V. Russell, *l.c.*

[TABLE

Tribe.	Clan Totems.
Ahirs	*hasti* (elephant), *bhainsa* (buffalo), *sendur* (vermilion), *singha* (lion).
Barais	*richharia* (bear), *kulaha* (jackal), *bandar* (monkey), *kumhardora* (a Kumhar's thread).
Bharias	*nag* (a snake).
Chadars	*dhana* (coriander), *magra* (crocodile), *sua* (parrot), *belha* (bel tree).
Chamars	*purain* (lotus leaves), *machhli* (fish), *koliha* (jackal).
Dangris	*nagkuria* (snake), *morkuria*, (peacock).[1]
Darjis	*bel* (a tree), *piparia* (a pipal tree).
Dhangar-Oraons	*chirai* (a bird), *umjan* (a tree), *minj* (a fish), *bagh* (tiger), *nun* (salt), *dhan* (rice), *nag* (snake), *limuan* (tortoise).
Dhimars	*chandan* (sandal-wood), *bhatua* (a vegetable), *machhia* (a fish).
Ghasias	*bichhi* (scorpion), *kalasarp* (cobra).
Halbas	*bheria* (wolf), *aonla* (a tree), *karait* (the snake of that name), *mhsia* (buffalo), *nagbans* (snake), *bel* (a tree), *baghbans* (tiger), *bandarbans* (monkey).

Many of the totemic clans in the Central Provinces are reported not to observe the rule which forbids members of a clan to kill or use their totem; even the meaning of the clan names is often forgotten.[2]

§ 2. *Totemism in the Madras Presidency*

Totemic clans among the Boyas.

In the Madras Presidency the Boyas, a great Telugu-speaking tribe of the Deccan districts, comprise two

[1] In these two names the second portion (*kuria*) is perhaps the native word for "clan."

[2] R. V. Russell, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

endogamous sections, namely the Forest men (*Myasa* or *Vyadha*) and the Village men (*Uru*), of whom the former subsist on game and other produce of the woods, while the latter have settled down in villages and live by fishing and day labour. The tribe is subdivided into one hundred and one totemic clans or septs, many of which bear the names of plants and animals. Such clans are the Ants (*Chimalu*), the Bulls (*Eddulu*), the Buffaloes (*Yenumalu*), the Centipedes (*Jerrabotula*), the Sweet-scented Oleanders (*Genneru*), the Grasses (*Kusa*), the Dogs (*Kukkala*), the Paroquets (*Chilakala*), the Peacocks (*Nemili*), the Cows (*Avula*), the Lizards (*Udumala*), the Locusts (*Midathala*), the Gazelles (*Jinkala*), the Goats (*Mekala*), the Jackals (*Nakka*), the Sparrows (*Pichiga*), the Pigeons (*Guvvala*), Turmeric (*Pasupu*), and Sugar-cane (*Cheruku*). Other clans are named after other objects such as Butter-milk (*Majjiga*), Hand (*Hastham*), Ear (*Chevvula*), Beard (*Geddam*), Whiskers (*Misala*), Charcoal (*Boggula*), Bread (*Rottala*), Hut (*Gudisa*), Garden (*Tota*), Light (*Joti*), Fire (*Aggi*), Mat (*Chapa*), Drum (*Thappata*), etc. Members of the clans are said to shew the usual reverence for the totemic animals or plants after which they are named by not touching or using them in any way.[1]

Totemic clans among the Kalingi.

The Kalingi, a caste of temple priests and cultivators in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, are divided into several exogamous clans (*gotras*), each comprising a number of families (*vamsas*), of which some are totemic, such as the Arudra or Lady Bird clan or family, and the Ravi-chettu or *Ficus religiosa* clan or family. Each section is said to worship its totem.[2]

Totemic clans among the Kurni.

The Kurni, a caste of weavers and cultivators in the Madras Presidency, comprise two main divisions, of which one is said to be subdivided into sixty-six totemic clans or septs (*gotras*). Amongst them are *arishina* (saffron), *hon* (gold), *jerige* (cummin), *kadalai* (Bengal-gram, *Cicer arietinum*), *menasu* (pepper), *mulla* (thorn), *sampige* (a flowering tree, *Michelia champaca*), and *yemme* (buffalo).[3]

The Vakkaliga of Madras are a caste of Canarese

[1] W. Francis, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. Madras, Part I. (Madras, 1902) p. 146; Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 198 *sq.*

[2] W. Francis, *op. cit.* pp. 157 *sq.*

[3] W. Francis, *op. cit.* p. 165.

Totemic clans among the Vakkaliga.

cultivators, who originally belonged to Mysore and are now found mainly in Madura and Coimbatore. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*kulas*), which include Chinnada (gold), Belli (silver), Khajjaya (a cake), Yemme (a buffalo), Alagi (a pot), and Jola (cholum). They employ Brahman priests and are beginning to burn their dead, but they eat animal food.[1]

The Kasubas of the Neilgherries.

The Kasubas are a forest tribe of the beautiful Neilgherry Mountains in the Madras Presidency, but a branch of the tribe is also found in certain contiguous districts of the feudatory State of Mysore, particularly in Gundlupet, Chamarajanagur, and Yelandur. They work on the coffee plantations, which occupy clearings in the forest. Their language is a dialect of Tamil akin to the Irula language, with a strong Canarese element, and some of them claim connection with the Irulas. Kasubas and Irulas occasionally intermarry. But unlike the Irulas, the Todas, and other hill tribes of the Neilgherry Mountains, the Kasubas are divided into many totemic clans or septs, of which the following have been recorded :—

Totemic clans of the Kasubas.

1. The *Nagara-kula* or Cobra clan. The members of this clan do not kill the cobra de capello. Whenever they see the snake, they make obeisance to it and burn incense before it.

2. The *Belli-kula* or Silver clan. The women of this clan do not wear silver (*belli*) ornaments (known as *murups*) on the toes of either foot.

3. The *Bhumi-kula* or Earth clan. The members of this clan burn incense in honour of Earth on festival days, such as *Sivaasathri*, a popular Hindoo festival.

Other Kasuba clans are the *Sambar-kula*, the *Or-kula*, the *Karataguru-kula*, and the *Uppiliguru-kula*; but the totems of these have not been ascertained. We may probably assume, though we are not expressly told, that all these clans are exogamous. A Kasuba man usually marries his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister; indeed he is bound to marry her, unless she is older than himself. In that case he may marry either his first cousin, the

Cousin-marriages.

[1] W. Francis, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. Madras, Part I. (Madras, 1902) p. 182.

daughter of his mother's brother, or his niece, the daughter of his sister. The remarriage of widows is discountenanced, but not forbidden.[1]

The Balijas, their exogamous clans.

The Balijas are the chief Telugu trading caste and are scattered throughout all the districts of the Madras Presidency.[2] Like other Telugu castes of Southern India, the Balijas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), which bear, amongst others, the following names Tiger (*puli*), Lizard (*balli*), Cow (*avula*), Peacock (*nemili*), Buffalo (*yenumala*), Split Pulse (*pappu*), Cummin seeds (*jilakara*), coco-nut (*narikella*), Pepper (*miriyala*), Sandal Paste (*gandham*), Pearls (*mutyala*), Coral (*pagadala*), Silk house (*pattindla*), Musket (*tupakala*), Bell (*gantla*), and Rings (*ungarala*).[3]

The Bants, their exogamous clans.

The Bants are the chief land-owning and cultivating class in South Canara, and they are, with one exception, the most numerous caste of the district. Most of them profess the Hindoo religion, but about ten thousand of them are Jains.[4] They are divided into a number of exogamous clans or septs (*bali*), which are traced in the female line; that is, children belong to their mother's, not to their father's clan. Marriage between persons of the same clan (*bali*) "is considered incestuous, as falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity." Nor is the taboo limited to persons of the same clan; it extends to certain allied (*koodu*) clans as well. Moreover, a man is forbidden to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's brother, though she belongs to a different clan. The Bant clans take their names from animals, plants, and other objects, such for example as the tiger, scorpion, bandicoot rat, fowl, jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), green peas, *Nux Vomica*, *Eleusine Coracana*, jaggery, ashes, and weaver.[5]

The Besthas are a Telugu caste, who gain their livelihood as hunters, fishers, farmers, bearers, and cooks.[6] Like

[1] C. Hayavadana Rao, "The Kasubas, a Forest Tribe of the Nilgiris," *Anthropos*, iv. (1909) pp. 178-181.

[2] *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. *Madras*, Part I., by W. Francis (Madras, 1902), p. 144.

[3] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 134, 140 *sq.*

[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 149, 151.

[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 163 *sq.*

[6] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 218. As to the Besthas in Mysore, see further below, pp. 272 *sq.*

The Besthas, their exogamous clans.

other Telugu castes, they are divided into exogamous septs (*intiperulu*) and *gotras*, and the members of some of the *gotras* observe certain taboos which appear to be totemic. Thus, members of the Jessamine (*malle*) *gotra* may not touch jessamine; and members of the Ippala *gotra* may not touch or use the *ippa* tree (*Bassia latifolia*).[1]

The Bhondari, their exogamous clans.

The Bhondari are the barbers of the Oriya country, living in Ganjam.[2] They are divided into exogamous clans, of which some are named after the peacock (*mohiro*), the cobra, *Achyranthes aspera*, and light (*dhippo*). Members of the clan who take their name from the *Achyranthes aspera* may not touch the plant nor use its root as a tooth-brush. Members of the Light clan may not extinguish lights with their breath or in any other way, and they will not light lamps unless they are wearing silk or cloths that have been washed and dried after bathing.[3] A Bhondari ought not to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister.[4]

Cousin-marriages.

The Bottadas, their exogamous clans.

The Bottadas are a class of Uriya cultivators and labourers, speaking a dialect of Uriya. The caste is divided into three endogamous sections, of which one, the Bodo or genuine Bottadas, is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans or septs (*bamsa*), some of which are named the Tiger (*bhag*), the Cobra (*nag*), the Tortoise (*kochchimo*), the Lizard (*goyi*), the Monkey (*makado*), the Dog (*kukkuro*), and the Goat (*cheli*). A man may claim in marriage his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister. A younger brother often marries the widow of his deceased elder brother.[5]

Cousin-marriages.

The Chenchus, their exogamous clans.

The Chenchus are a Telugu-speaking jungle tribe, who inhabit the hills of the Kurnool and Nellore districts. Like other Telugu classes, the Chenchus are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), which bear amongst others such names as Horse (*gurram*), Goats (*mekala*), Plantain-tree (*arati*), Garden (*tota*), Houses (*indla*), Pit (*gundam*), and Sovereign (*savaram*, the gold coin).[6]

The Devangas are a caste of weavers who are found all

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 221.
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 230.
[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 231.
[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 232.
[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 264 *sq.*, 266.
[6] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 26, 39.

over the Madras Presidency. Some of them speak Telugu and others Canarese.[1] The Telugu-speaking section of the caste is the more conservative of the two; they have not adopted the Brahmanical ceremonials to such an extent as their Canarese-speaking brethren. These Telugu-speaking Devangas are divided into a large number of exogamous clans or septs, of which the following are given as examples:—[2]

The Devangas, their exogamous clans.

Akasam, sky.
Anumala, seeds of *Dolichos lablab*.
Boggula, charcoal.
Bandla, rock or cart.
Chintakai, tamarind fruit.
Challa, buttermilk.
Chapparam, pandal or booth.
Dhoddi, cattle-pen, or courtyard.
Dhuggani, money.
Yerra, red.
Katta, a dam.
Kompala, houses.
Konangi, buffoon.
Katikala, collyrium.
Kaththiri, scissors,
Moksham, heaven.
Pasupala, turmeric.
Pidakala, dried cow-dung cakes.
Pothula, male.
Pachipowaku, green tobacco.
Padavala, boat.
Pouzala, a bird.
Pammi, clay lamp.
Thalakoka, female cloth.
Thutla, hole.
Utla, ropes for hanging pots.
Vasthrala, cloths.
Konda, mountain.
Kaththi, knife.
Bandari (treasurer).
Busam, grain.
Dhondapu, *Cephalandra indica*.
Elugoti, assembly.
Gattu, bank or mound.
Paidam, money.
Gonapala, old plough.
Gosu, pride.
Jigala, pith.
Matam, monastery.
Madira, liquor or heap of earth.
Medam, fight.
Masila, dirt.
Olikala, funeral pyre and ashes.
Prithvi, earth.
Peraka, tile.
Punjala, cock or male.
Pinjala, cotton-cleaning.
Pichchiga, sparrow.
Sika (*Kudumi*: tuft of hair).
Sandala, lanes.
Santha, a fair.
Sajje, *Setaria italica*.

In this curiously miscellaneous list of names there are few plants and still fewer animals. The majority of Devangas are worshippers of Siva and wear the *lingam*. "In some parts of Ganjam the country folk keep a large number of Brahmani bulls. When one of these animals dies, very elaborate funeral ceremonies take place, and the dead beast is carried in procession by Devangas, and buried by them. As the Devangas are Lingayats, they have a special reverenc

Sacred bulls

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 154.
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 160 *sq.*

for Basavanna, the sacred bull, and the burying of the Brahmani bull is regarded by them as a sacred and meritorious act."[1] Thus like many other people in India the Devangas retain the old social organisation in exogamous clans after they have accepted the Hindoo religion.

The Dhombs, their clans.

The Dhombs are a Dravidian caste of weavers and menials, who are found in the hill tracts of Vizagapatam. They appear to be an offshoot of the Doms of Bengal.[2] Some of their clans or septs bear the names of Tiger (*bhag*), Bear (*balu*), Cobra (*nag*), Hanuman (the monkey god), Tortoise (*kochchipo*), Frog (*bengri*), Dog (*kukra*), Sun (*surya*), Fish (*matsya*), and Lizard (*jaikonda*). It is said that among the Dhombs "monkeys, frogs, and cobras are taboo, and also the *sunari* tree (*Ochna squarrosa*). The big lizard, cobras, frogs and the crabs which are found in the paddy fields and are usually eaten by jungle people, may not be eaten."[3] A Dhomb may claim his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, in marriage. A younger brother usually marries the widow of his deceased elder brother.[4]

Cousin-marriages. The Levirate.

The Ganigas, their clans and taboos.

The Ganigas or Gandlas are a Telugu caste whose chief occupation is oil-pressing. They are divided into clans or septs (*gotras*), some of which observe certain taboos. Thus, members of two clans may not cut the tree *Erythroxylon monogynum*; members of two others may not cut *Feronia elephantum*; and members of another may not cut *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*. Members of certain other clans do not cultivate turmeric, sugar-cane, or a kind of millet (*Panicum miliare*). If a young man of this caste dies a bachelor, the corpse is married to an arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) and is adorned with a wreath of its flowers.[5]

The Gollas, their exogamous

The Gollas are the great pastoral caste of the Telugu people. Their hereditary occupation is tending sheep and cattle and selling milk, but many of them have now acquired lands and are engaged in farming, and some are in Government service.[6] Like many other Telugu castes, the Gollas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*)

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 161 *sq.*

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 173 *sq.* As to the Doms of Bengal, see below, pp. 313 *sq.*

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 176 *sq.*

[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 177, 178.

[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 266, 267.

[6] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 284.

and *gotras*. Among the former (the *intiperu*) are the following :—[1]

Agni, fire.
Avula, cows.
Chinthala, tamarind.
Chevvula, ears.
Gundala, stones.
Gurram, horse.
Gorrela, sheep.
Gorantla, henna (*Lawsonia alba*).
Kokala, woman's cloth.
Katari, dagger.
Mugi, dumb.
Nakkala, jackal.
Saddikudu, cold rice or food.
Sevala, service.
Ullipoyala, onions.
Vankayala, brinjal (*Solanum melongena*).

Taboos observed by Golla *gotras*.

Members of the Raghindala (*Ficus religiosa*) *gotra* in the Golla caste are not allowed to use the leaves of the sacred fig or peepul tree as plates for their food. Members of the Palavili *gotra* never construct *palavili* or small booths inside the house for the purpose of worship. Members of the Akshathayya *gotra* are said to avoid rice coloured with turmeric or other powder (*akshantalu*). Members of the Kommi, Jammi, and Mushti *gotras* avoid using the *kommi* tree, the *Prosopis spicigera*, and the *Strychnos Nux-vomica* respectively.[2] The Gollas have adopted the Hindoo religion, some of them worshipping Vishnu and others Siva.[3]

The Gudalas, their exogamous clans.

The Gudalas are a Telugu caste of basket-makers in Vizagapatam and Ganjam. Like so many other Telugu castes, the Gudalas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperulu*), amongst which are, for example, the Jackal (*nakka*) clan, the Cotton (*patlithi*) clan, and the *Setaria italica* (*korra*) clan. Another clan takes its name from *ganti*, "a hole pierced in the lobe of the ear." In this caste the custom called *mēnarikam* is observed of marrying a first cousin, the daughter of the mother's brother.[4]

Cousin-marriages.

The Haddis, their exogamous clans.

The Haddis are a low class of Oriyas, corresponding to the Telugu Malas and Madigas and to the Tamil Paraiyans.[5] They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs (*bamsam*). One of these takes its name from the elephant (*hathi*), and when members of this clan see the foot-prints of an elephant they take up some of the dust from the spot and mark their foreheads with it. They also draw the

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 290.
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 291.
[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 292.
[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 300, 30[illegible].
[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 313.

figure of an elephant when they perform the memorial services for the dead (*sradh*) and other ceremonies.[1] Contrary to the usual Oriya custom, the Haddis permit the practice of *mēnarikam* or marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother.[2] The Haddis who inhabit the southern part of Ganjam are known as Ghasis, and among their exogamous clans or septs (*bamsam*) are the Cobra (*naga*) clan, the Horse (*asvo*) clan, the Tamarind (*chintala*) clan, and the Parched Rice (*liari*) clan.[3]

Cousin-marriages.

The Halepaik, their exogamous clans.

The Halepaik are Canarese toddy-drawers, who are found in the northern part of the South Canara district. They are Hindoos by religion, professing the worship of Vishnu, and are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*bali*), which descend in the female line. Among the names of the clans are Chendi (*Cerbera Odollum*), Honne (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), Tolar (wolf), and Devana (god).[4] It is recorded of the Halepaiks of the Canara district in the Bombay Presidency that "each exogamous section, known as a *bali* (literally a creeper), is named after some animal or tree, which is held sacred by the members of the same. This animal, tree, or flower, etc., seems to have been once considered the common ancestor of the members of the *bali*, and to the present day it is both worshipped by them, and held sacred in the sense that they will not injure it. Thus the members of the *nagbali*, named apparently after the *nagchampa* flower, will not wear this flower in their hair, as this would involve injury to the plant. The *Kadavebali* will not kill the sambhar (deer: *kadave*), from which they take their name." The Halepaiks of South Canara seem to attach no such importance to their clan names.[5]

Worship of the totems.

The Janappans, their exogamous

The Janappans or Saluppans were originally a section of the Balijas, but they have developed into a distinct caste. Saluppan is the Tamil form of the name Janappan, which is supposed to be derived from *janapa*, "hemp," because members of the caste manufactured, and indeed still manufacture, gummy-bags of hemp fibre. Most of the caste is

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 314.
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 315.
[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 319.
[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 320 *sqq.*
[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 321, quoting "*Monograph, Eth. Survey of Bombay*, 12, 1904." As to the Halepaiks of the Bombay Presidency, see also below, p. 276.

now engaged in trade or agriculture. They profess the Hindoo religion, some of them being followers of Vishnu and others of Siva. The caste usually speaks Telugu.[1] The Janappans of the Telugu country are divided into twenty-four clans or septs (*gotras*), some of which observe totemic taboos. Thus members of the Frog (*kappala*) clan will not injure frogs, because they say that once on a time when some of the family were fishing, they made a haul of big frogs instead of fish. Members of the Thonda clan abstain from using the fruit or leaves of the *thonda* plant (*Cephalandra indica*), though it is one of the commonest of native vegetables; and similarly members of the Mukkanda clan may not use the fruit of the *Momordica Charantia*. Again, members of the Kola clan are forbidden to eat the *kolasi* fish; and members of the Vamme clan refrain from eating the fish *bombadai*, because some of their ancestors found a number of these fish in the marriage pot in which they intended to fetch water.[2]

Totemic taboos.

The Jogis are a caste of Telugu mendicants, and like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), of which the following are cited as examples:—[3]

The Jogis, their exogamous clans.

Vagiti, court-yard.
Uluvala, horse-gram.
Jalli, tassels of palmyra leaves put round the necks of bulls.
Vavati (relationship).
Gundra, round.
Bindhollu, brass water-pot.
Cheruku, sugar-cane.
Chappadi, insipid.
Boda Dasiri, bald-headed mendicant.
Gudi, temple.

In the Jogi marriage ceremony the maternal uncles of the young couple tie threads made of human hair to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom and carry the two on their shoulders into the marriage booth (*pandal*).[4]

Maternal uncles at marriage ceremony.

"The Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency, numbering more than two millions, and are the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and squireens in the Telugu country. In the *Gazetteer* of Anantapur they are described as being the great land-holding body in the

The Kapus or Reddis.

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 447, 449 *sq.*
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 448 *sq.*
[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 494, 496.
[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 497.

Telugu districts, who are held in much respect as substantial, steady-going yeomen, and next to the Brahmans are the leaders of Hindu Society. In the *Salem Manual* it is stated that 'the Reddis are provident. They spend their money on the land, but are not parsimonious. They are always well dressed, if they can afford it. The gold ornaments worn by the women or the men are of the finest kind of gold. Their houses are always neat and well built, and the Reddis give the idea of good substantial ryots. They live chiefly on *rāgi* (grain: *Eleusine Coracana*), and are a fine powerful race.'"[1]

Exogamy and totemism among the Kapus or Reddis.

However, these fine, powerful, well-dressed men, these gentlemen farmers, these substantial steady-going yeomen, these leaders of society with their neat well-built houses and jewels of fine gold, nevertheless retain the primitive institutions of exogamy and to some extent of totemism. So false is the popular notion that these ancient customs are practised only by vagrant savages with no house over their heads and little or no clothing on their backs.

Exogamous clans of the Kapus or Reddis.

Among the exogamous clans or septs into which the Kapus or Reddis are divided may be mentioned the following:—[2]

Avula, cow.	*Mékala*, goats.
Alla, grain.	*Kānugala*, *Pongamia glabra*.
Bandi, cart.	*Mungāru*, woman's skirt.
Barrelu, buffaloes.	*Nāgali*, plough.
Dandu, army.	*Tangēdu*, *Cassia auriculata*.
Gorre, sheep.	*Udumala*, *Varanus bengalensis*.
Gudise, hut.	*Varige*, *Setaria italica*.
Guntaka, harrow.	*Yeddulu*, bulls.
Kōdla, fowl.	*Yēnuga*, elephant.

Totemic taboos observed by the Reddis.

Further at Conjeeveram, we are told, "some Panta Reddis have true totemistic septs, of which the following are examples:—

"*Magili* (*Pandanus fascicularis*). Women do not, like women of other castes, use the flower-bracts for the purpose of adorning themselves. A man has been known to refuse to purchase some bamboo mats, because they were tied with the fibre of this tree.

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 222 *sq.*
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 230 *sq.*

"*Ippi* (*Bassia longifolia*). The tree and its products, must not be touched.

"*Mancham* (cot). They avoid sleeping on cots.

"*Arigala* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*). The grain is not used as food.

"*Chintaginjalu* (tamarind seeds). The seeds may not be touched, or used.

"*Puccha* (*citrullus vulgaris*; water melon). The fruit may not be eaten." [1]

The Komatis. The Komatis are the great trading caste of the Madras Presidency, and are found in almost all districts of it. They are also to be met with in Mysore, the Bombay Presidency, Berar, the Central Provinces, and as far north-west as Baroda.[2] Everywhere they speak Telugu and are devoted to their mother-tongue, despising the sister language Tamil. Indeed we are told that Telugu is the most mellifluous of all the Dravidian languages and sounds harmonious even in the lips of the vulgar and illiterate. It has been called the Italian of the East.[3]

Totemism and exogamy among the Komatis. The Komatis are a highly organised caste, being divided, and subdivided into many clans or septs which are strictly exogamous and totemic; in other words, no man may marry a woman of the same clan as himself, and all the members of a clan revere their totem in the usual way, making no secret of their reverence. When the totem is a plant, they say that any person who breaks the totemic taboo will be punished by being born as an insect for seven generations. But it is possible to obtain exemption from the rule. A person who wishes to eat the forbidden fruit may do so by annually performing the funeral ceremonies of the totemic ancestor at Gaya, the great Hindoo place of pilgrimage, where obsequies for ancestors are celebrated.[4]

Totemic clans of the Komatis. To enumerate all the totemic clans of the Komatis would, we are told, be tedious. The following is a select list of them with their totems:—[5]

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 231.

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 306.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 307 *sq.*, citing the opinion of Mr. Henry Morris.

[4] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 312, 314.

[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* 312 *sq.*; compare W. Francis, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. *Madras*, Part i. (Madras, 1902) p. 162. As to the Komatis and their exogamous clans in Mysore, see below, pp. 273 *sq.*

I. CLANS WITH PLANT TOTEMS

Clans.	Plant Totems.
Munikula	*agasi* (*Sesbania grandiflora*).
Amalaki or Usiri	*amalaki* or *usiri* (*Phyllanthus Emblica*).
Anupa or Anupala	*anupala* (*Dolichos Lablab*).
Tulasi or Tulashishta	*tulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*).
Chinta, Chintya, or Varachinta	*chinta* (*Tamarindus indica*).
Vakkala	*vakkalu* (*Areca Catechu*).
Puchcha	*puchcha* (*Citrullus Colocynthis*).
Padma-sista	*padma* (red lotus).
Kamala	*kamalam* (white lotus).
Aranta	*arati* (*Musa sapientum*: plantain).
Thotakula	*thotakura* (*Amarantus*, sp.).
Uthakula	*uththarēni* (*Achyranthes aspera*).
Mandu	*māmadikāya* (*Mangifera indica*).
Dikshama	*drākshapandu* (grapes).
Venkola	*vankāya* (*Solanum Melongena*: brinjal).
Sauna	*sāmanthi* (*Chrysanthemum indicum*).

II. CLANS WITH ANIMAL TOTEMS

Clans.	Animal Totems.
Gosila, Sathya Gosila, and Uthama Gosila	cow
Asthi	elephant
Enupa	buffalo
Ghonta	horse
Ananta	cobra
Bhramada or Brahmara	bee

III. CLANS WITH HEAVENLY BODIES AS TOTEMS

Clans.	Heavenly Bodies.
Arka or Surya	sun
Chandra, Chandra Sishta, Suchandra, or Vannavamsam	moon

We have seen that a Komati can claim his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, in marriage by virtue of the custom called *mēnarikam*.[1] Cousin marriages.

The Koravas or Yerukalas, as they are also called, are a tribe of vagabonds, thieves, quack doctors, and fortune-tellers, who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. When railways spread over the country, these gentry travelled on them with enthusiasm, partly for the purpose of robbing passengers in their sleep, partly in order to escape expeditiously from places which they had made too hot to hold them. They speak a gibberish compounded out of Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese.[2] The Koravas are divided into exogamous clans or septs, of which the following, given by Uppu Yerukalas, may be taken as examples :—[3] The Koravas or Yerukalas, and their exogamous clans.

Dāsari, Vaishnavite mendicant.
Sukka, star.
Kampa, bush of thorns.
Avula, cows.
Thoka, tail.
Kānaga (*Pongamia glabra*).
Bandi, cart.
Gajjala, small bell.
Mogili (*Pandanus fascicularis*).
Uyyāla, swing.
Rāgala, *rāgi* grain.
Pūla, flowers.
Katāri, dagger.
Ambojala, lotus.
Samudrāla, sea.
Venkatagiri, a town.

Amongst the Koravas or Yerukalas, we are informed, "totemism of some kind evidently exists, but it is rather odd that it has not always any apparent connection with the sept or house name. Thus, the totem of persons of the Konēti sept is horse-gram (*kollu* in Tamil), which they hold in veneration, and will not touch, eat, or use in any way. The totem of the Samudrāla sept is the conch shell, which likewise will not be used by those of the sept in any manner. It may be noted that persons of the Ramēswari sept will not eat tortoises, while those of the Konēti sept are in some manner obliged to do so on certain occasions "[4] Totemism among the Koravas or Yerukalas.

Among the Koravas or Yerukalas a custom prevails "by which the first two daughters of a family may be

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 314. See above, pp. 225 *sq*.

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 438 *sqq*. As to these blacklegs, see also J. Shortt, M.D., "On the Wild Tribes of Southern India," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) pp. 186-188.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 452.

[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 453, quoting Mr. Fawcett.

Cousin marriages; right of a man to marry the daughter of his father's sister.

claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his sons. The value of a wife is fixed at twenty pagodas. The maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters is valued at eight out of twenty pagodas, and is carried out thus:—If he urges his preferential claim, and marries his own sons to his nieces, he pays for each only twelve pagodas; and, similarly, if he, from not having sons, or any other cause, forego his claim, he receives eight pagodas of the twenty paid to the girl's parents by anybody else who may marry them."[1] Among the Yerukalas of the Vizagapatam district a man may marry either the daughter of his father's sister or the daughter of his mother's brother.[2]

The Kurubas.

The Kurumbas, a wild jungle tribe of the lower Neilgherry Hills.

The Kurubas are a caste of petty landowners, shepherds, weavers, cultivators, and stone-masons. Their complexion varies from very dark to light brown. It is a disputed question whether the civilised Kurubas of the plains and open country are related or not to the wild uncouth Kurumbas, a primitive folk, squat and broad-nosed, who dwell in the feverish recesses of the jungle and on the lower slopes of the Neilgherry Hills.[3] These Kurumbas are much dreaded as sorcerers by their neighbours, and their name is popularly derived from the Tamil word *kurumba*, "wickedness." However, the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills employ them in the capacity of priests who officiate at the various seasons of the agricultural year. Every Badaga village has its own Kurumba priest. At the ploughing season he comes up from his sweltering valley to the breezy hills and ploughs the first furrow; at the sowing season he sows the first handful of grain; and at harvest he reaps the first sheaf with the sickle. For these services he receives his dues or a proportion of the ripe grain at the harvest home. And if the standing crop should be attacked by insects, which threaten to blight it, up comes the swarthy Kurumba priest again, and lowing like a calf is supposed thereby to kill the vermin.[4] Mr. Edgar Thurston was told

[1] J. Shortt, M.D., "On the Wild Tribes of Southern India," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) pp. 187 *sq.*

[2] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 484.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 134 *sqq.*, 155 *sqq.*

[4] Captain Henry Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* (London, 1832), pp. 56 *sq.*, 83

that among the Kurumbas of the Neilgherries it is the custom for several brothers to take one wife in common, and that they do not object to their women being open to others also. There is said to be no marriage rite. A man and woman will mate together and live as husband and wife.[1]

Exogamous subclans of the Kurubas.

Whether related to the Kurumbas or not, the Kurubas are divided into clans (*gumpus*), and these again are subdivided into exogamous subclans or septs (*gotras*), which are said to be mostly of totemic origin and to retain their totemic character to this day. "The Arisana *gōtram* is particularly worthy of notice. The name means saffron (turmeric), and this was originally taboo; but, as this caused inconvenience, the *korra* grain has been substituted, although the old name of the sept was retained."[2] The names of sixty-six of these exogamous and totemic subclans or septs have been recorded. Among them are Elephant, Snake, Scorpion, Buffalo, Tortoise, Black Ant, Dog, Goat, Ebony, *Prosopis Spicigera*, *Basella rubra*, *Feronia elephantum*, *Hibiscus esculentus*, Cummin, Bengal Gram, Jessamine, Chrysanthemum, Millet (*Panicum miliare*), Pepper, Milk, Clarified Butter, Fire, Sun, Moon, Ocean, Silver, Gold, Bell-metal, Pearl, Conch-shell, Earth-salt, Flint, Ant-hill, Bangle, Ring, Gold Ring, Metal Toe-ring, Lace, Blanket, Cup, Drum, Pick-axe, Loom, Bamboo Tube, Cart, Booth, Hut, Devil, Headman, and Mohammadan.[3] Among the Kurubas of North Arcot the consent of the maternal uncle is necessary to a marriage, and at the wedding he leads the bride to the nuptial booth. A Kuruba may marry two sisters, either on the death of one of them, or if the first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease.[4]

Marriage with two sisters.

The Madigas, a Telugu caste of tanners.

The Madigas are the great leather-working caste of the Telugu country, corresponding to the Chakkiliyans of the Tamil area. They live in hamlets at a distance from the villages of other people, by whom they are greatly despised.

sq., 87, 109 note, 130 *sq.*; F. Metz, *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Second Edition (Mangalore, 1864), pp. 115 *sqq.*; J. W. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiras* (London, 1873), pp. 53 *sq.*

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 169.

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 141, quoting Mr. H. A. Stuart.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 141 *sq.*

[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 147, quoting Mr. Stuart.

When an ox or a buffalo dies, the Madigas gather round it like vultures, strip off the skin and tan it, and batten on the loathsome carrion. Their habits are squalid in the extreme and the stench of their hamlets is revolting. They practise various forms of fervent but misguided piety, lying on beds of thorns, distending the mouth with a mass of mud as large as a cricket-ball, bunging up their eyes with the same stuff, and so forth, thereby rendering themselves perhaps well-pleasing to their gods but highly disgusting to all sensible and cleanly men. An unmarried, but not necessarily chaste, woman of the caste personifies the favourite goddess Matangi, whose name she bears and of whom she is supposed to be an incarnation. Drunk with toddy and enthusiasm, decked with leaves of the margosa tree (*Melia Azadirachta*), her face reddened with turmeric, this female incarnation of the deity dances frantically, abuses her adorers in foul language, and bespatters them with her spittle, which is believed to purge them from all uncleanness of body and soul. Even high-class Reddis, purse-proud Komatis, and pious Brahmans receive the filthy eructations of this tipsy maniac with joy and gratitude as outpourings of the divine spirit.[1] When an epidemic is raging, the Madigas behead a buffalo before the image of their village goddess Uramma, and a man carries the blood-reeking head in procession on his own head round the village, his neck swathed in a new cloth which has been soaked in the buffalo's blood. This is supposed to draw a cordon round the dwellings and to prevent the irruption of evil spirits. The villagers subscribe to defray the expense of the procession. If any man refuses to pay, the bloody head is not carried round his house, and the freethinker or niggard is left to the tender mercies of the devils. The office of bearer of the head is an ill-omened and dangerous one; for huge demons perch on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down on him and carry him and his bleeding burden away. To guard against this catastrophe ropes are tied to his body and arms, and men hang on like grim death to the ends of them. Moreover, they slice lemons and throw the slices in the air, that the devils may

Female incarnation of the goddess Matangi.

Madiga ceremony to avert a plague.

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 292 *sq.*, 295-305, 308-310.

pounce on them instead of on the man. Yet with all these precautions, it is not easy to persuade a Madiga to walk about a plague-stricken village with a bloody buffalo's head on his own head and a bloody muffler round his neck.[1]

Totemism does not exhaust the religion of the peoples who practise it; indeed it is usually of subordinate importance.

These things are not totemism; but it is perhaps worth while to mention them by way of reminding the reader of a truth which he should constantly bear in mind. Even among tribes who practise it most scrupulously totemism does not exhaust or satisfy man's religious instincts. On the contrary it commonly plays only a subordinate part in the religion or superstition of a people. The fear of the dead, the awe of the great powers of nature, the reverence for the gods, may all contribute in various and often far greater proportions to the complex system of religious creed and ritual. It is the more needful to lay stress on this because in considering totemism by itself, as we do in this work, we are apt to see it out of perspective, in other words, to exaggerate its importance in comparison with that of many other factors which, because they are not mentioned, are apt to be forgotten.

Exogamous clans of the Madigas.

The Madigas are divided into a number of endogamous sections, and these sections are in turn subdivided into many exogamous clans or septs, which take their names from the buffalo, cow, donkey, frog, scorpion, locust, tamarind, jessamine, *Eleusine Coracana*, silver, cowry shells, winnowing-basket, thread, knife, broom, and other objects.[2]

The Malas, a low Telugu caste.

The Malas are another low caste of Southern India. They are described as the Pariahs of the Telugu country; they may not enter the temples nor use the ordinary village wells. No love is lost between them and the Madigas. The two sets of ragamuffins squabble with each other about social precedence. The Madigas blackguard the Malas in foul language, and the Malas despise the Madigas for devouring carrion, and will not drink water out of the same well. The chief occupation of the Malas are weaving and working as farm labourers; a few till their own lands.[3]

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 313 *sq.*, quoting Bishop Whitehead.

[2] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 318 *sq.*

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 294 *sq.*, 329 *sq.*, 350.

Exogamous clans of the Malas.

They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs named after many things, such as the cow, horse, snake, cat, snails, crow, gnat, ginger, tamarind, jessamine, *Ficus bengalensis*, *Acacia arabica*, *Glycosmis pentaphylla*, tobacco, milk, ant-hill, stone, horn, wind, ocean, ear, cart, sack, loom, hammer, spear, drum, dolls, washerman, good conduct, and sneezing.[1]

The Maravars or Maravans, a Dravidian tribe of lawless and predatory habits.

The Maravars or Maravans are a Dravidian tribe in the extreme south of India. They are found chiefly in Madura and Tinnevelly, where they occupy the districts bordering on the coast from Cape Comorin northward. In the old days they were a fierce and turbulent race, famous for their military prowess. Their subjugation gave the British much trouble at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Once marauders, they are now to some extent peaceful tillers of the ground, but in the Tinnevelly district they furnish nearly all the village police and likewise the thieves and robbers, often indeed combining the professions of thieving and catching thieves. But their natural bent is rather for committing than for detecting and punishing crime. In his double capacity of constable and robber, the Maravan is a power in the land. He levies blackmail according to a regular system, and in cattle-lifting he has no equal throughout the Presidency of Madras.[2] The Kondayamkottai Maravars or Maravans of Tinnevelly are perhaps the purest bred of this race of freebooters and the least affected by modern civilisation. They are very dark, strong, well-built men, and being fearless, active, and energetic they are the terror of their peaceful neighbours. Though every man's hand is against them, they hold their own; even the British Government has failed to repress them.[3]

Exogamous clans of the Kondayamkottai Maravans.

The Kondayamkottai Maravans are divided into six exogamous clans or branches, as they call them. Each clan or branch (*kothu*) is named after a plant, and is subdivided into three subclans (*khilais*). Descent is in the

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 347 *sq.*

[2] Edgar Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 22 *sq.*, 27 *sqq.*

[3] F. Fawcett, "The Kondayamkottai Maravars, a Dravidian Tribe of Tinnevelly, Southern India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 58.

female line; in other words, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. While no man may marry a woman of his own clan, he is not free to marry a woman of any of the other clans without restriction. For example, a man of the Betel Vine clan may marry a woman of the Coco-nut clan, but not a woman of the Areca Nut clan nor of the Date clan. But the restrictions on marriage, beyond the rule of clan exogamy, are not fully known. The following is a list of the clans with their subclans:—[1]

Clans (*Kothu*).	English Equivalent.	Subclans (*Khilai*).
Milaku	pepper vine	*Viramudithanginan* *Sedhar* *Semanda*
Vettile	betel vine	*Agastyar* *Maruvidu* *Alakhiya Pandiyan*
Thennang	coco-nut	*Vaniyan* *Vettuvan* *Nataivendar*
Komukham	areca nut	*Kelnambhi* *Anbutran* *Gautaman*
Ichang	dates	*Sadachi* *Sangaran* *Pichipillai*
Panang	palmyra	*Akhili* *Lokhamurti* *Jambhuvar*

Among the Kondayamkottai Maravars first cousins, the children of two brothers, may not marry each other; but first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, may and should marry each other. A man often marries a wife of his father's subclan (*khilai*); indeed there seems to be an idea that he ought to do so.[2] A widow may marry her deceased husband's elder brother, but not his younger

Cousin-marriages among the Maravars.

The Levirate.

[1] F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 61; E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 33.

[2] F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 62.

brother. Property devolves through males. Daughters cannot inherit.[1]

Exogamous clans of the Medaras.

The Medaras are workers in bamboo in the Telugu, Canarese, Oriya, and Tamil countries. They are divided into *gotras* and exogamous clans or septs, some of which are named after animals, plants, and other objects, such as the tiger, snake, civet cat, Bengal gram, *Sesbania grandiflora*, *Butea frondosa*, ant hill, and a new pot. All the Medaras formerly worshipped Siva, but now many of them worship Vishnu also. Amongst them a man most commonly marries his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother; less frequently he marries his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is regarded with special favour. A man often marries two living sisters, if one of them is diseased.[2]

Cousin-marriages.

Marriage with two sisters.

Exogamous clans of the Mogers.

The Mogers are Tulu-speaking fishermen of the South Canara district. Like other Tulu castes, they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*balis*), some of which bear the names of *Āne* (elephant), *Bali* (a fish), *Dēva* (god), *Dyava* (tortoise), *Honne* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), *Shetti* (a fish), and *Tolana* (wolf).[3]

The Muka Doras and their exogamous clans.

The Muka Doras are a Telugu-speaking caste, who are traditionally regarded as one of the primitive hill tribes. Nowadays they are farmers and itinerant hucksters, and may be seen travelling about the country with pack-bullocks at the time of the rice harvest. They are divided into two sections, one of which worships the sun and the other the cobra. Each section is further subdivided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērulu*), the names of which, so far as they are recorded, are taken from trees or plants, namely, the *vemu* or *nim* tree (*Melia Azadirachta*), *chikkudi* (*Dolichos Lablab*), *velanga* (*Feronia elephantum*), and *kākara* (*Momordica Charantia*). A man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother; and that uncle, the father of the bride, officiates at the wedding.[4]

Cousin-marriages.

The Mutrachas are a low Telugu caste, who are most

[1] F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) 65.

[2] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 52, 54 *sq.*

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 65, 69.

[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 103 *sq.*

numerous in the Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah, and North Arcot districts. They engage in various occupations as hunters, fishers, palanquin bearers, and village watchmen. They are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērula*), which are named after the cow, the tiger, the jackal, doves, the fly, the *Ficus bengalensis*, a house, a garden, a swing, a dagger, an iron measure for grain, a watchman, and so forth.[1] The Mutrachas and their exogamous clans.

The Padma Sale are a Telugu-speaking caste of weavers, who are scattered all over the Madras Presidency. Like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērus*), some of which take their names from the gazelle, the horse, the scorpion, the crane, the mango, the indigo plant, tamarind seeds, *Lawsonia alba*, *Cassia auriculata*, *Acacia arabica*, cotton, ant-hill, beard, ditch, pots, and so on.[2] They profess the religion of Vishnu, but some of them worship Siva. The deity of the caste is Bhāvana Rishi, to whom, in some places, a special temple is dedicated. Every year a festival is held in honour of this divinity, and during its continuance the god and goddess are represented by two decorated pots placed on the model of a tiger, to which on the last day of the festival great quantities of rice and vegetables are offered. Members of the caste revere tigers and believe that the beasts will not molest them.[3] The Padma Sale and their exogamous clans. Worship of the tiger.

§ 3. *Exogamy and the Classificatory System among the Todas*

The Todas are a small tribe, now less than a thousand in number, who inhabit the lofty and isolated tableland of the Neilgherry Hills. They are a purely pastoral people devoting themselves to the care of their herds of buffaloes and despising agriculture and nearly all manual labour as beneath their dignity. Their origin and affinities are unknown; little more than vague conjecture has been advanced to connect them with any other race of Southern India. They are a tall, well-built, athletic people, with a The Todas, a small pastoral tribe of the Neilgherry Hills; their origin and affinities unknown.

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 127 *sq.*, 130.

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 448, 449, 451.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 448, 449, 451.

rich brown complexion, a profusion of jet black hair, a large, full, speaking eye, a Roman nose, and fine teeth. The men are strong and very agile, with hairy bodies and thick beards. Their countenances are open and expressive; their bearing bold and free; their manners grave and dignified; their disposition very cheerful and friendly. In intelligence they are said to be not inferior to any average body of educated Europeans. In temperament they are most pacific, never engaging in warfare and not even possessing weapons, except bows and arrows and clubs, which they use only for purposes of ceremony. Yet they are a proud race and hold their heads high above all their neighbours.[1] The country which they inhabit has by its isolation sheltered them from the inroads of more turbulent and warlike peoples and has allowed them to lead their quiet dream-like lives in all the silence and rural simplicity of an Indian Arcadia. For the tableland which is their home stands six or seven thousand feet above the sea and falls away abruptly or even precipitously on every side to the hot plains beneath. Its steep sides, where they approach the lowlands, are clothed with dense, almost impenetrable jungle, a hotbed of fever, in which the traveller sleeps at his peril. Above this pestilential belt, still ascending, he comes to grassy slopes and forests like those of temperate climates, and when he has reached the summit he finds himself in a cool breezy upland, a land of green rolling downs and rounded hills, the turf gay with wild flowers and interspersed with rich woods, deep in ferns and moss, where the crimson splendour of the rhododendron vies with the snowy purity of the white camelia, while the woodland glades and lonely green valleys are gladdened by purling brooks, their banks mantled thick with dog-roses and jessamine. After meandering through these beautiful glens the streams either lose themselves in sedgy morasses in the hollows of the hills, or finding their way to the brink of the tableland they tumble over the edge in roaring cataracts and clouds of glittering spray to swell

The land of the Todas.

[1] Captain Henry Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* (London, 1832), pp. 6 *sqq.*, 12 *sqq.*, 16 *sqq.*; Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas* (London, 1873), pp. 45, 58; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 18 *sqq.*, 586, 693 *sqq.*

the rivers that sweep round the base of the mountains thousands of feet below. But in all this lovely land it is the prospect from the sharp edge of the tableland which travellers dwell upon with the most rapturous delight. The scene is perhaps most impressive early in the day, when the white sea of morning clouds at the feet of the spectator gradually opens up and rolls away like a curtain with the growing heat of the sun, revealing in its gaps now a vast crimson plain veined with dark lines of wood, now a long rocky ridge gleaming like fire in the sunlight, till a purple cloud-shadow blots it out and a fresh line of crags and ravines starts into view beyond. Jagged peaks hung with woods frame the nearer landscape and in the distance faint blue mountains melt like dreams into the azure of the sky. Under the shifting lights and shadows of the morning sun struggling with mist and cloud the scene is a phantasmagoria, a perfect dissolving view, all the colours glowing with gem-like radiance in the intense tropical sunshine and the keen thin mountain air.[1]

Prospect from the edge of the tableland.

In this happy and peaceful land, remote from the turbulence of the busy world, enjoying an equable, temperate, and highly salubrious climate within a few degrees of the equator, the Todas live in little villages dotted about the grassy hills and valleys where their herds of buffaloes crop the herbage. Generally a village nestles in a beautiful wooded hollow near a running stream. It is composed of a few huts surrounded by a wall with two or three narrow openings in it wide enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. The huts are of a peculiar construction. Imagine a great barrel split lengthwise and half of it set lengthwise with the cut edges resting on the ground, and you will get a fair idea of a Toda hut. The half-barrel forms the rounded thatched roof and long rounded sides of the dwelling, and juts for some feet, like the eaves of our houses, beyond the short upright wall that closes the end of the barrel in which is the door. Near the village is commonly a dairy with a

The villages of the Todas.

[1] Captain H. Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summitt of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 1-6, 45, 60 *sq.*, 151 *sq.*; Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 52-57; J. W. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris* (London, 1873), pp. 2 *sq.*; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 4 *sqq.*

pen for the buffaloes at night and a smaller pen for the calves.[1]

The daily life of the Todas.

The daily life of the Toda men is spent chiefly in tending the buffaloes and in doing the work of the dairy. The milking of the cows and the churning of the butter fall mainly to the younger men and boys, though the elder men also bear a hand in these honourable labours. Women are entirely excluded from the work of the dairy; they may neither milk the cows nor churn the butter. Besides the common buffaloes there are sacred buffaloes with their own sacred dairies, where the sacred milk is churned by sacred dairymen. These hallowed dairies are the temples and the holy dairymen are the priests, almost the gods, of the simple pastoral folk. The dairyman leads a dedicated life aloof from the vulgar herd. His walk and conversation are regulated by stringent rules. If he is married he must leave his wife and not go near her or visit his home during the term of his incumbency, however many years it may last. No person may so much as touch him without reducing his holiness to the level of a common man. He may not cross a river by a bridge but must wade through the water at the ford, and only certain fords may be used by him. If a death occurs in the clan he may not attend the funeral unless he resigns his sacred office. However, there are different degrees of sanctity among the sacred dairymen. Some are diviner than others and have to submit in virtue of their superior divinity to a severer code of burdensome restrictions. In short, the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas turns upon what seem to us the commonplace operations of milking cows and churning butter. These are the things which absorb most of the life and thoughts of this bucolic folk. To their simple minds the most sacred things in the wide world are the bells which they hang upon the necks of their buffaloes. These priceless treasures they guard with religious care in the holy dairies and daily feed them with curds and milk.[2]

The sacred buffaloes, sacred dairies, and sacred dairymen.

Rules of life observed by a sacred dairyman.

The Toda religion of the dairy.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 23 *sqq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 31, 38 *sqq.*, 49 *sqq.*, 56 *sqq.*, 61 *sqq.*, 66 *sqq.*, 71 *sqq.*, 83 *sqq.*, 98 *sqq.*, 131, 144 *sqq.*, 424 *sqq.*, 566 *sq.*, etc.; Captain H. Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 11 *sqq.*, 62 *sqq.*; F. Metz, *The*

Endogamous and exogamous divisions of the Todas.

The Todas have the institution of exogamy without the institution of totemism. The whole tribe is divided into two endogamous groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. Regular marriage is not allowed between these groups, though irregular unions are permitted: a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans; no man or woman may marry a woman of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. But while marriage is prohibited between members of the same clan, it would seem that sexual intercourse is not prohibited and indeed commonly takes place between them. In a certain religious ceremony preliminary to the entrance of a dairyman of the highest class into his sacred office a special part has to be taken by a woman who possesses the qualification of never having had carnal intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it is said to be far from easy to find such a woman.[1] Descent is reckoned in the male line; in other words, children belong to the clan of their father, not to the clan of their mother. The clan system is territorial, not totemic; each clan owns a number of villages and takes its name from the chief of them. Generally the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. These villages are not all occupied at the same time. The people move about from one to another as the seasons change or the pastures in the neighbourhood begin to fail.[2] A man's proper wife, the

Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, pp. 17, 19 *sqq.*; Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 128 *sqq.*, 135 *sqq.*, 141 *sqq.*, 146 *sqq.*, 153 *sqq.*; J. W. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, pp. 8 *sq.*, 13 *sq.*, 16. The dairyman of the highest and most sacred grade bears the title of *palol* or *palal*. The ceremonies of his ordination are elaborate, and it is on him that the restrictions mentioned in the text are specially obligatory. To the rule of celibacy observed by this sacred dairyman (*palol*) there is a remarkable exception. If he has held office for eighteen years without a break, he must have intercourse with a girl or young woman of the Tartharol division. They meet in a wood by day, the girl being adorned in all her finery; and after the meeting the dairyman must remain naked in the wood till sunset. See W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 98-105, 153-165.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 505 *sq.*, 530.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 34, 36 *sq.*, 123 *sqq.*, 504 *sq.*, 540 *sq.*, 546. As to the migrations of the Todas from village to village see also Captain H. Harkness, *op. cit.* pp. 12 *sq.*

Cousin-marriages among the Todas.

woman whom he ought to marry, is his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. But he is forbidden to marry his other first cousins, the daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. These latter cousins he includes under the general term *püliol*, which he applies to all the relatives with whom by the custom of the tribe he is prohibited from contracting marriage.[1]

Polyandry among the Todas; the polyandrous husbands are generally own brothers.

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry, and in the vast majority of polyandrous marriages the husbands are own brothers. Indeed, when a woman marries, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. If the husband is a boy and his wife a girl, any brother born after the marriage will in like manner be deemed to share in his older brother's marital rights. When the joint husbands are not own brothers, they may either live with the wife in one family, or they may dwell in different villages. In the latter case the usual custom is for the wife to reside with each husband in turn for a month; but there is no hard and fast rule in the matter. When the joint husbands are own brothers they live together in amity; in such a family quarrels are said to be unknown. The Todas scout as ridiculous the idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies between the brother-husbands. When a child is born in a family of this sort, all the brothers are equally regarded as its fathers; though if a man be asked the name of his father, he will generally mention one man of the group, probably the most prominent or important of them. But if they should be all dead but one, he will always call that one his father.[2] When the joint husbands are not brothers, they arrange among themselves who is to be the putative father of each child as it is born,[3] and the chosen one accepts the responsibility by performing a certain ceremony called *pursütpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch," because it consists in the husband formally presenting his wife with a little imitation bow and arrow. The ceremony takes place about the seventh month of the

Ceremony observed in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy: the giving of the bow and arrow.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 502, 509, 512. As to these cousin-marriages see above, p. 227.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 515-518.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 517.

woman's pregnancy and begins on the evening before the day of the new moon. Husband and wife repair to a wood, where he cuts a niche in a tree and places a lighted lamp in the niche. The two then search the wood till they find the wood called *puv* (*Sophora glauca*) and the grass called *nark* (*Andropogon schoenanthus*). A bow is made from the wood by stripping off the bark and stretching it across the bent stick so as to form the bowstring. The grass is fitted to the little bow to stand for an arrow. Husband and wife then return to the tree. The relatives of the pair also gather at the spot and the husband and wife salute them in the formal Toda fashion by bowing and raising the feet of the honoured persons to their foreheads. The wife then sits down under the tree in front of the lamp, which glimmers in the gloaming or the dark from its niche, on a level with her eyes as she is seated on the ground. The husband next gives her the bow and arrow, and she asks him what they are called. He mentions the name of the bow and arrow, which differs for each clan. Question and answer are repeated thrice. On receiving the bow and arrow the woman raises them to her forehead, and then holding them in her right hand she gazes steadily at the burning lamp for an hour or until the light flickers and goes out. The man afterwards lights a fire under the tree and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot. When the food is ready, husband and wife partake of it together. Meantime, while he has been cooking, the wife has tied up certain foods in a bundle and deposited it under the tree. Afterwards the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping a little way off from the married pair. When the day breaks, the day of the new moon, they all return to the village to feast.[1]

On the performance of this ceremony depends the social

This remarkable ceremony is always performed in or about the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, whether her husbands are brothers or not. It only takes place at a subsequent pregnancy when the family wish for

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 319-321. Compare Mr. Metz's briefer account of the ceremony as reported by Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 214 *sq.* Dr. Rivers does not tell us what is finally done with the bow and arrow. Mr. Metz says that the wife deposits them at the foot of the tree.

recognition of the fatherhood of the child.

any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. When the joint husbands are brothers, it is the eldest brother who gives the little bow and arrow. The fatherhood of the child, or rather the social recognition of it, depends entirely on the performance of this ceremony, so much so that he who gives the bow and arrow is counted the father of the child even if he be known to have had no former connection with the woman; and on the other hand if no living man has performed the ceremony, the child will be fathered on a dead man. An indelible disgrace attaches to a child for whom the ceremony has not been performed.[1] With regard to the meaning of these curious observances Dr. Rivers remarks that since they are only observed at a woman's first pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood of a child, "it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the birth of the first child, or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies."[2] Perhaps the observance in question is an old rite of marriage and impregnation in one. We have seen that some Australian tribes regard the acceptance of food from a man by a woman not only as a marriage ceremony but also as the actual cause of conception.[3] Now in the Toda custom husband and wife partake of a meal together under a tree, which clearly plays an important, though obscure, part in the ceremony In this connection we should remember that trees are often supposed to possess the power of getting women with child.[4] The burning lamp in the tree, which the woman gazes steadily at for some time after receiving the bow and arrow, must also be endowed, to the thinking of the Todas, with some mysterious significance; and here again it deserves to be borne in mind that sparks of fire as well as trees have been thought by some peoples to be able to impregnate the women on whom they fall.[5]

The observance is perhaps a ceremony of marriage and of impregnation in one.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 322, 516, 517 *sq.*, 531.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 322 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 577 *sq.*

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 192 *sqq.*

[5] See my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 218 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 259-262.

The South Slavonians believe that tree-spirits, sparks of fire, and the dead can get women with child.

The belief in the fertilising power both of trees and of fire is retained to this day among South Slavonian peasantry, whose superstitions are redolent of the most remote antiquity. Amongst them, we are informed, "the barren woman is pitied and despised. Her position in her husband's home becomes more and more untenable. The husband tries in company with his wife to remedy the evil by means of magic. The following two charms rest on the old belief in the tree-soul which dwells in the tree in the form of a wood-worm. The wife takes a wooden vessel full of water and stands under a beam or rafter, where dust drops from the worm-eaten wood. Her husband strikes the beam or rafter with something heavy and shakes the worm-worn dust out of it. If the woman is lucky enough to catch even a pinch of the worm-worn dust, she drinks it up with the water. Many women seek for a worm in the knots of a hazel-bush, and if they find one they eat it. A spark of fire has also similar power to impregnate a woman. The woman holds a wooden vessel full of water beside the fire on the hearth. The husband meantime knocks two fire-brands together so that the sparks fly out. When some sparks fall into the vessel, the woman drinks the water out of it. Many barren women also repair to a grave, in which a pregnant woman is buried, bite grass from the grave, invoke the deceased by name, and beg her to bestow the fruit of her body upon them. After that they take a little earth from the grave and carry it constantly about with them under their girdle." [1]

The beliefs of the South Slavonians as to conception without sexual intercourse tally with those of the Central Australians.

These practices seem plainly to imply a belief that women can be got with child directly by a tree-soul, a spark of fire, or the spirit of a dead child, without the need of intercourse with the other sex. Such a belief is identical in principle with that which we have found to be held by the tribes of Central and Northern Australia and by the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands.[2] Those who are familiar

[1] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), pp. 530 *sq.* As to the power of fire to impregnate women Miss Mabel Peacock wrote to me from Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, 30th October 1905: "Not long ago I was told of a Lincolnshire saying that if a woman's apron is burnt above the knee by a spark or red-hot cinder flying out of a fire she will become a mother."

[2] See vol. i. pp. 188 *sqq.*, 536 *sqq.*, 576 *sqq.*; vol. ii. pp. 84 *sq.*, 89 *sqq.*

with the tenacity of life possessed by superstition will not wonder at finding one of the crudest and most primitive of its manifestations still held and put in practice by European peasants. The simple truth appears to be that the physiological facts on which conception and child-birth depend are not yet clearly understood by a large part of mankind, who still imagine, like the Australian savages, that women can be impregnated by quite other means than those which nature has ordained. The same belief is still clearly indicated in many popular customs, for examples of which we need not go outside of Europe. Often the original intention of these customs is forgotten, but sometimes it is remembered. As instances we may take the common practice of strewing corn, rice, beans, peas and so forth on a bride, and another common practice of placing a male child in her lap.[1] Both these customs are not unfrequently observed with the avowed intention of fertilising the woman. Thus at wedding feasts in Bohemia and Silesia "peas or groats are thrown on the bridal pair in order that they may be fruitful; and as many grains as remain lying on the bride's dress, so many children will she have."[2] Again, at an Esthonian wedding an infant boy is placed in the bride's lap as she sits at table, and the people believe that she will bear all the more male children for having observed this custom.[3] Again, at Mostar in Herzegovina, as soon as a bride enters her husband's house she goes straight to the hearth, sits down beside it on a bag of fruits, and stirs the fire thrice. While she does this, they bring her a small boy and set him in her lap. She turns him thrice round, "in

Similar beliefs are indicated by certain popular customs at marriage, such as strewing the bride with corn or placing a child in her lap.

[1] For the practice of strewing corn, rice, etc., on a bride or both on the bride and bridegroom, see W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strasburg, 1884), pp. 354 *sqq.*; L. v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Ehsten* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 112-122. The practice in question is rightly interpreted by both these writers as a fertilisation ceremony. For the custom of placing a male child in the bride's lap, see L. v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 123-127, who has correctly explained this custom also.

[2] W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 360.

[3] Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 38. Compare J. B. Holzmayer, "Osiliana," *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, vii. Heft 2 (1872) p. 91; F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äussern Leben der Ehsten* (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 318.

order that she may bring male children into the world." [1] In this interesting ceremony we see clearly combined the fertilising virtue of the fruits upon which the bride sits, of the fire which she stirs, and of the male child who is placed on her lap. Such marriage rites are doubtless very ancient, far older than the marriage ceremony which is performed over the couple by the priest or clergyman in a Christian church. Similarly in the ancient Indian law-books it is prescribed that after a bride has entered her husband's house and a ceremony of placing wood on the fire has been observed, husband and wife should sit down on a red bull's hide, and he should set in her lap the son of a wife who has only sons and whose children are alive, and should at the same time speak these words, "May a male embryo enter thy womb, as an arrow the quiver; may a man be born here, a son after ten months." [2] While he recited these words, as a charm avowedly intended to ensure the birth of a son, the husband fastened to his wife an arrow which had been steeped in sour milk and honey from the thirteenth to the fifteenth day of the month.[3] This ceremony and these words seem to furnish the clue to the Toda ceremony of presenting a pregnant wife with a bow and arrow; they confirm the interpretation of that ceremony as an ancient rite of impregnation, the arrow being regarded as a symbol of the embryo which is discharged into the woman's womb. Further, the notion that the fire has power to impregnate women is brought out very clearly in another ancient Indian ceremony which was performed for the purpose of ensuring the birth of a male child. Fire was made by the friction of two different kinds of wood, one upon another, the upper wood (*Ficus religiosa*) being regarded as a male and the under wood (*Mimosa suma* or *Prosopis spicigera*) as a female. When fire had been thus kindled, sparks from it were thrown into the melted butter of a cow which had a male calf, and

Ancient Hindoo belief that sparks of fire can get a woman with child.

[1] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 430; compare *id.* pp. 428, 447, 448. The South Slavs sometimes strew millet on a bride. See F. S. Krauss, *op. cit.* pp. 445, 448.

[2] *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, vol. i. pp. 42, 45; vol. ii. p. 263 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix. and xxx.).

[3] *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, translated by Maurice Bloomfield (Oxford, 1897), pp. 97, 356 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlii.); W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), p. 114.

this butter was pushed up the right nostril of the woman. Moreover, sparks of the fire were put into a honey-drink, which was given to her to quaff. Lastly, the fire was surrounded by the wool of a male animal, and this wool was then tied on the future mother.[1] These ceremonies seem clearly intended to put a male child into the woman's womb by means of the sparks which are struck out by the friction of the two woods. The same idea comes out in another ancient Indian charm spoken by a husband to his wife: "The embryo which the two Asvins produce with their golden kindling-sticks: that embryo we call into thy womb, that thou mayst give birth to it after ten months."[2]

Food eaten as a mode of impregnating a woman.

Further, it seems probable that, as I have suggested,[3] many of the foods which husband and wife partake of together as a marriage ceremony may have been formerly supposed, as they are still supposed by some Australian tribes, not merely to prepare the woman for conception but actually to impregnate her. To examine the instances of this widespread custom at length would lead me too far. I will cite only one. The Livonians, not content with strewing wheat, barley, oats, peas, and beans on the bride at every door in her new home, used to oblige both bride and bridegroom to eat the testicles of a goat or a bear with the avowed intention of rendering the pair prolific. For the same reason they would not allow any castrated animal to be slaughtered at a wedding feast,[4] no doubt

[1] *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, translated by Maurice Bloomfield (Oxford, 1897), pp. 97, 460 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlii.); W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), pp. 115 *sq.* The idea that in making fire by friction the two fire-sticks represent a male and female in the act of copulation is very widespread among savages. Ample evidence of this will be given in the third edition of *The Golden Bough*, in treating of the Vestal fire-worship. Meantime see E. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 64 *sqq.*

[2] *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, vol. ii. p. 199 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxx.).

[3] Above, vol. i. pp. 577 *sq.*

[4] J. Meletius (Maletius, Maeletius, Menecius), "De Sacrificiis et Idolatria veterum Borussorum, Livonum, aliarumque vicinarum Gentium," in *De Russorum, Muscovitarum et Tartarorum Religione, Sacrificiis, Nuptiarum, Funerum ritu* (Spirae libera civitate, 1582), pp. 261 *sq.*; *id.* in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, ii. (Riga and Leipsic, 1848), p. 391; *id.* in *Mitteilungen der Litterarischen Gesellschaft Masovia*, viii. (Lötzen, 1902) p. 192. For many examples of bride and bridegroom eating together as a marriage ceremony, see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) pp. 343 *sqq.* In these ceremonies Mr. Hartland seems to see nothing more

lest by partaking of its flesh the husband should lose his virility.

The attempt to explain the curious custom observed by the Todas in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy has led me into a digression; but the digression can hardly be regarded as irrelevant if it helps us to realise better how widely spread and how deeply rooted is that ignorance of the true causes of conception which appears to lie at the root of totemism. We now return to the subject from which we digressed, the polyandry of the Todas.

The ignorance of the true cause of conception is wide and deep.

The custom of polyandry among the Todas is facilitated, if not caused, by a considerable excess of men over women, and that excess has been in turn to a great extent brought about by the practice of killing the female children at birth. It seems clear that female infanticide has always been and still is practised by the Todas, although in recent years under English influence it has become much less frequent. The motive for killing the girls is unknown; there is little evidence or probability that lack of food and the consequent difficulty in rearing a large family have had anything to do with it, though a Toda has been known to allege poverty as an excuse for the crime. The murder is said to be done not by the parents but by old hags, who choke the infants. We are told that boys are never killed. However, the Todas are taciturn and reserved on the subject, and it is difficult to wring the truth from them.[1] We cannot therefore at present say whether the disproportion between the sexes, produced by female infanticide, has been the principal or only cause of polyandry among the Todas. It is possible that the causes both of their polyandry and of their female infanticide lie deeper down in some dark abyss of superstition, which the plummet of science has not yet sounded nor its lamp illuminated. At the present time the polyandry of the Todas tends to become combined with polygyny; in

The polyandry of the Todas is connected with the numerical preponderance of men over women, and that again is caused in part by the practice of female infanticide.

than a covenant or bond of union between the married pair brought about by their sharing the same food. Yet the interpretation of the ceremony as a rite of impregnation might have been suggested to him by the numerous stories, which in the same work he has collected, of women who were impregnated by eating of certain foods.

[1] Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 194 *sqq.*; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 477-480, 518 *sq.*, 520 *sq.*

other words men are beginning to have several wives as well as wives to have several husbands. "Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide."[1]

Irregular marriages of the Todas. Each man may become the secondary husband of several women, and each woman the secondary wife of several men.

In addition to their regular marriage the Toda practise an irregular, but publicly recognised and lawful, form of marriage which they call *mokhthoditi*. This is a form of group-marriage resembling the group-marriage which prevails among the Dieri and other tribes of Central Australia.[2] In virtue of it a man becomes a secondary husband (*mokhthodvaiol*) to one or more married women with the consent of the woman's primary husband, who receives payment from the man. A woman has been known to have three such secondary husbands in addition to her primary husband or group of husbands. On the man's side the practice of keeping secondary wives is expensive, and this seems commonly to limit their number to two at the most. Such secondary or group marriages are contracted with nearly the same formalities as the ordinary primary marriages. After the ceremony the couple may either live together like man and wife, or the man may only visit the woman from time to time in the house of her primary husband. The latter is the more usual practice. The children which a man may have by a secondary wife are not reckoned to him, but to the primary husband. It is somewhat remarkable that these secondary or group marriages are most commonly contracted between members of the two endogamous Tarthar and Teivali divisions, between whom no ordinary marriage may take place; that is to say, no Tarthar man may marry a Teivali woman, and no Teivali man may marry a Tarthar woman, in the regular way; but he may and generally does so in an irregular but still public and lawful manner. However, a man of one of these two divisions may not perform the bow and arrow ceremony for

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 521.
[2] See vol. i. pp. 308 *sqq.*, 363 *sqq.*

a pregnant woman of the other division;[1] and this disability would of itself prevent her children from being fathered upon him.[1]

Lax morality of the Todas in sexual matters.

Thus it appears that every Toda woman may have several secondary husbands as well as a group of primary husbands, and that every Toda man may have several secondary wives besides a single primary one. But this is not all. Among the Todas at the present time the marriage tie has become very loose, and wives are constantly transferred from one husband or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old.[2] Further, it appears that among the Todas adultery is not regarded as a wrong and furnishes no ground for divorce. There exists no word for adultery in the Toda language, and apparently no idea corresponding to it in the Toda mind. Far from its being regarded as immoral, the stigma of immorality seems rather to rest on the man who grudges his wife to another. So churlish a man, the Todas think, cannot after death go straight to heaven; he must pass through what has been called the Toda hell, but what is more accurately described as a mild variety of Purgatory, in order to purge himself of his guilt, before he reaches the happy land, where there are no pigs and rats to grub up the soil and spoil the country, and where dead people walk about till they have worn down their legs to stumps, when the presiding deity sends them back to be born again with new legs into the world.[3] Such is, apparently, according to Toda ideas, the fate of the man who objects to be a cuckold. So lax, or rather so perverted, according to our ideas, is their standard of morality. And the laxity is said to be as great between the sexes before as after marriage.[4] In short, to quote the words of the latest and most accurate investigator of this peculiar people, in Toda society "there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse."[5]

Adultery not regarded as an offence.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 526-529.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 523-525. The name for this custom of transferring wives is *tererstht*.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 397-400, 529 *sq.*

[4] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 531.

[5] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 529.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Todas.

The Todas possess the classificatory system of relationship.[1] They have two well-marked groups of terms expressive of kinship; one set of terms is used in speaking of relatives indirectly, the other is used in addressing them directly. The latter are fewer in number and are employed in a much more general sense. In what follows, the terms applied indirectly will be given first; and the terms of address, where they exist, will be added in brackets.

The classificatory terms for "father."

Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *in* (*aia*) "father" not only to his real father but to all the men of his father's clan who are of the same generation as his father; hence he gives the name of "father," amongst others, to all his father's brothers. In Toda society this latter extension of the term is very natural, since all of a father's brothers have a right to share his wife and beget children by her, and in such circumstances it must be a particularly wise Toda who knows his own father. Indeed, as we have seen, all the father's brothers are counted the fathers of his children, so that the children naturally bestow the title of father upon them. Further, a man applies the same term *in* (*aia*) "father" to all the husbands of his mother's sisters, and not merely to the husbands of her real sisters, but to the husbands of her clan sisters, that is, to all the men who are married to women of the same clan and generation as his mother. Reasoning by analogy we might suppose from this that, just as brothers are at present group-husbands, so sisters may once have been group-wives among the Todas, though they are not so now. Such a supposition would at least explain why a son calls the husbands of his mother's sisters his "fathers."

The classificatory terms for "mother."

Further, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *av* (*ava*) "mother" not only to his real mother but to all the women of his mother's clan who are of the same generation as his mother; hence he gives the name of "mother" amongst others, to all his mother's sisters. This extension of the term "mother" again points

[1] The following account of the Toda system of relationship is derived from Dr. W. H. R. Rivers's description of it in his book *The Todas*, pp. 483-494. A list of Toda kinship terms had previously been given by Lieut.-Colonel Marshall in his book *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 74-77.

to a marriage group in which a number of sisters are married to one or more husbands who hold them and the children in common. Further, a man applies the same term *av* (*ava*) "mother" to all his father's wives other than his real mother, and also to all the wives of his father's brothers. This extension of the term points to a marriage group in which a number of brothers hold their wives and children in common; and such groups, as we have seen, actually exist among the Todas.[1]

The Toda terms for "father" and "mother" point to the marriage of a group of brothers to a group of sisters.

Taking the two sets of terms for "father" and "mother" together we infer from them a former system of marriage in which a group of brothers was married to a group of sisters. At the present day only half of this system survives among the Todas; the group of husbands who are brothers is left, but the group of wives who are sisters has disappeared.

The classificatory terms for "brother" and "sister."

In a man's own generation he has different terms for "elder brother" and "younger brother," and again for "elder sister" and "younger sister." Further, he has distinct terms for a brother and sister who are of the same age as himself. An elder brother is *an* (*anna*); a younger brother is *nodrved* (*enda*); an elder sister is *akkan* (*akka*); a younger sister is *nodrvedkugh* (*enda*); a brother or sister of the same age as the speaker is *egal* (*egala*). Further, a man applies the terms for "brother" and "sister" not only to his blood brothers and sisters, but also to all the men and women of his own clan and generation, calling them "elder brother," "younger brother," "brother of the same age," "elder sister," "younger sister," "sister of the same age" according to their sex and their age in relation to his own. Further, the various terms for "brother" and "sister" are applied to each other by first cousins, the children either of two sisters or of two brothers. But on the other hand they are not applied to each other by first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; such cousins call each other *matchuni*, and we have seen that they are the proper mates for each other in marriage; a man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. Hence a man applies the same term *mun* (*mama*) to his mother's brother and to his wife's

[1] See above, pp. 263 *sq.*

father, because his mother's brother actually is, or should be, his wife's father, since he ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his maternal uncle. And for an analogous reason a man applies the same term *mumi* (*mimia*) to his father's sister and to his wife's mother, because his father's sister actually is, or should be, his wife's mother, since he ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister.

The classificatory terms for "son" and "daughter."

In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *mokh* (*cna*) and *kugh* (*ena*) daughter to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of all the men of his own clan and generation; hence amongst others he applies them to all the sons and daughters of his brothers, and this extension of the terms is very natural in Toda society, where a man's brothers are normally also the husbands of his wife, so that his children and their children may often be indistinguishable. However, in speaking of his brother's children a Toda may, if he pleases, make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or of a younger brother; thus he may say *en nodrvedvain mokh*, "my younger brother's son."

The Toda form of the classificatory system of relationship shews some advance towards a descriptive system.

In this last case, as in some other cases, the Todas occasionally define their relationships to others more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus they seem to be advancing from a classificatory to a descriptive system of relationship. On this subject Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, to whom we owe the preceding account of the Toda system, observes: "It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches to the descriptive system. The essential features of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called 'my sister's son,' while the son of a clan sister is called 'our sister's son,' and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is

definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above. The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives." [1]

The Toda system akin to the Tamil system.

In Dr. Rivers's opinion the Toda system of relationship is closely akin to that of the Dravidians of Southern India; in particular he regards it as a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity.[2] A brief account of the Tamil system will be given in the sequel.[3]

§ 4. *Totemism in Mysore*

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Kurubas.

In the native Indian state of Mysore there is a large caste of shepherds who take their name of Kurubas from *kuri*, "a sheep," and rank with the Sudras. They are distributed all over the state. Their language is Kannada, but those of them who border on Telugu districts have adopted the Telugu tongue.[4] The caste is divided into more than a hundred exogamous septs or clans which are known in the vernacular as *kulas*. Hardly any one can give a complete list of these clans. It is said that Revanna, the original ancestor of the caste, divided it into as many divisions as there are grains in four *seers* of paddy, and that being unable to find plants and animals enough after which to name them he was obliged to call some of the clans after meaner objects. Many of the names seem, it is said, to be "adopted without any inward significance"; but on the other hand it is well ascertained that the things which give their names to some of the clans are not eaten or otherwise used even now by members of the clans. Such things therefore fall within the definition of a totem.[5] Thus people of the *Adu* or Goat clan (*kula*) abstain from eating or killing the female goat. People of the *Ane* or Elephant clan are said not to ride on elephants but only to use them,

Reverence shewn by people for their totems.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 492 *sq.*

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 494.

[3] See below, pp. 330 *sqq.*

[4] H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 3 (Preliminary Issue). See also above, pp. 244 *sq.*

[5] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 5.

if at all, as beasts of burden. Members of the *Anne* clan abstain from eating the kitchen herb (*Celosia albida*) from which they take their name. People of the *Arasina* or Saffron clan formerly refrained from using or touching saffron; but as saffron is a commodity of every-day use they have transferred their respect to Navane grain or *panic* seed (*Panicum*). But still they do not grow saffron. Members of the *Arasu* clan, the meaning of whose name is doubtful, will not cut the banyan tree. Members of the *Atti* or Indian Fig clan will not cut that tree nor eat its fruit. Members of the *Bandi* or Cart clan ought perhaps strictly to abstain from using carts; but that is too much to expect of them, so they satisfy their conscience by not sitting in the cart in which their god is carried. People of the *Basari* or *Ficus infectoria* clan and people of the *Bela* or Wood-apple Tree neither cut nor burn the tree after which they are named. Members of the *Belli* or Silver clan do not use silver toe-rings. Women of the *Balagara* or Glass Bangle clan do not, or at all events should not, use glass bangles but only bangles made of bell-metal. Members of the *Bevu* or Margosa Tree clan worship the tree and will not cut it or burn it nor use its oil for lamps. People of the *Benne* or Butter clan do not use butter. Members of the *Banni* clan will neither cut nor sit in the shade of the *banni*, a prickly tree (*Prosopis spicigera*). Members of the *Chatta* or Bier clan will not carry their dead on biers but only by hand. Women of the *Honnu* or Gold clan will not wear jewels of gold. Members of the *Hurali* or Horse Gram clan do not abstain from gram, because it is deemed a necessary article of food, but they abstain instead from jungle pepper. People of the *Menasu* or Pepper clan neither cultivate the pepper creeper nor cut it. Members of the *Nagare* (a kind of tree) clan do not sit under the shade of the tree, much less do they cut or burn the tree. Members of the *Onike* or Pestle clan do not touch a pestle but use a wooden hammer instead of it. In all, no less than one hundred and eleven of these exogamous septs or clans are recorded. Besides those which have been mentioned there are others which take their names respectively from the dog, rabbit or hare, he-goat, she-buffalo,

scorpion, ant, ant-hill, sandalwood tree, peepul tree, tamarind tree, cummin-seed, pumpkin, jessamine, cotton, the sun, moon, night, salt, flint, bell-metal, pearl, conch shell, manure, milk, butter-milk, a drum, cage, reel of thread, arrow, knife, garland, rope, temple, pickaxe, bracelet, fire-brand, toe-ring, bamboo-tube, needle, ring, weaver's shuttle, etc.[1] Members of the same exogamous sept or clan (*kula*) are regarded as brothers and sisters and therefore may not marry each other. Children belong to the clan of their father. A man may not marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister; but he is particularly recommended to marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother. He may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously.[2] A widow is allowed to remarry, but she is forbidden to marry her deceased husband's brother or even any man of his clan.[3]

Cousin marriages.

The Levirate forbidden.

The Holeyas are an outcast or pariah caste of Mysore, who number about a tenth of the total population of the state. They are employed as agricultural labourers and artisans. They are divided into many exogamous septs or clans (*kulas*), all of which descend in the male line only. The clans take their names from the elephant, buffalo, rabbit, snake, cuckoo, fig-tree, tamarind, beans, plantain, musk, jessamine, a thorny plant (*naggaligaru*), ears of corn, pigeon pea, betel leaf, garland, milk, honey, sun, moon, earth, gold, silver, lightning, ant-hill, burial-ground, temple, sheep-fold, oil-mill, bolt, bag, crowbar, nose-ring, saw, umbrella, etc. When the name of the clan denotes an edible plant, grain, and so forth, the members of the clan abstain from eating the thing from which they take their name. When the thing is a tree, people of the clan shew their reverence for it by not felling it or burning the wood. It is said that when a man of the *Naggaligaru* clan is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he may not pluck it out for himself, but must get a member of another clan to do so for him.[4] A man may not marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, but he generally marries either his niece,

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Holeyas.

Totemic taboos.

Marriage with a niece or a cousin.

[1] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 28-32.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 16.

[4] H. Y. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, ii. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 5, 19, 22-24 (Preliminary Issue). Compare E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 343 *sq.*

the daughter of his elder sister, or his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. He ought not to marry a niece who is the daughter of his younger sister; but if no other suitable wife is to be found, the objection may be overruled. A man or a man and his brother may marry two sisters simultaneously, but the custom is not recommended.[1] A widow is allowed to marry again, but is forbidden to marry any of her deceased husband's brothers; she may, however, marry one of his cousins. In no case may she marry a man of her father's clan.[2]

The Levirate forbidden.

The Bestha and their exogamous clans.

The Bestha caste is composed of fishermen, lime-burners, palanquin bearers, and cultivators. At the last census (1901) they numbered about 153,000 persons and were scattered all over the State of Mysore. They profess the Hindoo religion and worship the ordinary Hindoo gods.[3] They are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*kula*), some of which bear the following names:—Gold (*chinna*), Silver (*belli*), Sun (*surya*), Moon (*chendra*), Goddess (*devi*), Charioteer (*suta*), Cloud (*mugilu*), Marriage chaplet (*Bhashinga*), Pearl (*muttu*), Precious Stone (*ratna*), Musk (*kasturi*), Coral Bead (*havala*), and Jessamine (*mallige*). It is said that members of the Silver clan do not wear silver ornaments except at marriage.[4] No man may marry a woman of his own clan or sept (*kula*). Polyandry is unknown, but polygamy is freely practised. The same man may not marry two sisters simultaneously, but the first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife. Two brothers may marry two sisters, the elder brother marrying the elder sister and the younger brother marrying the younger sister. A farmer does not give his daughter in marriage to a fisherman; nor does a fisherman give his daughter in marriage to a farmer; and neither a farmer nor a fisherman will contract a marriage with a daughter of a palanquin-bearer. The price of a bride is twelve rupees; for a second marriage she is to be had at half-price. A

Marriage with a wife's sister.

[1] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, ii. 7.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 13.

[3] H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. (Bangalore, 1901) pp. 1, 10, 11 (Preliminary Issue).

[4] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. 2.

widow is allowed to marry her late husband's elder brother, but such marriages are rare.[1] The Levirate.

The Komatis, whom we have already met with in the Madras Presidency,[2] are a trading class of Mysore, ranking high in the scale of castes. They are Hindoos by religion and almost as strict as Brahmans in observing rules of personal cleanliness and restrictions as to eating and drinking. Their language is Telugu, but in the Kannada districts of the state they speak Kannada, and some have almost forgotten their mother tongue.[3] They are divided into a hundred and one exogamous septs or clans (*gotras*), some of which are grouped together in exogamous classes or phratries. One such group (class or phratry) comprises ten clans, another four; seven groups include three clans each; and sixteen groups include two clans each. The great majority of the clans are named after plants, grains, fruits, or flowers, and members of the clans abstain, or used to abstain, from eating or otherwise using the thing from which they derive their name. However, in many families no such taboos are observed. Sometimes, when people have forgotten what their original taboo was, they regard the pandanus flower as the thing which they may not use.[4] Among the plants, fruits, and flowers which give names to the exogamous clans (*gotras*) are the flower of the tree *Bauhinia purpurea*, the fruit of the tree *Emblica myrabolan*, lime fruit, pumpkins, green pulse, red lotus, black lotus, white lotus, snake-gourd, the gourd *Momordica*, a bitter gourd, black gram, Bengal gram, the kitchen herb *Closia albida*, plantain fruits, a small kind of castor oil seed, pigeon peas, a prickly tree with an edible fruit (*Prosopis spicigera*), the gigantic swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*), the long pepper, the pungent fruit *Photos officinalis*, flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), mango, pomegranate, bambo seed, Panicum grain, wheat, grapes, guava, dates, the Indian fig, sugar-cane, the fragrant grass *Cyperus rotundus*, cuscus grass, chrysanthemum, asafoetida, jessamine, Holy Basil, Exogamous and totemic clans among the Komatis. Totemic taboos.

[1] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. 3 *sq.*, 7, 8.

[2] See above, 241 *sqq.*

[3] H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 5, 28 *sq.*

[4] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. 5 *sq.*

China rose, fragrant oleander, red watercresses, horse radish, red radish, nutmeg, mustard, the fragrant screw pine, sandal-wood, tamarind, and civet. Other objects which give names to clans are curds of the sheep, red ochre, alum, camphor, and white silk. Apparently none of the clans are named after animals.[1] A boy is obliged to marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, however unattractive she may be; and on his side the maternal uncle must give his daughter in marriage to his nephew, the son of his sister, however poor the young man may be. Widows are not allowed to marry again.[2]

Obligation to marry a cousin.

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Bili Magga.

A subdivision of the weaver caste in Mysore is known as Bili Magga ("white loom") from the white muslin and other cloth which they weave. They speak the Kannada language, but their origin is unknown. They are divided into sixty-six exogamous septs or clans (*gotras*), which are distributed into two groups known respectively as the Siva and the Parvati group or as the male and the female group. Each group contains thirty-three clans (*gotras*) with the usual prohibition of marriage between persons bearing the same family name. Most of the clans are named after animals, plants, implements, and so forth; and members of the clans appear to deem it sinful to injure the things whose name they bear. Among the objects which give names to the Bili Magga clans are the buffalo, bull, horse, serpent, squirrel, sparrow, Brahman kite, banni tree, another kind of tree (*Pongamia glabra*), asafoetida, cummin seed, the pandanus flower, jessamine, grass, paddy, broken corn, flour, pepper, butter, milk, saffron, turmeric, sand, field, forest, the sun, white, nest, boulder, cart, pestle, plank, pot, rope, and tank.[3]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Nayindas.

The Nayiṇdas are a caste in Mysore whose business is that of shaving. But their profession is deemed inauspicious, and people, particularly married women of the upper classes, will not so much as mention the name of the caste. If they must refer to a barber, they call him "one who is not to be thought of," or "one who is not to be named,"

[1] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. 32-41.

[2] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. 8, 22. As to the marriage of cousins among the Komatis, see further above, pp. 225 *sq.*

[3] H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, viii. (Bangalore, 1907) pp. 1, 8-10 (Preliminary Issue).

especially when they allude to him at night.[1] The caste falls into two main divisions according as the members of it speak the Kannada or the Telugu language. The Telugu-speaking Nayindas are further subdivided into a number of exogamous septs or clans, which are named after animals, plants, flowers, and other objects, with the usual prohibition of killing, cutting, or using them.[2] Thus the *Chitlu* clan is named after a tree, which the members neither cut nor burn. People of the *Gurram* or Horse clan will not ride a horse. The *Jambu* clan takes its name from a kind of reed, which the clanspeople will not cut. The *Kanagula* or *Honge* clan are called after a tree, the *Pongamia glabra*, which they will not cut nor burn nor use the oil of its seed. People of the *Karu* clan will not cut the *karu* tree from which they take their name. Members of the *Mallela* or Jessamine clan and of the *Samanti* or Chrysanthemum clan will not use the jessamine and chrysanthemum flowers respectively. People of the *Navilu* or Peacock clan will not eat peacocks. People of the *Pasupu* or Turmeric clan will not raise crops of turmeric; and people of a clan named *Uttareni* after the *Achryranthes aspera* will neither cut nor touch that plant.[3] In most sections of the caste a widow is allowed to marry again, but she is forbidden to marry her deceased husband's brother, whether younger or elder.[4]

Totemic taboos.

The Levirate forbidden.

§ 5. *Totemism in the Bombay Presidency*

"In the Bombay Presidency," says Sir Herbert Risley, "the Katkaris of the Konkan will not kill a red-faced monkey, the Vaidus, or herbalists of Poona will not kill a rabbit, and the Vadars whose name is derived from the *Vaa* (*Ficus Indica*), will not fell the Indian fig tree. The totemistic character of the septs which regulate marriage is, however, most pronounced in the Kanara district which borders on the Dravidian tract of the South. The rice-growing caste

Sir Herbert Risley on totemism in the Bombay Presidency.

[1] H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, xii. (1907) p. 1 (Preliminary Issue).

[2] *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, xii. 2 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* xii. 18.

[4] *Ibid.* xii. 9.

of Halvakki Vakkal in Kanara have a number of exogamous septs or *bali* (lit. a creeper) which include the tortoise, the sambar, the monkey, the hog-deer, two sorts of fish, saffron, the acacia and several other trees, and the axe used for felling them. As we find them now, these groups are plainly totemistic. Thus the members of the screw-pine *bali* will neither cut the tree nor pluck its flowers, and those of the *Bargal bali* will not kill or eat the *barga* or mouse-deer. The followers of the *Shirin bali*, named after the *shirkal* tree (*Acacia speciosa*), will not sit in the shade of the tree, and refrain from injuring it in any way. But in Kanara, as in Orissa, there is a tendency to disguise or get rid of these compromising designations as the people who own them rise in the social scale. The Halepaik, once freebooters and now peaceful tappers of toddy trees, are divided into two endogamous groups, one dwelling on the coast and taking its name (*Tengina*) from the cocoanut tree, and the other living in the hills and calling itself *Bainu* after the sago-palm. Each of these again contains a number of exogamous *balis*. The *Tengina* have the wolf, the pig, the porcupine, the root of the pepper plant, turmeric, and the river; to which the *Bainu* add the snake, the sambar, and gold. The members of the *Nāgchampa* group will not wear the flower of that name in their hair, nor will the *Kadave bali* kill a *sāmbhar*. Two of the *balis* are called after the low castes Mahār and Hole, and it is curious to find that the other groups, though they will take girls from these *balis*, will not give them their own daughters to wife. Among the Halepaiks, unlike most of the Kanara castes, the *bali* descends through the female line, that is to say, the children belong to the *bali* of the mother, not of the father. Similar groups are found among the Suppalig (musicians), the Ager (salt workers and makers of palm-leaf umbrellas), the Ahir (cowherds), and the Mukur (labourers and makers of shell-lime). Several of these have the elephant for a totem and may not wear ornaments of ivory."[1]

Totemic taboos among the Halvakki Vakkal.

Exogamous clans among the Halepaik.

Maternal descent of the clans among the Halepaik.

Again, the Marathas of the Bombay Presidency, who worship the Brahman gods and keep the Brahman festivals, are divided into families, each of which has its *dēvak* or

Devaks or sacred family symbols among the Marathas.

[1] Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 98 *sq.*

sacred symbol. These symbols appear to have been originally totems; for a man may not marry a woman whose *devak*, reckoned on the male side, is the same as his own. Worship is paid to the *devaks* at marriage and at other important ceremonies. The following is a list of the chief *devaks* :—[1]

The *pānch pallav* or five leaves of the *Ficus Indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Cynodon dactylon*, *Bauhinia racemosa*, and *Syzyjium jāmbolanum* or rather *Eugenia jambolana*.
Kadamb (*Nauclea cadamba* or *Anthocephalus cadamba*).
Umbar (*Ficus glomerata*).
Lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*).
Conch shell.
Turmeric tubers.
Gold.
Ketaki (*Pandanus odoritissimus*).
Nāgchampā (*Mesua ferrea*).
Rui (*Calotropis gigantea*).
Peacock's feather.
Lamps (*Chirāks*), 360 in number.
Sword.
Mango-leaf (*Mangifera indica*).
Ficus religiosa (singly).
Bhārdwāj, feather of a crow pheasant.
Bamboo.
Wreath of Onions.
Rudrāksh (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*).
Surya-Kānt (crystal).
Ficus Indica (singly).
Shami (*Prosopis spicigera*).
Eagle's feathers.
Garud vel (?)
Nirgud (*Vitex negundo* or *trifoliata*).
Marvel (*Andropogon scandens*).
Aghādā (*Achyranthes aspera*).

Worship of the *devaks* at marriage.

With regard to the worship of these *devaks* or sacred symbols at marriage we are told that after the boy-bride-groom has been rubbed with turmeric and bathed, "next comes the marriage guardian or *devak* worship. A day or two before the marriage a man at the house of the boy and of the girl bathes, and with music and a band of friends

[1] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices* (Calcutta, 1903), pp. 94, 99 (from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Sir James Campbell). The correction *Eugenia jambolana* for *Syzyjium jambolanum* is due to Mr. Edgar Thurston.

goes to the tree, which is the family guardian, offers sandal, flowers, burnt frankincense, and sweetmeats to it, cuts a branch, lays it in a winnowing fan, and brings it home with music. He takes it to his god-room and worships it alone with his family gods, which are represented by betel nuts in a winnowing fan. Meanwhile five unwidowed girls wash a grindstone or *jātè* and lay sandal, flowers, and sweetmeats before it, and a family washerman worships the stone slab or *pātā*, and a feast to married women and a few friends and relations completes the guardian or *devak* worship."[1]

§ 6. *Totemism in North-West India*

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Agariyas.

In North-West India the Agariyas are a small Dravidian tribe inhabiting the hilly parts of Mirzapur south of the Son. They profess the Hindoo religion and occupy themselves with the smelting and forging of iron, a laborious business which may partly account for their gaunt and worn appearance.[2] The tribe is divided into seven exogamous and totemic clans or septs (*kuris*). Thus the Markam clan take their name from the tortoise, which the members of the clan will neither kill nor eat. The Goirar clan is called after a tree of the same name, which members of the can will not cut. The Paraswan clan derive their name from the *palasa* tree (*Butea frondosa*), and members of the clan will neither cut the tree nor eat out of platters made from its leaves. The Sanwan clan say that they are called after *san* or hemp, which they will not sow nor use. The Baragwar clan are named after the *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*); they will not cut or climb the tree, nor will they eat out of its leaves. Banjhakwar, the name of another clan, is said to be a corruption of Bengachwar, from *beng* "a frog," which the members of the clan will not kill or eat. Members of the Gidhle clan will not kill or even throw stones at a vulture (*gidh*). The only rule of exogamy observed by the Agariyas is that no person may marry within his or her

[1] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 96 (from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Sir James Campbell).

[2] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), i. 1 *sq.*, 8, 12.

clan (*kuri*).[1] When a man dies, his younger, but not his elder, brother has a right to marry the widow; it is only when he has renounced his claim, that she is free to marry another.[2] The Levirate.

The Baiswar are a tribe of doubtful but probably non-Aryan origin in the hill country of Mirzapur. They rank as respectable high caste Hindoos, and are either land-holders or tenants with rights of occupancy. The tribe is divided into clans or septs, which are exogamous in theory though apparently not always in practice. Some of the clans are totemic. Thus the Khandit clan takes its name from the sword (*khanda*), which the members hold in great respect. The Bansit clan revere the bamboo (*bans*) and allege that the ancestor of the clan was produced out of it. These are said to be the two original clans, from which the other five are derived.[3] Exogamous and totemic clans among the Baiswar.

The Bhangi are a sweeper tribe or caste of India. At Benares some of them are divided into several exogamous clans (*gotras*), which appear to be totemic. Thus the Kharaha or Hare clan will not eat hares, and the Pattharaha or Stone clan will not take their food out of stone vessels. The Chuhan clan derive their name from the rat (*chuha*), and the Pathrauta clan from a vegetable called *pathre-ka-sag*.[4] Exogamous clans among the Bhangi.

The Dhangars are a Dravidian tribe allied to the Oraons of Chota Nagpur. They are found in Gorakhpur and the south of Mirzapur, as well as in the Central Provinces. Though nominally Hindoos, they worship none of the regular Hindoo deities.[5] The tribe is divided into at least eight exogamous clans, most or all of which are totemic. Thus Ilha is said to mean a kind of fish, which the members of this clan will not eat; Kajur is the name of a jungle herb, which people of the clan do not use; Tirik is the name of a clan which may be identical with *Tirki*, the name of the Bull clan among the Oraons; in Chota Nagpur members of this clan will not touch any cattle after their eyes are open. The Lakara clan in Mirzapur Exogamous clans among the Dhangars.

[1] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. 2.

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 5.

[3] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 126, 130.

[4] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 272 *sq.*

[5] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 263 *sq.*, 269. As to the totems of the Dhangars in the Central Provinces, see above, p. 230.

takes its name from the hyaena (*lakar bagha*), which members of the clan will not hunt nor kill. The Bara clan in Mirzapur will not cut the *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*). The Ekka clan say that their name means "leopard," and accordingly they will not kill leopards. The Tiga clan profess to derive their name from a jungle root, which they will not eat. Lastly, the Khaha clan say that their name means "crow," a bird which they respect and will not injure.[1] The Dhangars observe the custom of the levirate; for when a man dies his younger brother has a right to marry the widow. Only when he gives up his claim to her may she marry another. The property of the first husband passes to the levir, that is, to the brother who has married the widow, but the sons of the levir are not by a legal fiction fathered on his deceased elder brother.[2]

The Levirate.

Exogamous clans among the Ghasiyas.

The Ghasiyas, a Dravidian tribe in the hill country of Mirzapur, are divided into seven exogamous clans. Khatangiya, the name of one clan, is said to mean "a man who fires a gun"; and members of the clan worship the matchlock. The Sunwan or Sonwan clan, which ranks highest, is said to take its name from gold (*sona*). When any Ghasiya becomes ceremonially impure, one of the Sunwan clan purifies him by sprinkling him with water in which a little bit of gold has been placed. The Janta clan is alleged to take its name from the quern or flour-mill (*janta*); they say they got this name because a woman of the clan was delivered of a child while she sat at the quern. The Bhainsa clan claim descent from a godling called Bhainsasur, whom they worship with the sacrifice of a young pig on the second of the light half of the month Karttik. Simarlokwa, the name of another clan, is said to mean "the people of the cotton tree"; and to explain it they say that once a great cotton tree fell on the clan and crushed them all except one pregnant woman, who escaped and so preserved the clan from extinction. The Khoiya

Traditions as to the origin of the totemic clans.

[1] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 265; *id.*, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 150 *sq.* As to the totemic clans of the Oraons, some of which bear the same names as those of the Dhangars, see below, pp. 287 *sqq.*

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 267.

clan derive their name from a wild dog (*koiya, Cuon rutilans*), because a member of the clan is said to have been persuaded by a Rajah to eat one of these animals, which the Rajah had killed in hunting. Lastly, the Markam clan take their name from the tortoise, which they worship because a tortoise once carried a member of the clan across a river in flood.[1] Among the Ghasiyas the custom of the levirate prevails with the usual restriction that it is only a younger brother who has the right to marry the widow of his deceased elder brother. There is no pretence of fathering the sons of the levir on his dead brother.[2]

The Levirate.

The Kharwars are a tribe of landholders and cultivators in South Mirzapur. Their origin appears to be Dravidian. A portion of the tribe is found in Bengal, where they have preserved their totemic organisation more perfectly than in Mirzapur.[3] North of the River Son in Mirzapur the tribe is divided into four exogamous clans and one endogamous clan. The four exogamous clans are as follows. The Surajbansi claim descent from the sun (*suraj*). The Dualbandhi say that their name comes from *dual*, "a leather belt," because they were once soldiers. The Patbandhi aver that they are so called because they once were very rich and wore silk (*pat*). Lastly, the Benbansi give two explanations of their name. Some of them say it comes from *ben*, "a bamboo," because the clan is descended from a bamboo, and some of its members will not cut bamboos. Others derive the name from a haughty Rajah of the name of Ben. The endogamous clan of the Kharwars bears the name of Khairaha, which they are said to take from the *khair* tree (*Acacia catechu*), because they extract catechu from it. The occupation is deemed disreputable; hence the members of the clan may not marry into the other four clans and are therefore forced to marry among themselves.[4] In regard to the marriage of widows and the levirate the tribe is at present in a state of transi-

Exogamous clans among the Kharwars.

Endogamous clan of the Kharwars.

The Levirate.

[1] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 408 *sqq.*

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 413.

[3] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iii. 237 *sq.* As to the Kharwars of Bengal, see below, pp. 295 *sq.*

[4] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 238 *sq.*

tion. The more Hindooised Kharwars forbid both, but the more primitive portion of the tribe permits them.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Nats.

The Nats are a so-called gypsy tribe of dancers, acrobats, and strumpets, who are found scattered all over the North-Western Provinces of India. The problem of their origin and affinities is very perplexing and its solution very uncertain. Perhaps the term Nat designates an occupation rather than a race, and includes members of different stocks, who have been grouped together only because they pursue the same vagrant life, ministering to the pleasure of idlers by rope-dancing, tumbling, and in other less reputable ways.[2] The Bajaniya Nats of Mirzapur are divided into seven exogamous and totemic clans. The Makriyana take their name from *makri*, "a spider," and no member of the clan will kill the insect. The Gauharna clan derive their name from *goh*, the alligator or lizard of the Ganges, and none of them will harm the reptile. Another clan bears the more ambitious title of Deodinaik or "leader given by God," and the members of this clan are generally the headmen of the tribe. The Bahunaina clan take their name from the fly, which members of the clan will not injure. Members of the Sanpaneriya clan will not kill the snake (*sanp*), from which they derive their name; and members of the Suganaik clan in like manner refuse to harm parrots (*suga*) after which they are called. One clan, the Gagoliya, cannot give any explanation of their name. The rule not to take a wife within the clan is the only prohibition on intermarriage, and it is notorious that the Nats marry very near blood-relations.[3]

Totemic taboos.

Marriage with blood-relations.

It is doubtful whether totemism exists in the Punjab.

It is not easy to say definitely whether totemism exists in the Punjab. The custom of exogamy is indeed almost universal among the Hindoos there as elsewhere, but there seems to be little or no clear evidence that the exogamous clans or septs (*gots*) are totemic, that is, that they observe certain taboos with regard to plants, animals, or other objects which they deem sacred. On this subject a good

[1] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 242.

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iv. 56 *sq.*

[3] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 61 *sq.*

authority, Mr. H. A. Rose, observes: "A few instances have apparently survived among the Aroras, and there are possibly stray cases among the Jats of the south-eastern plains, the Gujars, Rajputs, and other castes, even the Khatris, but the evidence is not conclusive, for little but the names remain, the instances of respect paid to the totem itself being few and uncertain. Amongst the Kanets of the Simla hills there are a few *khels* which have originated in some manifestation of divine favour by a tree, which is subsequently worshipped as an ancestor, its name being also adopted as the *khel* name." Examples of such Kanet clans (*khels*) are the Palashi, named after the *palash* tree; the Pajaik clan named after the *paja* tree; and the Kanesh clan named after the *kanash* tree.[1] Other instances of totemic clans in the Punjab are perhaps to be found in the Agarwal group of Banias, who are divided into fourteen exogamous clans (*gots*). Of these clans the Kansal takes its name from a grass (*kans*), and the Bansal takes its name from the bamboo (*bans*), and neither clan may cut or injure the plant after which it is called.[2]

Mr. H. A. Rose on traces of totemism in the Punjab.

On the subject of exogamy in the Punjab I will quote the observations of a high authority, the late Sir Denzil C. J. Ibbetson: "The tribe as a whole is strictly endogamous; that is to say, no Jat can, in the first instance, marry a Gujar or Ror, or any one but a Jat; and so on. But every tribe is divided into gentes or *gots*; and these gentes are strictly exogamous. The gens is supposed to include all descendants of some common ancestor, wherever they live. . . . Traces of phratries, as Mr. Morgan calls them, are not uncommon. Thus the Mandhar, Kandhar, Bargujar, Sankarwal, and Panihar gentes of Rajputs sprang originally from a common ancestor Lao, and cannot intermarry. So the Deswal, Man, Dalal, and Siwal gentes of Jats, and again the Mual, Sual, and Rekwal gentes of Rajputs, are of common descent, and cannot intermarry.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson on exogamy in the Punjab.

[1] H. A. Rose, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xvii. *Punjab, its Feudatories, and the North-West Frontier Province*, Part I. (Simla, 1902), p. 332. As to exogamy, without totemism, in the Punjab, see Mr. H. A. Rose, *op. cit.* p. 331. Compare (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), pp. 77-79.

[2] H. A. Rose, *op. cit.* p. 327.

The fact that many of the gentes bear the same name in different tribes is explained by the people on the ground that a Bachhas Rajput, for instance, married a Gujar woman, and her offspring were called Gujars, but their descendants formed the Bachhas gens of Gujars. This sort of tradition is found over and over again all over the country; and in view of the almost conclusive proof we possess (too long to detail here) that descent through females was once the rule in India, as it has been probably all over the world, I think it is rash to attribute all such traditions merely to a desire to claim descent from a Rajput ancestor."[1]

§ 7. *Totemism in Bengal*

Natural features of Chota Nagpur.

In Bengal the district of Chota Nagpur has for ages formed a secure asylum for those aboriginal tribes who have been driven from the lowlands by the tides of invasion that have swept over the plains of the Ganges. It is a high tableland guarded on all sides by precipitous jungle-clad hills and pierced here and there by rugged paths which a handful of resolute men could hold against an army. The first settlers who forced their way up through the dense thickets and steep declivities to the summit must have rejoiced to find themselves at last not so much on the crest of a mountain range as on the edge of a far-spreading land of rolling wooded hills, diversified by fertilising streams and broken here and there by fantastic pinnacles of rock, which in places resemble the vast domes of temples buried in the earth. Here in a genial climate, safe from pursuit, the refugees could draw breath and look down tranquilly on the bustle and tumult of life far off in the plains below. Here, therefore, the rude children of nature could maintain their freedom and preserve their simple habits with but little change from generation to generation.[2] It is accordingly

[1] (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 77.

[2] Lieut.-Col. E. T. Dalton, "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vi. (1868) pp. 1 *sq.*; F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903), pp. 1 *sqq.*; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), pp. 7 *sq.*

among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur that we find preserved, perhaps more perfectly than elsewhere in India, the ancient systems of totemism and exogamy.

The Oraons and their country.

Of these tribes the Oraons, whose name is probably derived from the Dravidian *horo*, "man," appear to be the earliest settlers in the plateau. They are pure-blooded Dravidians, of the darkest brown complexion, approaching to black, with coarse, jet-black hair, which inclines to be frizzly, projecting jaws, thick lips, broad flat noses, and bright full eyes. Their language is Dravidian. They cultivate the soil; indeed, they claim to have introduced the use of the plough into Chota Nagpur instead of the old barbarous mode of tillage, which consists in burning the jungle and sowing a crop of pulse or Indian-corn in the ashes.[1] Their country is the northern and western parts of Chota Nagpur. In these days it presents to view a vast stretch of terraced rice-fields, divided by swelling uplands, some well wooded with groves of mango, tamarind, and various useful or ornamental trees, others still crowned with relics of the primaeval forests, which are preserved with religious care to serve as haunts for the woodland spirits. Huge piles or soaring pinnacles of granite rock add an element of strangeness and romance to the scene. Far off the fair landscape is generally bounded by blue hills.[2]

Houses of the Oraons.

Yet the dwellings of the savages who claim to be the original lords of this fair domain assort but ill with the grandeur of the scenery. Their mud-built huts, incapable of affording decent accommodation to a family, are huddled together in a fashion little conducive to health, convenience, or decorum. Groups of such houses are built in rows of three or four facing each other and forming a small enclosed courtyard, which is seldom properly drained or cleaned. In these hovels human beings and cattle herd together. Only the swine have sties of their own. When the huts are built of the red laterite soil of which the uplands are generally composed, they are as durable as if constructed of

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1891-1892), ii. 138 *sq.*, 148; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, pp. 76 *sq.*

[2] Colonel E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 246.

brick and mortar; indeed such walls last indefinitely, provided that they are protected from the drip of the rain by roofs or merely by a slight coping of leaves or straw.

Bachelors' houses (*dhumkuria*) in Oraon villages.

In all the older Oraon villages, which adhere to the ancient customs, there is a bachelors' house called a *dhumkuria*, where all the unmarried men and boys must sleep under penalty of a fine. The young unmarried women also sleep apart from the houses of their parents; but where they pass the night is somewhat of a mystery. Colonel Dalton was told that in some villages a separate dormitory, like the dormitory of the bachelors, is provided for them, where they consort together under the charge of an elderly duenna; but he believed the more common practice to be to distribute them among the houses of the widows, and this is what the girls themselves assert, if they answer at all when the question is put to them; but they are reticent on the subject. But however billeted, it is well known that they often find their way to the bachelors' hall, and in some villages actually sleep there. "I not long ago," says Colonel Dalton, "saw a *dhumkuria* in a Sirguja village in which boys and girls all slept every night. They themselves admitted the fact, the elders of the village confirmed it, and appeared to think that there was no impropriety in the arrangement. That it leads to promiscuous intercourse is most indignantly denied, and it may be there is safety in the multitude; but it must sadly blunt all innate feelings of delicacy. Yet the young Oraon girls are modest in demeanour, their manner gentle, language entirely free from obscenity, and whilst hardly ever failing to present their husbands with a pledge of love in due course *after* marriage, instances of illegitimate births are rare, though they often remain unmarried for some years after reaching maturity. Long and strong attachments between young couples are common."[1]

Loose relations of the sexes among the Oraons before marriage.

However, the charitable view which the gallant colonel took of the relations between Oraon maids and bachelors is not shared by other experienced authorities on the Indian people. Thus Sir Herbert Risley observes that among the Oraons "sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, and is so generally practised that in the opinion

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 246-248.

of the best observers no Oraon girl is a virgin at the time of her marriage. To call this state of things immoral is to apply a modern conception to primitive habits of life. Within the tribe indeed the idea of sexual morality seems hardly to exist, and the unmarried Oraons are not far removed from the condition of modified promiscuity which prevails among many of the Australian tribes. Provided that the exogamous circle defined by the totem is respected, an unmarried woman may bestow her favours on whom she will. If, however, she becomes pregnant, arrangements are made to get her married without delay, and she is then expected to lead a virtuous life. Prostitution is unknown. Intrigues beyond the limits of the tribe are uncommon, and are punished by summary expulsion."[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Oraons.

The Oraons are divided into a great many exogamous and totemic clans. At least, seventy-one such clans are known to exist. They are named after their totems, which are sacred or tabooed to members of their respective clans. The totems are mostly animals or plants, which the clans-people are forbidden to eat. Iron and salt are totems of two clans. The following is the list of totemic clans given by Sir Herbert Risley:—[2]

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 141. Sir Herbert Risley's view is accepted by Mr. W. Crooke, who writes of the Oraons: "The youths, like those of the Nagas, are supposed to sleep in a bachelors' hall; but the intercourse of the sexes is practically unrestricted, ante-nuptial connections are the rule rather than the exception, and marriage, as they understand the term, is equivalent to cohabitation" (*Natives of Northern India*, p. 77). On this subject Mr. E. A. Gait, of the Indian Census, writes to me: "Risley is certainly right about premarital communism amongst the Oraons. I have been told that if an Oraon girl is thought unduly coy all the youths of the village combine against her and get her deflowered by one or more of their number."

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 113 *sq.*

[TABLE

ORAON TOTEMS

(Sir Herbert Risley)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
Amri	rice soup	*Khalkhoa*	cannot eat fish caught by baling water out of a tank or pool
Bagh	tiger		
Bandh			
Bando	a wild cat which barks at night	*Kheksa*	curry vegetable
		Khes	cannot eat plants that grow in ponds
Bakula	paddy-bird		
Bar	*Ficus Indica*	*Khetta*	a cobra
Barwa	a wild dog	*Khoepa*	a wild dog
Basa	a tree	*Kinda*	a date palm
Bekh	salt	*Kispotta*	pig's entrails
Beanh	a large fish with thorns on its back	*Kosuar*	a kind of fish
		Kujur	a fruit used to stain the horns of cattle at the Sohrai festival
Bhakla			
Chigah	a jackal		
Chirra	a squirrel	*Kundri*	curry vegetable
Chowria Musa	field-rat	*Kusuwa*	a fish
Dhan	rice soup forbidden	*Lakra*	a hyaena
Dhechua	kingcrow	*Lila*	a kind of fish
Dirra	a kind of eel	*Linda*	an eel
Dom Khakha	a raven	*Loha*	iron
Ekka	tortoise	*Mahato*	a title
Ergo	a rat	*Minji*	a kind of eel
Gari	monkey	*Munjniar*	a wild creeper
Garwe	a stork	*Murga*	cock
Gede	a duck	*Nagbans*	cobra
Gidhi	a vulture	*Orgonra*	a hawk
Gislihi	a bird	*Pusra*	fruit of kusum tree
Godo	crocodile	*Putri*	a tree
Golala		*Rori*	a fruit or tree
Gondrari	a tree	*Runda*	a fox
Induar	a kind of eel	*Sal*	fish
Kachua	tortoise	*Sarno*	
Kaith	curry vegetable	*Suar*	hog
Kanda	sweet potato	*Tig Hanuman*	monkey
Kaua	crow	*Tirki*	young mice
Kendi	a tree	*Tirkuar*	fruit
Kenu	a fish	*Tirtia*	
Keond	a fruit	*Tiru*	a kind of fish
Kerketa	a bird which makes a noise like *ket ket*	*Topoar*	a bird with a long tail, and body mottled black and white

A list of twenty-seven Oraon totems is given by the Rev. F. Hahn. It differs in some points from the one given by Sir Herbert Risley, the differences being probably

due to local variations in the totemic system or nomenclature of the tribe. Mr. Hahn's list is as follows :—[1]

ORAON TOTEMS

(Rev. F. Hahn)

Clans.	Totems.
1. *Lakra* . .	tiger; nothing of a tiger is eaten by the members of this clan (sept).
2. *Chigalo* .	jackal; nothing of a jackal is eaten by the members of this clan.
3. *Kispota* .	the intestines or stomach of a pig are not eaten by this clan.
4. *Kaya* . .	the wild dog; nothing of him is eaten.
5. *Kartu* . .	the black *hanuman* ape; not eaten.
6. *Tiga* . .	the field mouse; not eaten.
7. *Tirki* . .	young mouse; not eaten.
8. *Orgora* .	hawk; not eaten.
9. *Gidhi* . .	vulture; not eaten.
10. *Khakha* .	crow; not eaten.
11. *Chelek Cheta* .	swallow; not eaten.
12. *Toppo* . .	woodpecker; not eaten.
13. *Kerketta* .	quail; not eaten.
14. *Dhicua* .	swallow-tailed bird; not eaten.
15. *Ekka* . .	tortoise; not eaten.
16. *Minj* . .	eel; not eaten.
17. *Kindo* . .	carp fish; not eaten.
18. *Khalkho* .	shad fish; not eaten.
19. *Kujur* . .	a creeper, from the fruit of which an oil is obtained, which is not used by the Kujur people.
20. *Bara* . .	the *Ficus Indica*; the fruit is not eaten.
21. *Chitkha* .	the *Ficus religiosa*; the fruit is not eaten.
22. *Bakhla* .	tank weed; the roots may not be eaten by this clan.
23. *Khess* . .	paddy. The *conjy* [?] is not used by this clan unless it is diluted.
24. *Madge* .	mahua; the flower may not be eaten.
25. *Kisskhocol* .	a thorny tree; the fruit is forbidden to this clan.
26. *Panna* .	iron; may never be touched with the tongue or the lips.
27. *Bek* . .	salt; may not be eaten on the tip of the finger.

[1] Rev. F. Hahn, "Some Notes on the Religion and Superstitions of the Oraõs," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1904) pp. 18 *sq*.

From a comparison of the lists we may infer that the *kerketa* and the *topoar* of Sir Herbert Risley's list are the quail and the woodpecker respectively. In regard to the totems generally, Mr. Hahn tells us that they "are held sacred in some way or other," and that the respect shewn to them is regarded as homage paid to ancestors.[1] Hence it would seem that the Oraons, like many other totemic peoples, conceive themselves to be descended from their totems.

Respect shown to the totems.

Dalton on the Oraon clans and totems.

A few of the Oraon clans and their totems were first recorded by Colonel E. T. Dalton. He tells us that "the *Tirki* have an objection to animals whose eyes are not yet open, and their own offspring are never shewn till they are wide awake. The *Ekkr* will not touch the head of a tortoise. The *Katchoor* object to water in which an elephant has been bathed. The *Amdiar* will not eat the foam of the river. The *Kujrar* will not eat the oil of the Kujri tree, or sit in its shade. The *Tiga* will not eat the monkey."[2] In general he observes that "the family or tribal names are usually those of animals or plants, and when this is the case, the flesh of some part of the animal or fruit of the tree is tabooed to the tribe called after it."[3]

The rule of exogamy observed by the Oraons is the

[1] Rev. F. Hahn, "Some Notes on the Religion and Superstitions of the Oraõs," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1904), p. 18.

[2] Lieut.-Col. E. T. Dalton, "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. vi. (1868) p. 36. In his later work, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 254, Colonel Dalton gives the following list of Oraon clans (or tribes, as he calls them) with their taboos:—

Clans.	Taboos.
Tirki	may not eat *tirki*, young mice
Ekhar	may not eat head of tortoise
Kirpotas	do not eat the stomach of the pig
Lakrar	may not eat tiger's flesh
Kujrar	may not eat oil from this tree or sit in its shade
Gedhiar	may not eat kite
Khakhar	,, ,, crow
Minjar	,, ,, eel
Kerketar	,, ,, the bird so named
Barar	may not eat from the leaves of the *Ficus Indica*

[3] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 254.

simple one that a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. There is no objection to a man's marrying a woman of his mother's clan. Children belong to the clan of their father. In addition to the rule of exogamy there seems to be a system of prohibited degrees, though no one can state it clearly. Still every Oraon admits that he may not marry his mother's sister nor his first cousin on the mother's side, though he will probably not be able to say how far these prohibitions extend in the descending line. Again, no man may marry the widow of his younger brother nor his deceased wife's elder sister; but he may marry the widow of his elder brother and his deceased wife's younger sister.[1]

Marriage customs of the Oraons.

The Levirate and marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

Another large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur who retain totemism and exogamy are the Mundas. Physically they are among the finest of the aboriginal tribes of the plateau. The men are about five feet six in height, their bodies lithe and muscular, their skin of the darkest brown or almost black, their features coarse, with broad flat noses, low foreheads, and thick lips.[2] Thus from the physical point of view the Mundas are pure Dravidians. Yet curiously enough they speak a language which differs radically from the true Dravidian. Together with the languages of the Kherwaris, Kurkus, Kharias, Juangs, Savaras, and Gadabas it forms a separate family of speech, to which the name of Kolarian used to be applied; but modern philologers prefer to name it Munda after its best known representative, the language of the Mundas. This interesting family of language is now known to be akin to the Mon-Khmer languages of Further India as well as to the Nicobarese and the dialects of certain wild tribes of Malacca. It is perhaps the language which has been longest spoken in India, and may well have been universally diffused over the whole of that country as well as over Further India and Malacca before the tide of invasion swept it away from vast areas and left it outstanding only in a few places like islands or solitary towers rising from an ocean of alien tongues.[3] The Mundas are

The Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

The Munda or Kolarian language.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 141.

[2] F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903), p. 24.

[3] *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 382 *sq.*

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Mundas.

divided into many exogamous clans (*kilis*), of which no less than three hundred and thirty-nine are enumerated by Sir Herbert Risley. The great majority of them appear to be totemic, deriving their names from animals or plants which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat. Children belong to the clan of their father.[1] Among the totemic animals of the Munda clans are the tiger, leopard, elephant, wolf, jackal, crocodile, a kind of snake, river-snake, cobra, stag, deer, wild cow, horse, monkey, hog, dog, wild dog, cat, rat, mouse, tree-mouse, porcupine, rabbit, squirrel, tortoise, hawk, kite, vulture, quail, parrot, peacock, swan, crow, king-crow, pigeon, cock, fowl, and many other birds, black bee or hornet, fly, red tree-ant, black tree-ant, red flying ant, rice weevil, earth worm, a red worm, leech, eel, water-snake, and fish of various sorts. Among the totemic plants of the clans are rice, fried rice, paddy, yam, plantain, potato, sweet potato, a curry vegetable, areca nut, lotus, various fruits, fig, fig-tree root, *Ficus Indica*, tamarind, kussum-tree, mango, a kind of grass, mushroom, and moss. Among the miscellaneous totems are salt, red earth, ashes, a kind of mud, vermilion, copper, cocoon, horn, bone, clarified butter, honey, new rice soup, full moon, moonlight, rainbow, the month of June, Wednesday, brass bracelet, verandah, umbrella, basket-maker, torch-bearer, and the Rautia caste. The totemic taboos of three clans are respectively not to eat beef, not to wear gold, and not to touch a sword. Members of the clan which has paddy (unhusked rice) for its totem are forbidden to eat rice and rice soup; they eat millet instead. Members of the clan which takes its name from the *udbarn* tree do not use the oil which is extracted from the tree.[2] The Mundas cultivate rice and celebrate festivals at harvest.[3]

Totemic taboos.

The Hos or Larka Kols.

Another large non-Aryan tribe which is divided into exogamous clans are the Hos or Larka Kols. As they are

[1] E. T. Dalton, "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. vi. (1868) pp. 26, 36; *id.*, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 101 *sq.*, and Appendix, pp. 102-109.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 102-109.

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 104.

closely akin to the Mundas, they may be noticed here, though Singbhum, the district which they inhabit, does not form part of Chota Nagpur proper, but lies to the south-east of it. The most fertile and highly-cultivated part of this region surrounds the station of Chaibasa, and here are massed about two-thirds of the Hos or Kols. To the south-west, bordering on Chota Nagpur, is a mountainous tract of vast extent sparsely peopled by the wildest of the Kols, whose poor villages nestle in the deep valleys of these rugged highlands. Like their kinsmen the Mundas, the Hos or Kols are classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarians.[1] They are a purely agricultural people, and all their festivals are connected with the cultivation of the ground. They raise three crops of rice in the year, and they also cultivate maize, millet, tobacco, and cotton. Their agricultural implements, which they make themselves, are a wooden plough tipped with iron, a harrow, a large hoe, a sickle, and a battle-axe, which serves more peaceful purposes than the name implies. They plough with cows as well as oxen, but prefer buffaloes to bullocks. The cattle are used only for ploughing; for the Hos, like many other hill tribes of India, never touch milk.[2] In the most fruitful part of the land the villages are often prettily situated on a hillside looking away over the flat-terraced rice-fields and the rolling uplands. Ancient and noble tamarind trees overshadow the roomy, substantially built houses with their thatched roofs and neat verandahs. The outhouses are so placed as to form with the farm-house itself a square courtyard with a large pigeon house in the middle. Not far off, in the shade of the solemn tamarind trees, are the graves covered with great slabs of stone, on which in the cool of the evening, when their work is done, the elders love to sit and smoke their pipes, gossipping of village affairs and no doubt often recalling the days of their youth and the memory of the rude forefathers who sleep their long sleep under these ponderous stones.[3]

Agriculture of the Hos.

Villages of the Hos.

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 177 *sq.*; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 319. As to the Hos and their country, see further F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903), pp. 82 *sqq.*

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 195, 196 *sqq.*

[3] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 189.

High places and sacred groves of the Hos.

Every village has its high place and its sacred grove, where the gods, unseen by mortal eyes and unrepresented by images, receive the offerings of their worshippers. The high place is some mighty mass of virgin rock, to which man has added nothing and from which he has taken nothing away. The sacred grove is a fragment of the primæval forest left standing when the rest of it was felled, lest the sylvan deities, rendered houseless by the woodman's axe, should forsake the land for ever. For ages these venerable trees have been carefully protected, and even now if one of them is destroyed, the gods manifest their displeasure by withholding the rains in their due season. It is to these woodland deities that the husbandman looks for a bounteous harvest; it is to them that he pays his devotions at all the great festivals of the agricultural year.[1]

Exogamous clans of the Hos.

The Hos or Larka Kols are divided into at least forty-six clans or septs, which strictly observe the rule of exogamy, no man being on any account allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. "With this exception" says Sir Herbert Risley, "their views on the subject of prohibited degrees appear to be lax, and I understand that marriages with near relatives on the mother's side are tolerated provided that a man does not marry his aunt, his first cousin, or his niece." The clans of the Hos, like those of the Mundas, are called *kilis*. Among the names of the clans Colonel Dalton found only one which is that of an animal; however, according to Sir Herbert Risley, many of the names appear to be totemic. Six of the clans are identical in name with six clans of the Santals, who are themselves akin to the Hos.[2]

Totemism and exogamy among the Bedias and other tribes of Chota Nagpur.

Another totemic people in Chota Nagpur are the Bedias, a small agricultural tribe of the Dravidian stock. They are divided into nineteen exogamous and totemic clans or septs, and the clan totems include the squirrel, cobra, tortoise, owl, pigeon, and other birds, various kinds of fish, the banyan tree, the *Bassia latifolia*, and the mahua flower.[3] The Bhars, a

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 185-188.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 320, ii. Appendix, p. 60.

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 83, ii. Appendix, p. 8. That the septs or (as I call them) clans of the Bedias are exogamous

small Dravidian caste of Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal, are for the most part cultivators of the soil. They are divided into seven exogamous clans or septs, of which four have for their totems the tortoise, the peacock, the bamboo, and the *bel* fruit. The other three clans (Agni, Brahmarishi, and Rishi) are eponymous, that is, they derive their names from real or mythical ancestors, not from totems.[1] In Chota Nagpur the Goalas, the great pastoral caste of India, are divided into thirty-one exogamous and totemic clans or septs of the type common in that part of the country. Among their clan totems are the tiger, deer, calf, cobra, rat, field-rat, red tree-ant, eel, swan, mango, *Ficus Indica*, *pakar* fruit, lotus, a kind of grain, a grass, and an arrow. One clan, (the Sona) is forbidden to wear gold; another (the Tirki) to touch cattle after their eyes are open.[2] The Kharias, a Dravidian tribe of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, are divided into at least thirty-four exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Among the clan totems are the tiger, elephant, tortoise, cobra, red ant, eel, several kinds of birds and fish, the *Ficus Indica*, paddy, salt, and a rock. The exogamous rule is regularly observed, no man being allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. On the other hand, it is said that the totemic rule to regard the totem as sacred or taboo is not now very generally observed; it must, however, have been at one time in force, for a clan of wild Kharias, whom Mr. Ball met with on the Dalma range in Manbhum, had the sheep for their totem and were not allowed to eat mutton or even to use a woollen rug.[3] The Kharwars, a Dravidian

The Bhars.

The Goalas.

The Kharias.

The Kharwars.

is not expressly mentioned by Sir Herbert Risley, but I assume that they and all the other septs enumerated by him in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. ii. Appendix I., are in fact exogamous. That they are so appears to be clearly implied by Sir Herbert Risley in his general account of exogamy. See his essay "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, pp. 75 *sqq.*; *The People of India*, pp. 154 *sq.*

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 95, ii. Appendix, p. 9. As to eponymous septs or clans, see *id.* "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, pp. 81 *sq.*; *id.*, *The People of India*, p. 155.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 282, 288, ii. Appendix, pp. 51 *sq.*

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 466, ii. Appendix, pp. 77 *sq.* As to the taboo on the sheep and its products, see V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India* (London, 1880), p. 89, "The Keriahs do not eat the flesh of sheep, and may not even use a woollen rug"; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 161.

tribe of cultivators and landholders in Chota Nagpur and Southern Behar, are divided into more than seventy exogamous clans or septs, of which many are totemic. Among the totems of their clans are the tiger, elephant, cobra, cow, tortoise, rat, squirrel, red tree-ant, eel, hawk, swan, duck, hen, a water-fowl and other kinds of birds, *Ficus Indica*, plum, pineapple, various other fruits and grasses, salt, lime, coral, gold, copper, a top-knot, a neck ornament, an arrow, and goldsmith.[1]

The Koras.

The Koras are a Dravidian caste of earth-workers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur, and Western and Central Bengal. Probably they are an offshoot from the Munda tribe. Amongst them, wherever the exogamous clans have been preserved, the rule is that a man may not marry a woman of his own totem, but the mother's totem is not taken into account. Amongst their totems are the bull, pig, tortoise, heron, wild goose and a fish (*sal* or *saula*).[2]

The Koshtas.

The Koshtas are a caste of weavers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur. Some at least of their exogamous clans are totemic, such as the *Baghal* (tiger), *Bhat* (rice), *Chaur* (yak's tail), *Khanda* (sword), *Kurm* (tortoise), *Manik* (gem), and *Nag* (snake). But there is no evidence that the members of the clans pay any respect to the totems whose names they bear. Among the Koshtas a widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, if one survives him.[3]

The Kurmis.

The Kurmis are a very large caste of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, Upper India, Behar, and Orissa. Their origin is obscure. In Chota Nagpur and Orissa their exogamous clans number sixty and are purely totemic. The clan totems include the tiger, crocodile, tortoise, buffalo, jackal, snake, rat, cat, spider, kite, wild goose, bamboo, betel palm, fig, *kesar* grass, gold, net, pierced ears, and hunter. One clan (Bansriar) will not play the *bansi* or bamboo flute. Another will not wear silk, and another will not wear shell ornaments.[4]

The Lohars are the blacksmith caste of Chota Nagpur, Behar, and Western Bengal, comprising a large and hetero-

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 472, 474, ii. Appendix, pp. 78 *sq.*

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 506, 507, ii. Appendix, p. 83.

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 513, ii. Appendix, p. 84.

[4] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 528 *sqq.*, ii. Appendix, pp. 87 *sq.*

geneous aggregate of members of different tribes and castes. In Chota Nagpur the caste is divided into sixty-eight exogamous clans or septs, of which many, if not all, are totemic. Among their clan totems are the tiger, elephant, cobra, snake, tortoise, cow, bullock, wild cat, fox, red tree-ant, eel, hawk, kingcrow, crow, heron, birds of other sorts, bamboo, fig, sweet potato, lotus, grass (*kons*), turmeric, and net. The Tirki clan may not touch any animals after their eyes are open.[1] The Mahili are a caste of labourers, palanquin-bearers, and workers in bamboo, who are found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. They are divided into about thirty exogamous and totemic clans. Some of the totems are the bull, nilgau (a species of antelope), eel, caterpillar, wild goose and other birds, jack-fruit tree, wild fig, and *turu* grass. One clan has ears for its totem, and members of it are forbidden to eat the ear of any animal.[2] The Nagesar are a small Dravidian tribe of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, short, very dark, and ugly. The exogamous clans into which they are divided bear totemic names which occur among the Mundas and many other Dravidian tribes. Among their totems are the bull, the cobra, two kinds of eels, the mango, and the *Ficus Indica*. One of their clans (the Sonwani) is forbidden to wear gold.[3]

Totemism and exogamy among the Lohars, Mahili, and Nagesar of Chota Nagpur.

The Pans are a low caste of weavers, basket-makers, and menials scattered under various names (Chik, Ganda, Pab, Panika, Panwa, Tanti, etc.) throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western parts of Chota Nagpur. It has been conjectured on very slender grounds that the Pans are descendants of Aryan colonists, who settled of old in Chota Nagpur and were subdued by the Dravidian races of that country. But the numerous totemic clans into which they are divided seem to furnish strong evidence of their Dravidian origin.[4] On this subject Sir Herbert Risley observes: "The caste has a very numerous set of totems,

Totemism and exogamy among the Pans of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 22, and Appendix, pp. 94 *sq.*

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 40, and Appendix, pp. 96 *sq.*; *id.*, *The People of India*, p. 95.

[3] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 131-133; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 122, and Appendix, p. 111.

[4] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 155 *sq.*, and Appendix, pp. 36 *sq.*, 115-117; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 325.

comprising the tiger, the buffalo, the monkey, the tortoise, the cobra, the mongoose, the owl, the kingcrow, the peacock, the centipede, various kinds of deer, the wild fig, the wild plum, and a host of others which I am unable to identify. They have in fact substantially the same set of totems as the other Dravidian tribes of that part of the country, and make use of these totems for regulating marriage in precisely the same way. The totem follows the line of male descent. A man may not marry a woman who has the same totem as himself, but the totems of the bride's ancestors are not taken into account, as is the case in the more advanced forms of exogamy. In addition to the prohibition of marrying among totem kin, we find a beginning of the supplementary system of reckoning prohibited degrees. The formula, however, is curiously incomplete. Instead of mentioning both sets of uncles and aunts and barring seven generations, as is usual, the Pans mention only the paternal uncle and exclude only one generation. They are therefore only a stage removed from the primitive state of things when matrimonial relations are regulated by the simple rule of exogamy, and kinship by both parents has not yet come to be recognized."[1] To the Pan or Chik totems enumerated above by Sir Herbert Risley may be added the cat and a small wild cat, the frog, the cow, the rat, the wood-louse, the crab, a red tree-ant, the flying bug, a water-snake, the hawk, the swan, the paddy-bird, the *Ficus Indica*, the tomato, curry vegetable, fork of a tree, *kansi* grass, *Bassia latifolia*, horn, bull's horn, a yak's tail, iron, the moon, and a ship. The members of one clan (*Balbandhiya*) are bound to tie up their hair. The members of another clan (*Dip*) may not eat after lights are lit. The members of another (*Mahabaar*) may not kill or chase the wild boar; and the members of another (*Rikhiasan*) are forbidden to eat beef or pork.[2]

Totemic taboos.

Totemism and exogamy among the Rautias of Chota Nagpur.

The Rautias are a caste of landholders and cultivators in Chota Nagpur, who are probably Dravidian by origin, but have been refined in features and complexion by a large infusion of Aryan blood. They are divided into many

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 156.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. Appendix, pp. 36 *sq.*, 115-117.

exogamous clans (*paris* or gots), of which some are totemic. Such are the clans which take their names respectively from the eel, the tortoise, the snake, the cat, the wild dog, the squirrel, the vulture, the *kasi* grass, the sword, and the axe. The rule that the totem is tabooed to members of the clan appears in the case of the Rautias to apply only to the animal-totems, which may be named, but may not be killed or eaten. On the other hand members of the Sword clan and of the Axe clan are not forbidden to use these weapons, nor is a man of the *kasi* Grass clan prohibited from touching the grass from which his clan is supposed to be descended. The clan, with its totem, is inherited by children from their father. While a man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own totemic clan, he is free to marry a woman of his mother's clan. The simple rule of clan exogamy is accordingly supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees made up, like our own, by enumerating the individual relatives whom a man is forbidden to marry, and not, as is more usual, by prohibiting intermarriage with certain large classes of relations or with the descendants, within certain degrees, of particular relations. It is considered right that a widow should marry her late husband's younger brother. Under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother. Any children she may have by the younger brother are deemed his and not his deceased brother's.[1]

The Levirate.

The last totemic people of Chota Nagpur whom we shall notice are the Turis, a non-Aryan caste of cultivators, workers in bamboo, and basket-makers, whose physical type, language, and religion prove that they are a Hindooised offshoot of the Mundas. Their exogamous clans are for the most part totemic and correspond closely to those of the Mundas. They include *Bar* (*Ficus Indica*), *Charhad* (tiger), *Hansda* (wild goose), *Hastadda* (eel), *Induar* (a kind of eel), *Jariar* (lizard), *Kachhua* (tortoise), *Kerketa* (a kind of bird), *Samp* (snake), *Saur* (fish), *Sumat* (deer), *Suren* (a kind of fish), *Tirki* (mouse), and *Toppo* (bird).[2]

Totemism and exogamy among the Turis of Chota Nagpur.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 199, 200, 201, and Appendix, p. 123.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 333 *sq.*, and Appendix, p. 140. As to the *Kerketa*, *Tirki*, and *Toppo* totems, see above, pp. 288, 289, 290, 295.

The Santals.

But while the secure tableland of Chota Nagpur is the home of many aboriginal tribes which have retained the ancient social system of totemism and exogamy, it is by no means the only part of Bengal in which totemic peoples are found. Amongst these the best known are the Santals, a large Dravidian tribe of cultivators, who have their nucleus in the Santal Parganas or Santalia, but are also found scattered at intervals over a strip of Bengal which stretches for about three hundred and fifty miles from the Ganges to the Baitarni and is bisected by the meridian of Bhagalpur or 87° East longitude. So far as physical appearance goes, the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to almost charcoal-like black; the proportions of the nose approach those of the negro; the mouth is large, the lips thick and protruding, the hair coarse, black, and sometimes curly. On the ground of their language, however, the Santals are classed as Kolarians or Mundas.[1] Though they till the soil, their habits are migratory; they do not care to settle for long in one place, but clear fresh patches for cultivation in the woods and so move on. A country denuded of the forest which furnishes them with the hunting grounds they love and the virgin soil they prefer has little attraction for them. When by their own labour the trees have been felled, the jungle cleared, and the land brought under cultivation, they quit it and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may be used again.[2]

Migratory agriculture of the Santals.

The social system of the Santals, their exogamous clans and subclans.

The social structure of the Santal tribe is very elaborate. It is divided into twelve clans or septs and at least seventy-six subclans or subsepts. Both clans and subclans are exogamous and both appear to be totemic. No man may marry into his own clan (*pari*) or subclan (*khunt*), but he may marry into any other clan, including his mother's; on

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 207; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 224 *sq.*; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909), p. 383. The work of the late Sir W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*[5] (London, 1872), is in great part devoted to a detailed and sympathetic account of the Santals.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 208 *sq.*

the other hand he is not allowed to marry into his mother's subclan. Children belong to their father's clan. The twelve exogamous clans are: 1. *Hasdak* (wild goose); 2. *Murmu* (the nilgau or nilgao, a species of antelope, *Portax pictus*); 3. *Kisku*; 4. *Hembrom* (betel palm); 5. *Marndi* (grass); 6. *Saren* (the constellation Pleiades); 7. *Tudu*; 8. *Baske*; 9. *Besra* (hawk); 10. *Pauria* (pigeon); 11. *Chore* (lizard), and 12. *Bedea* or *Bediya* (sheep?). The *Pauria* (pigeon) and the *Chore* (lizard) clans are said to have been so called because on a famous hunting party conducted by the tribe members of these clans failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards respectively. Members of the *Murmu* (antelope) clan may not kill the species of antelope (*Portax pictus*) from which they take their name nor may they touch its flesh.[1] Among the subclans or subsepts (*khunts*) into which the Santal clans (*paris*) are divided we may note *Kalu* (crow), *Kara* (buffalo), *Chilbinda* (eagle-slayer), *Roh-Lutur* (ear-pierced), *Dantela* (so called from breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrifice), *Gua* (areca nut), *Kachua* (tortoise), *Nag* (cobra), *Somal* (deer), *Kekra* (crab), *Rôht* (*panjaun* tree), *Boar* (a fish), *Handi* (earthen vessel), *Sikiya* (a chain), *Barchi* (spearmen), *Sankh* (conch shell), *Sidup* or *Siduk* (a bundle of straw), *Agaria* (charcoal-burners), and *Lat* (bake meat in a leaf-platter).[2] Many of the subclans observe certain curious traditional usages. Thus at the time of the harvest in January members of the *Saren* (Pleiades) clan and the *Sidup* (bundle of straw) subclan set up a sheaf of rice in the doorway of their cattle sheds. This sheaf they may not themselves touch, but some one belonging to another subclan must be got to take it away. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Sada* subclan do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony at which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jugi* subclan, on the other hand, smear their foreheads with vermilion (*sindur*) at the harvest

Traditional usages of the Santal subclans.

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 212 *sq.*; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 226-228, and Appendix, pp. 125 *sq.*; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*,[6] p. 202 (as to exogamy of the clan and paternal descent).

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 125 *sq.*

Traditional usages of the Santal subclans.

festival and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes which they offer to the gods. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Manjhi-Khil* subclan are so called because their ancestor was a *manjhi* or village headman. Like the *Sada-Saren*, they are forbidden to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Naiki-Khil* subclan claim descent from a *naiki* or village priest and may not enter a house of which the inmates are ceremonially unclean. They have a sacred grove (*jadhirthan*) of their own apart from the common sacred grove of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. Members of the *Saren* clan and of the *Ok* subclan sacrifice a goat or a pig in their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *ok*, which is the name of the subclan, means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mundu* or *Badar* (dense jungle) subclan offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat of the flesh of the animals which have been slain. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mal* subclan may not utter the word *mal* when they are engaged in a religious ceremony or sitting to determine tribal questions. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jihu* subclan may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird after which they are called, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler bird's eggs. The babbler bird is said to have guided the ancestor of the clan to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Sankh* (conch shell) subclan may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Barchir* (spearman) subclan plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances.[1]

The Levirate among the Santals.

The Santals think it the right thing for a widow to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, if one survives him, but under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother.[2] An eldest son is always named after his grandfather.[3]

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 228.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 231.

[3] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 214.

Sexual licence among the Santals at the harvest festival.

The principal festival of the Santals is the *sohrai* or harvest festival celebrated in the month of Posh (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and debauchery prevails. Chastity is in abeyance for the time, and all unmarried persons may indulge in promiscuous intercourse. This licence, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it cover intercourse between persons of the same clan, though even that offence committed during the harvest festival is punished less severely than at other times.[1] It is possible that this period of licence may be a temporary revival of old communal rights over women.

The Khonds and their country.

Another well-known Dravidian tribe of Bengal among whom totemism combined with exogamy has been discovered are the Khonds, Kondhs, or Kandhs, who inhabit a hilly tract called Kandhmals in Boad, one of the tributary states of Orissa in the extreme south of Bengal. A portion of the tribe is also found in Gumsur, formerly a tributary state, which now forms part of the Ganjam District in Madras. The Khonds of Orissa call themselves Maliah, to distinguish themselves from the Khonds of Gumsur.[2] Their country is wild and mountainous, consisting of a labyrinth of ranges covered with dense forests of *sal* trees. They are a shy and timid folk, who love their wild mountain gorges and the stillness of jungle life, but eschew contact with the low-landers and flee to the most inaccessible recesses of their rugged highlands at the least alarm. They subsist by hunting and a primitive sort of agriculture, clearing patches of land for cultivation in the forest during the cold weather and firing it in the heat of summer. The seed is sown among the ashes of the burnt forest when the first rains have damped it. After the second year these rude tillers of the soil abandon the land and make a fresh clearing in the woods.[3] The cruel human sacrifices which they used

Migratory agriculture of the Khonds.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 233.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 397; J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 40.

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *l.c.*

Human sacrifices to fertilise the fields.

to offer to the Earth Goddess in order to ensure the fertility of their fields have earned for the Khonds an unenviable notoriety among the hill tribes of India. These sacrifices were at last put down by the efforts of British officers.[1]

Exogamous clans (*gochis*) of the Khonds.

The Khonds of Orissa are divided into fifty exogamous septs or clans called *gochis*, each of which bears the name of a village (*muta*) and believes its members to be all descended from a common ancestor. As a rule the clanspeople live together in the village or group of villages from which they take their name. Each clan is further split up into subclans called *klambus*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan even though she may belong to another subclan. Both clan and subclan are inherited by children from their father; no traces of female kinship have been detected among the Khonds, unless the rule which forbids a man to take a wife from his mother's subclan may be regarded as such.[2] The statements of some older writers further point to the practice of totemism among the Khonds. Thus one of them says that many Khond chieftains "lay claim to a fabulous descent, and point to their coat of arms as indicating the animal or object from which their ancestors sprung. The Rajah of Goomsur, for example, had a peacock, another prince a snake, and a third a bamboo tree; and these cognizances are no small source of pride."[3] Again, another writer tells us that "Khond names seem to be universally taken from natural objects, never expressing qualities. Thus, there is the *Meeninga*, or Fish tribe; the *Janinga*, or Crab tribe; the *Pochangia*, or Owl; the *Syalinga*, or Spotted Deer tribe; the *Grango*, or Nilgae";[4] and he further informs us that "marriage can take place only betwixt members of different tribes, and not even with strangers who have been long adopted into or domesticated with a tribe; and a state of war or peace appears to make

Traces of totemism among the Khonds.

[1] See Major-General John Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice* (London, 1864); Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India* (London, 1865); *The Golden Bough*,[2] ii. 241-246.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 400 *sq.*

[3] Major-General J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service*, etc., p. 26.

[4] Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 78.

little difference as to the practice of intermarriage betwixt tribes. The people of Baramootah and of Burra Des in Goomsur have been at war time out of mind, and annually engage in fierce conflicts, but they intermarry every day."[1]

Mr. Friend-Pereira's evidence of totemism among the Khonds.

In recent years these indications of totemism among the Khonds have been confirmed by the researches of Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, whose enquiries were prosecuted mainly in the northern section of the tribe, particularly among the group of clans who inhabit the tributary state of Boad or Bod, a part of the tributary state of Daspalla, and the former tributary state of Gumsur, which now belongs to the Ganjam district of Madras. The western part of the country investigated by Mr. Friend-Pereira is a high plateau intersected by the many ramifications of the Ghaut Mountains. Eastward the land opens out into broader and more fertile valleys, till the plateau begins to merge into the plains of Ganjam. On reaching Boad we have passed into the lowlands, though even here hills rise like islands from the alluvial flats. As the country changes, so do its inhabitants. For the Khonds of the western highlands are wilder and more primitive than their brethren of the plains; as a rule they speak no language but their native tongue, they still eat pork and drink strong drink, and their women go about with nothing but a loin-cloth to hide their nakedness. On the other hand the Khonds of the low countries speak the Uriya tongue, have more or less eschewed pork, and in the plains of Boad and Gumsur are hardly distinguishable from the Uriyas in features, language, and mode of life.[2] These two sections of the Khond tribe, the more and the less civilised, are known respectively as the Uriya Khonds and the Mulua or Mal Khonds. The Malua or Mal Khonds, the wilder inhabitants of the highlands, already refuse to intermarry with the Uriya Khonds of the plains, whom they despise as degenerate for having abandoned many of their old native customs and assimilated themselves to Hindoos. It seems probable that in time a complete

[1] Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 69.

[2] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 40 *sq.*

separation will take place between the two branches of the tribe.[1]

The Chota Paju commune of the Khonds with its totems.

Among the Malua or Mal Khonds there exist certain communes or confederacies of clans, of which the largest and most influential is known as the Chota Paju or Chota Padki. It comprises six clans or rather subclans and occupies the centre of the eastern half of the Mal country.[2] The following is Mr. Friend-Pereira's account of the totemic system of the confederacy: "The constitution of Chōtā Pāju confederacy is peculiar. *Chōtā Pāju* or *Chōtā Pādki* means the six *pādu* or countries. There are six territorial areas called *Muthā* (a handful) as follows: Biḍumenḍi and Bākāmenḍi, Gūmālmenḍi and Grāṇḍimenḍi, Saṇḍumenḍi and Dutimenḍi; and each of the pairs forms a sub-commune. In each of the six *muthās* are found families of various stocks with different totems:—as for instance, a dominant stock called *gajesvar* whose totem is the elephant and whose title is *māliko*; a stock bearing the title of *kuṇāro* and possessing as their totem *ḍūrā* (a cudgel or heavy stick); a stock styled *bisoi* whose totem I have not been able to discover; a stock surnamed *podān* who are admittedly descended from a *pāṇo* and who will not touch the *mohri* (clarionet)—an instrument on which *pāno* musicians play at marriage celebrations and other festivities of the Khonds; a stock styled *nāiko* who worship the *pānji* (almanac) as a tutelary deity and who have as their totem *betā* (cane); a stock called *bāgo* or *chita krāṇḍi* (chameleon) who take their title from their totem, the *bāgo*; another *māliko* stock who are supposed to be descended from a *kumhār* (potter) and will not touch the *piṭnā* (potter's hammer) which is their totem; a stock surnamed *behrā* who are also supposed to be descended from another class of *kumhār*—the *khond-kumhār*—whose totem I could not discover; a third stock with the title *māliko* whose tutelary deity is *āti gosāni* (Uriya: *hāthi gosāin*) but whose totem is not very clear; and lastly the servile *Rōpārmendi* Khonds who have both the titles *māliko*

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 398. The form Malua is used by Sir H. H. Risley, the form Mal by Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 40 *sq.*

[2] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 41.

and *kuṇāro* and possess as their totem the *ṭimkurī*—a small kettle-drum on an earthenware body which was used in former days to summon clansmen to a gathering. All the members of these various stocks cannot intermarry within the six confederated *muthās*, and they form an exogamous group in themselves, being considered, by a fiction of course, members of one great brotherhood. This exogamous group of various totem stocks is the *gochi* of Mr. Risley, who was misled into believing that all the members of a *gochi* were of the same blood."[1] If a member of the Chameleon (*chiṭa krāṇḍi*) clan meets his totemic animal on a journey, he will at once turn back and tell his relations in an awed whisper, "I have seen our god" (*Māi penu meh'tê*). Thereupon the priest of the clan will be sent for to offer a propitiatory sacrifice and to find out why the deity has deigned to appear to the clansman.[2]

The Tin Pari commune of the Khonds with its totems.

Another Khond commune or confederacy bears the name of Tin Pari or Borgocha. The name *Tin Pari* means "the three septs or clans," though in fact the confederacy comprises three distinct communes, in each of which are found different family stocks. The three dominant septs or clans are the Dela Pari, the Kalea Pari, and the Sidu Pari. In the Khond language *ḍelā* means a twig, and the totem of the Dela Pari clan is the twig of any tree. Hence the members of the clan will never use twigs in constructing a house of wattle and daub, and they will never stay in one of the temporary huts of branches and leaves (*kūriā*) which the people generally set up in the fields for the purpose of watching the crops; for the Dela Pari think that if they slept in such a hut by night they would be carried off by tigers.[3] The Sidu Pari clan takes its name from *siḍu*, which in the Khond language means "they are not." Legend says that the clan formerly dwelt in caves. When strangers approached, the clanspeople disappeared into their caves like rabbits in a warren; hence their name of *siḍu*, "they are not." Be that as it may, the Sidu Pari clan will not enter

[1] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 43 *sq.* As to the *gochi*, see above, p. 304.

[2] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 54.

[3] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 44.

a cave nor dig a hole such as a well or a tank. But they perform a religious rite, in which a structure like a dolmen figures. Two slabs of stone are planted perpendicularly in the ground, a third rests on the top of them, and the whole represents a cave (*gumpa*), within which the priest offers a sacrifice.[1] The totem of the Kalea Pari clan has not been ascertained, but they have a legend which appears to be a degenerate form of the Swan Maiden or Cupid and Psyche type of story, which elsewhere is associated with totemism. They say that a youth hunting in the forest came on a group of girls bathing in a mountain stream, and that smitten with love of one or more of them he caught up their clothes and disappeared with them into the jungle. The girls belonged to his own exogamous group and therefore could not be his wives. Knowing that the penalty for such an incestuous union was death, he dared not return to his village, so he became a fugitive and a wanderer till at last he made his way to the Tin Pari country, where he founded the Kalea Pari or thief clan. At an annual festival of the clan the priest makes a rude flag by tying a piece of cloth to a pole, which he carries with great solemnity from village to village. All the young men and women of the clan follow in procession, chanting lewd songs as part of the ritual. The flag is then ceremoniously buried in the ground. Yet unchastity or incontinence is said to be strictly tabooed to both men and women of the Kalea Pari clan, who regard it as a sacrilege that would provoke the unappeasable wrath of the deity. Hence the women of the clan enjoy a reputation for immaculate virtue.[2]

Other Khond communes with their totems.

In another Khond commune or confederacy called Bengrikia a dominant stock or clan is the Bheti, who take their name from their totem *bheti*, a rope of twisted straw, which on being lit smoulders long and furnishes fire in the absence of lucifer matches. The use of such ropes is forbidden to members of the clan.[3] Two other communes

[1] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 46.

[2] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 45. As to the Swan Maiden or Cupid and Psyche tale in connection with totemism, see above, pp. 205 *sq.* We shall meet with such tales again in West Africa.

[3] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 47.

or confederacies bear each the name of Ath Kombo, and each is divided into four sub-communes, of which each in turn contains many totem clans. Of these clans a large one takes its name from its totem, the *hāṅsāri* or mallard duck, and is said to have sprung from an egg of that bird.[1] Another confederacy, which bears the name of Tin Kombo, includes totemic clans which have for their respective totems, among other things, the lac insect, the she-bear, the fruit of the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*), the tender shoots of bamboos, the tree (*Butea frondosa*) on which lac is generally cultivated, the horn of an animal, and a woman's loin-cloth.[2] As specimens of the totems found among the wilder Khonds of the west and in Gumsur are recorded *pānā* (frog), *srāsu* (snake), *ṭiṭeri* (button quail), *gūnḍeri* (lesser florican), *dāāk* (crow pheasant), *irpi* (mohul: *Bassia latifolia*), and *sōlā* (grass).[3]

Marriage prohibitions among the Khonds.

"In the matter of marriage prohibitions," says Mr. Friend-Pereira, "the Khonds appear to have a series of exogamic circles that beginning with the smallest unit—the *gochi* or commune—goes on expanding until it reaches a circumference of truly stupendous magnitude in the totem. The circle of actual prohibition is the commune, for a man may on no account marry within its limits even though it consist of widely different totem stocks. He must always seek for a wife outside the commune, but subject to certain restrictions." Thus he may not marry a woman of another totem stock if she belongs to a commune which is in alliance with his own; he may not marry a woman of another commune, whatever her totem may be, if she is known or supposed to be of the same blood as himself; and lastly he may not marry a woman of any commune, though she may be a perfect stranger to him, if her totem is the same as his. This prohibition of marriage with a woman of the same totem is the most comprehensive of the rules of exogamy among the Khonds.[4]

The Asuras are a small non-Aryan tribe of Lohardaga

[1] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 48.

[2] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 49.

[3] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 49.

[4] J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* pp. 50 *sq.*

Totemism and exogamy among the Asuras.

(Ranchi) and the eastern portion of Sarguja, who live almost entirely by smelting iron. They are divided into thirteen exogamous and totemic clans, namely *Aind* (an eel), *Baroa* (a wild cat), *Basriar* (bamboo), *Beliar* (*bel* fruit), *Kachua* (a tortoise), *Kaithawar* (*kaitha* or *chichinga* fruit), *Kerketa* (a bird), *Mukruar* (a spider), *Nag* (a snake), *Rote* (frog), *Siar* (jackal), *Tirki* (a bird), and *Topo* (a bird). A man may not marry a woman of his own clan nor may he eat, cut, or injure the plant or animal after which his clan is called.[1]

Respect for the totem.

Totemism and exogamy among the Bagdis.

The Bagdis are a caste of cultivators, fishers, and menials of Central and Western Bengal, who appear from their features and complexion to be of Dravidian descent and closely akin to the tribes commonly classed as aboriginal. In the district of Bankura, where the original structure of the caste seems to have been particularly well preserved, the Bagdis are divided into nine endogamous subcastes, which are in turn subdivided into exogamous clans or septs. Many of these clans or septs are totemic, as *Ardi* (fish), *Baghrishi* (tiger), *Kachchap* (tortoise) *Kasbak* (heron), *Pakbasanta* (bird), *Patrishi* (bean), *Ponkrishi* (jungle cock), *Salrishi* or *Salmachh* (the *sal* fish). The totem is tabooed to members of the clan; for example, members of the Heron clan may not kill or eat a heron; and members of the Bean clan may not touch a bean. A man must marry within his subcaste but outside of his totem clan. For example, a man of the Tentulia subcaste must marry a Tentulia woman, but a Tortoise man may not marry a Tortoise woman. Children belong to their father's clan; for example, the children of a Heron man and a Bean woman would be Herons. A widow may marry her late husband's younger brother, but she is not obliged to do so.[2]

Totemic taboos.

The Levirate.

Table of prohibited degrees and formula for reckoning them.

The rule of clan exogamy is supplemented, as commonly happens, by a table of prohibited degrees. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is forbidden as long as any relationship can be traced. To

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 25, ii. Appendix, p. 2.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 37, 38, 40, ii. Appendix, p. 5; *id.* in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. India, Part i. pp. 181, 182, 184. As to the Asurs compare W. H. P. Driver, "Notes on some Kolarian Tribes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lvii. Part i. (Calcutta, 1889) pp. 7-10.

simplify the calculation of collateral relationship the following formula is in use: "Paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage." Ordinarily the prohibition only extends to three generations in the descending line, including the person under consideration.[1]

The Bhumij, a tribe akin to the Mundas.

The Bhumij are a non-Aryan tribe of Manbhum, Singbhum, and Western Bengal who on grounds of language have been classed as Kolarian. They are without doubt closely allied to, if not identical with the Mundas. Indeed they are apparently nothing but a branch of the Mundas, who have spread eastward, mingled with the Hindoos, and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe. The Bhumij of Western Manbhum are certainly pure Mundas. They inhabit a country which is bounded on the west by the edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau and is thickly studded by Mundari graveyards; the present inhabitants call themselves Mundas or, as the name is usually pronounced in Manbhum, Muras; they speak the Mundari language, and they observe all the customs practised by their brethren on the tableland of Chota Nagpur. For example, like the Kolarians generally, they build no temples, but worship the deity in the form of a stone smeared with vermilion in a sacred grove (*sarna*) near the village. The sacred grove always consists of purely jungle trees, such as the *sal*, and can therefore be recognised with certainty as a fragment of the primaeval forest left standing, when the rest was felled, to serve as a last refuge for the old sylvan deities from the woodman's axe. Again, like the Mundas of the tableland, the Bhumijs burn their dead and bury the charred bones and ashes under gravestones, of which some are of enormous size. On certain feast days the simple folk lay small offerings of food under these big stones to regale the dead; and early next morning the victuals are consumed by prowling Hindoos of the baser sort. But to the east of the Ajodhya range all this

Their sacred groves.

Their burial customs.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 38. The same formula, "Paternal uncle, maternal uncle," etc., is in use for the same purpose throughout Behar. In the original it runs *Chachera, mamera, phuphera, masera, ye char nata bachake shadi hota hai.* See Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 156.

East of the Ajodhya range the Bhumij are becoming assimilated to the Hindoos.

is changed. Both the Mundari language and the title of Munda have dropped out of use; the aboriginal inhabitants of this eastern tract call themselves Bhumij or Sardar and speak Bengalee. Yet the physical features of the race remain the same; and although they have adopted Hindoo customs and are fast becoming Hindoos, there can be no doubt that they are descendants of the Mundas who settled in the country and received the name of Bhumij from Hindoo immigrants.[1] They now worship the Hindoo gods in addition to their old aboriginal deities; but the tendency now is to keep the latter in the background and to relegate the less formidable of them to the women and children to be worshipped in a hole-and-corner way with the help of a tribal hedge-priest (*Laya*), who is supposed to be specially familiar with their divine tastes and habits. Some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhars and possess large landed estates on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests; but they cannot conform with the Rajput rules of intermarriage and they marry within a narrow circle of pseudo-Rajputs like themselves. The rest of the tribe, which at the last census numbered over three hundred and seventy thousand souls, are still divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans, thus presenting an interesting example of an old non-Aryan tribe which, in the very act of blossoming out into a regular caste in the Brahmanical system, nevertheless preserves the ancient savage institutions of totemism and exogamy. Among the totemic clans of the Bhumij are *Badda Kurkutia* (a kind of worm), *Bhuiya* (a fish), *Gulgu* (another fish), *Hansda* (wild goose), *Hentrong* (betel palm), *Jaru* (a bird), *Kasyab* (tortoise), *Leng* (mushroom), *Nag* (snake), *Obarsari* (a bird), *Salrishi* (*sal* fish), *Sandilya* (a bird), *Tesa* (another bird), *Tumarung* (a pumpkin), and *Tuti* (a sort of vegetable).[2] A man may not marry a woman of his own clan nor a woman who

Totemism and exogamy among the Bhumij.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 116-118; *id.* in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. India, *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 149. As to the Bhumij, whose name is said to mean "the children of the soil," see also E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 173 *sqq.*

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 94 *sq.*; *id.*, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, p. 12.

comes within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees, calculated as a rule to the third generation in the descending line, though sometimes it is extended to five. The Bhumij deem it right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin, when that is possible.[1] Prohibited degrees. The Levirate.

The Binjhias are a tribe of cultivators and landholders in the south of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) district, in Palamau, and in the tributary states of Gangpur and Sarguja in Bengal, and in Patna of the Central Provinces. The Southern Binjhias speak Uriya among themselves, but use for ordinary purposes the Hindoo jargon current in Chota Nagpur. They are a quiet, unwarlike people with flat faces and black complexions, allied perhaps to the Asuras or Agariyas. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans which take their names, for example, from the squirrel, the rat, the bull-frog, the tortoise, the crocodile, the serpent, various kinds of fish, the hen, the paddy-bird, the *kasi* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), and vermilion (*sindur*). The clan name descends in the male line. The Vermilion clan (*Sinduria*) use vermilion at marriage, but the Bamboo clan (*Bansetti*) will not touch bamboos at a wedding. A man may marry two sisters, provided he marries the elder of the two first, but not otherwise. It is considered right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother.[2] Totemism and exogamy among the Binjhias. Marriage with two sisters. The Levirate.

The Doms are a Dravidian caste of menials in Bengal, Behar, and the North-Western Provinces. It has been held that they are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India, some of them being driven by the invaders to take refuge in mountain fastnesses and pestilential jungles, while others, such as the Doms of Kumaon, were reduced to perpetual servitude. They are divided into very many exogamous clans. In Behar these clans seem to be territorial or titular, but in Bankura their names are totemic, and the members of a clan abstain from injuring the animal after which they are named. Among their clan totems are the tortoise, the cobra, the rat, the bull, a fish (*saur*), the *kerketa* bird, Totemism and exogamy among the Doms. Respect for the totem.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 122, 123.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 134 *sq.*, ii. Appendix, p. 13.

and a tree (*mahua*) from the flower of which a wine is made.[1]

Totemism and exogamy among the Gonds, Goraits, and Juangs.

The Gonds, who have already met us in Central India,[2] are also to be found in Bengal, where they occur in the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur, in the south of Lohardaga (Ranchi), and in Singbhum. Here also they are divided into exogamous and totemic clans which take their names from the tiger, the snake, the tortoise, the buffalo, the horse, the hawk, the goose, several kinds of fish, the sea, iron, a bead, etc.[3] The Goraits or Koraits are a non-Aryan caste of musicians, comb-makers, and cotton-carders in the south-west of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) district. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, which include, among others, the *Bagh* (tiger), the *Bar* (*Ficus Indica*), *Induar* (a kind of eel), *Khalkho* (a fish), *Kujri* (a fruit from which oil is made), *Sandh* (bullock), *Sontirki* (gold), and *Topoar* (a kind of bird). Members of the *Tirki* clan "cannot eat birds born blind, nor deep-setting eggs."[4] The Juangs are a non-Aryan tribe of Keunjhar and Dhenkanal in Orissa, who on grounds of language have been classed as Kolarian and have been thought to be closely related to the Mundas.

Primitive habits of the Juangs: their shifting cultivation of the ground.

They are a primitive folk, who had no knowledge of metals till foreigners came amongst them. Their language contains no word for iron or any other metal. They neither spin nor weave, nor have they ever attained to the art of making the simplest pottery. In their habits they are still semi-nomadic, for they often shift the sites of their villages and occupy isolated huts in the midst of their patches of cultivation, whilst the crops are on the ground. The agriculture which they practise is of the rudest kind. They destroy the forest trees by fire and sow a little rice, pulse, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and so forth in the ashes. Their huts are tiny, measuring about six feet by eight, and very low, "with doors so small as to preclude the idea of a corpulent householder." But for the boys there is a separate dormitory at

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 240, 242; ii. Appendix, p. 44. As to the Doms in North-West India, see W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 312 *sqq.*

[2] See above, pp. 222 *sqq.*

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 292 *sq.*, ii. Appendix, p. 54.

[4] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 297 *sq.*, ii. Appendix, p. 55.

the entrance of the village. This is a building of some pretensions, built on a raised plinth of earth and containing two apartments, an inner and an outer. The boys sleep and the musical instruments of the village are kept in the inner apartment. Guests and travellers are lodged in this building. The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans, which take their names from the tigress, elephant, buffalo, bear, boar, fox, dog, dove, bee, mosquito, paddy, pumpkins, the tobacco flower, various sorts of mushrooms, a palm, the *jari* tree, the *mahua* tree, hailstones, etc. As usual, no man may marry a woman of his own totemic clan. A widow is expected, but not compelled, to marry her deceased husband's younger brother.[1]

Separate dormitories for boys.

The Levirate.

Another primitive and still pagan folk who retain totemism are the Korwas, a Dravidian tribe of Sarguja, Jashpur, and Palamau. They claim to be the aborigines of the country they occupy, which is a land of hill and dale, well-cultivated plains and forest-clad mountains, well suited to the mixed population that inhabits it. The Korwas, a short, dark, hirsute, but strong and active people, exceedingly wild and uncouth in appearance, cling to the highlands, where they lead a savage and almost nomadic life. They live in detached hamlets or solitary huts, sometimes perched on the ledge of mountain precipices in spots which, seen from below, might appear accessible only to birds. The men hunt and the women dig for roots. But they also practise a primitive form of agriculture, clearing away the jungle and tilling the virgin soil for two or three years, then deserting the place as the land becomes exhausted and moving their homesteads further into the depths of the forest. Their principal crop is a kind of pulse called *arhar* (*Cajanus Indicus*). It is reaped in December, and the savages then celebrate their harvest home with extravagant revelry, drunken dances, and unbridled debauchery. They also sow summer rice, vetches, millet, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, yams, and chillis. The hoar frosts, which in the cold weather lie thick and white on the ground almost every morning, forbid the

The Korwas, a primitive Dravidian tribe.

Their rude mode of agriculture and shifting tillage.

Their licentious festivals at harvest.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 350, 352, 353; ii. Appendix, p. 61; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 152 *sqq.*

growth of winter rice on these high uplands. The claim of the Korwas to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the country is supported by the circumstance that the priests whose duty it is to propitiate the old local deities are always chosen from their tribe.[1] The Korwas are divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans. Among the totems of the clans are the tiger, the snake, the parrot, the wild goose, the *kerketa* bird, two kinds of eel, a fish, the mango, a jungle fruit, myrabolam, unhusked rice, ploughs, and pestles for pounding grain. To what extent the totems are tabooed to members of their respective clans is uncertain. The general tendency is for such prohibitions to fall into disuse, and the only rule which really holds its ground is the one which forbids marriage between persons whose clan-name is the same.[2]

Totemism and exogamy among the Korwas.

Totemism and exogamy among the Kumhars.

The Kumhars are the potter caste of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. There is a wide difference of opinion among our authorities as to their traditional parentage. As regards exogamy the practice of Kumhars differs greatly in different parts of the country; for example, in Eastern Bengal, where the Mohammedan influence is strong, only one or two clans are known to the caste and marriage within the clan is permitted. On the other hand the Jagannathi Kumhars of Orissa, who hold a fairly high social position in that province, are subdivided into the following exogamous clans:—*Kaundinya* (tiger), *Sarpa* (snake), *Neul* (weazel), *Goru* (cow), *Mudir* (frog), *Bhad-bhadria* (sparrow), and *Kurma* (tortoise). The members of each clan shew their respect for their totemic animal, whose name they bear, by not killing or injuring it and by bowing when they meet it. Moreover, the whole caste abstains from eating, and even goes so far as to worship, the *sal* fish, because the rings on its scales resemble the potter's wheel, the symbol of their craft. The Khatya Kumhars in Orissa have only one clan and are therefore really endogamous, having no other clan to marry into. Their single clan bears the name of the Vedic Rishi *Kasyapa*, and they venerate the tortoise (*kachhap*). This

Respect for the totem.

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 221 *sqq.*; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 511-513.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 512, ii. Appendix, p. 83.

lends weight to the plausible conjecture that many of the lower castes in Bengal who are beginning to set up as pure Hindoos have taken advantage of the resemblance in sound between *kachhap* and *kasyap* (*chh* and *s* both becoming *sh* in colloquial Bengalee) to convert a totemic title into an eponymous one, while they went on to appropriate as many of the exogamous Brahmanical clans (*gotras*) as they thought fit.[1] In Lohardaga some of the exogamous Kumhar clans take their names from the elephant, a river-fish, the *Ficus Indica*, and *kansi* grass.[2]

Totemism and exogamy among the Mals, Mauliks, and Parhaiyas.

The Mals are a Dravidian caste of cultivators in Western and Central Bengal. Many of them are employed as village watchmen. They profess the Hindoo religion and no vestiges of an older faith can now be traced among them. The most primitive members of the caste are to be found in Bankura, where they are divided into five exogamous clans named after the tortoise, the snake, and various birds. In Midnapur and Manbhum the Mal clans take their names from two sorts of fish and a bird. Among the Mals of Western and Central Bengal the primitive rule of exogamy is in full force, and no man may marry a woman of the same totemic clan as himself. Prohibited degrees are reckoned by the standard formula calculated in the descending line to five generations on the father's and to three on the mother's side.[3] The Mauliks are a Dravidian caste of Manbhum and Western Bengal. They are divided into at least four exogamous clans, all of which are totemic. The totem of one clan is a tree-rat, of a second a rock-snake, of a third another kind of snake, and of the fourth a small red bird with a long tail. No man may marry a woman of his own totemic clan, nor a woman who falls within the usual formula for reckoning prohibited degrees.[4] The Parhaiyas are a small Dravidian tribe of Palamau, divided into nine exogamous and totemic clans with the tiger, the cobra, the vulture, the crow, the grasshopper, the bloodsucker, etc., for their totems.[5] Their features are

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 517 *sq.*, 520 *sq.*

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. Appendix, p. 86.

[3] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 45, 47, 49, and Appendix, p. 97.

[4] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 82, and Appendix, p. 100.

[5] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 164, and Appendix, p. 118.

Turanian, but they speak the Hindoo language and affect Hindoo customs, though they retain practices which genuine Hindoos regard with disgust and abhorrence.[1]

Maternal descent of totem not found in Bengal.

In concluding this survey of totemism and exogamy in Bengal it deserves to be stated expressly that within that province no single case has yet been found of a totemic clan which is inherited in the maternal line. All the totemic peoples of Bengal observe paternal, not maternal, descent of their clans and totems.[2]

§ 8. *Totemism and Exogamy in Assam*

The Khasis of Assam.

Among the hill tribes of Assam, who have retained many primitive customs and beliefs, the Khasis or Khasias appear to have preserved a totemic system or something closely resembling it.[3] They inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia hills.[4] The origin and affinities of the Khasis are still uncertain, but it has been proved that their language is closely akin to the Mon-Khmer, Palaung, and Wa languages in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. This raises a presumption that the Khasis are of the same stock as the tribes who speak these tongues.[5] They have strongly marked Mongolian features, namely oblique eyes, a broad bridgeless nose, high cheek bones, a short head, and little or no beard. In person they are short and stumpy, but sturdily built, especially about the calves of the legs. Even the women can carry heavy loads which natives of the plains could hardly lift. Their disposition is cheerful, and their habits

Their language.

Their Mongolian features.

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 131.

[2] (Sir) H. H. Risley, "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, p. 94.

[3] Above (vol. i. pp. 67 *sq.*) I noted what seemed to me at the time when I wrote the passage (1887) a discrepancy between the evidence of Colonel E. T. Dalton and (Sir) H. H. Risley as to the Khasis or Kasias. The apparent discrepancy is explained very simply, as my friend Sir Herbert Risley courteously informed me in a letter (3rd October 1890), by the fact that, when Col. Dalton wrote, the province of Assam still formed part of Bengal, whereas when Sir Herbert Risley wrote, it had ceased to do so, having been severed in the year 1874 from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and formed into a separate Chief-Commissionership. See (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), i. 1.

[4] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1907), pp. 1 *sq.*, 6 *sqq.*

[5] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 10 *sqq.*

industrious.[1] They subsist chiefly by agriculture and live in villages, the sites of which are seldom changed. They are industrious tillers of the soil and well know the uses of manure. Among the crops which they raise are rice, maize, millet, yams, potatoes, plantains, lemons and oranges.[2] With regard to their social organisation Mr. E. A. Gait writes as follows :—

Mr. E. A. Gait on the exogamous clans of the Khasis.

"The Khasis are subdivided into an immense number of exogamous clans or septs. The theory is that these clans are composed of persons descended from the same female ancestor, and intermarriage between persons of the same clan is strictly forbidden. The meaning of the names used to denote these septs is not always known, but so far as I have been able to get translations, they may be divided into four main classes :—

Clan names derived from totems.

"(*a*) *Totemistic*, such as the pumpkin clan, the crab clan, the monkey clan, etc. In these cases it is supposed that the ancestor of the clan came from a pumpkin, crab, or a monkey, and I am informed that the *totem* was formerly *taboo* to the persons designated by it. Nowadays, however, the old traditions are losing their hold upon the people, and the *taboo* is no longer strictly enforced.

Clan names indicative of origin.

"(*b*) *Names indicative of origin*, such as Khar Shilot (people of Sylhet), Khar Akor ('polite Bengali'), etc. In former days, before the British occupation, raids were constantly being made on the people of the plains, and their women were carried off as slaves. The offspring of these slave women, who were also looked upon as slaves, were known by the name of their mother, which thus became a new clan name. Clans with names denoting this origin are very common throughout the hills, and this no doubt accounts for the deviations from the general Mongolian type of face which are occasionally to be noticed.

Nicknames of ancestors.

"(*c*) *Nicknames applied to the original ancestor*, such as Balit (white), Dukli (selfish), Klim (adultery), Khrawjli (great abomination), etc.

Names derived from occupations.

"(*d*) *Occupational*, as, for instance, the blacksmith clan, the Bania clan, and a few others.

[1] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 257.

[2] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 26, 33, 39 *sqq.*, 433 *sqq.*

The clans divided into sub-clans.

"Each clan comprises on an average from 100 to 1000 members, the larger ones being again divided into subclans. I have not been able to make out the utility or object of the latter, as the rule of exogamy is invariably applied to the larger or main clan. I may note, however, that the same tendency of the old exogamous groups, to subdivide themselves into new ones, is noticeable amongst many other tribes, *e.g.* the Mikirs, Garos, Lalungs, etc." [1]

Mother-kin among the Khasis.

A remarkable feature of the Khasi social system is the prevalence of mother-kin instead of father-kin, which obtains almost universally elsewhere in India. Among the Khasis a woman is always head of the family. So long as a man remains in his mother's house, whether he be married or single, he is earning for her family (*kur*), and his property goes at his death to her or, failing her, to his grandmother.

A man's heirs are his sister's children.

Should both his mother and grandmother be dead, his sisters inherit his property, and next to them his sister's children. Thus in practice, as usually happens under the system of mother-kin, a man is more nearly connected with his sister's children than with his own. His brother's children can never be his heirs, since they belong to a different clan.

A married man lives in the house of his wife's mother.

When a Khasi has left his mother's house and gone to live with his wife in her mother's house, as is the usual custom, then his property descends to his wife and her children, with the exception of his personal ornaments and clothing, which go to his own brothers and sisters. All relationship is reckoned through the woman, not through the man. Children belong to their mother's clan, and even the chief or king (*Siem*) is succeeded by his mother's or his sister's child, not by his own. His own offspring belong to their mother's clan, inherit her property, and bear her family name. There is nothing to shew that among the Khasis this system of mother-kin is derived from polyandry; for polyandry neither exists among them at present nor survives in their traditions.[2]

[1] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 258 *sq.*; *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, pp. 198 *sq.*

[2] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. p. 259; *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 199. As to mother-kin among the Khasis, see fuller details in Major P. R. T. Gurdon's book, *The Khasis*, pp. 62 *sqq.*, 76 *sqq.*, 82 *sqq.*

Exogamy among the Khasis.

The principle of the exogamy of the clan is very strictly observed by the Khasis. "As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan."[1] The crime of marrying within the clan (*kur*) is called *kaba shong sang*; it admits of no expiation.[2]

To marry within the clan is an inexpiable sin.

Traces of totemism among the Khasis.

With regard to the question whether the Khasi clans are totemic, Major Gurdon observes that some of them bear the names of animals or of trees, such as the *Shrieh* or Monkey clan, the *Tham* or Crab clan, and the *Diengdoh* clan. This last clan takes its name from the *diengdoh* tree, because their first ancestress is said to have kept a huge drove of pigs, which she fed in a large trough hollowed out of a *diengdoh* tree.[3] We also hear of an Oak clan among the Khasis;[4] nor is this unnatural, for there are beautiful oak forests in part of the Khasi country, indeed the oak and the rhododendron are the principal trees in the woods.[5] However, "the members of these clans," says Major Gurdon, "do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clans-folk ever regarded the

Compare (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 217 *sq.*, 219 *sq.*

[1] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 77.

[2] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* p. 158.

[3] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* pp. 63-65.

[4] See (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 218: "The Khasias believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. . . . There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc. etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is forbidden." This passage suggests that among the Khasis the souls of the dead are supposed to transmigrate into their totems.

[5] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 7, 8.

above animals or objects as their tribal totems."[1] Nevertheless, some of the Khasi clans still observe taboos which may be relics of totemism. Thus the Nongtathiang clan may not eat lemons; the Khar-umniud clan must abstain from pork; the royal (*Siem*) family of Cherra may not eat dried fish, and the royal (*Siem*) family of Mylliem taboo pumpkins.[2] A further trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the superstitious objection entertained by some Khasi individuals and families to different kinds of food, which they will not allow to be brought into their houses.[3]

The Garos of Assam.

A tribe of Assam who resemble the Khasis in their combination of exogamy with mother-kin are the Garos. They occupy the extreme north-west portion of the mountainous tract which extends from Cape Negrais to the Brahmaputra. Their ethnical affinities are uncertain. They have no traditions of a migration, and the only peoples with whom they claim kinship are the Bûts and the English.[4] The Garos subsist by a rude form of agriculture, raising crops of maize, rice, cotton, and millet.[5] They are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *maharis*, which Dalton says may be translated "motherhoods." The descent of the Garo, as of the Khasi, clans is in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. A man may not marry a woman of his own clan (*mahari*), but must take his wife from one of the clans with which his family have from time immemorial exclusively allied themselves. Some of the noblest families have only one clan with which, as a rule, they may intermarry.[6] With the Garos, as with the Khasis, the wife is the head of the family and through her all the family property descends. "Among Garo families," says Sir W. W. Hunter, "women enjoy a power and position quite unknown among more civilised tribes

Exogamous clans (*maharis*) with maternal descent among the Garos.

Among the Garos the wife is the head of the family, and all property descends through her.

[1] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 65 *sq.*

[2] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* p. 159.

[3] (Colonel Sir Henry) Yule. "Notes on the Kasia Hills and People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii., Part ii. (Calcutta, 1844) p. 623; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 295. Compare E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 57.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 58 *sq.*

[5] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 65.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 63.

and peoples." "However the contract is entered upon," says Mr. E. A. Gait, "it is agreed that the woman occupies the superior position. The husband enters her mother's family, and the children belong to her clan, and not to that of the father. All property goes through the woman, and males are incapable of inheriting in their own right." A remarkable custom observed by them is that a man who marries the favourite or, according to another account, the youngest daughter of a household has to marry his mother-in-law in the event of the death of his father-in-law, and through her he succeeds to all the property, which thus descends in the female line. It is consequently not uncommon to see a young Garo introducing as his wife a woman who is old enough to be his mother, and who is in point of fact his mother-in-law and sometimes his aunt to boot. Sons inherit nothing from their parents, and have to look to the family into which they marry for their establishment in life. A young husband takes up his abode with his wife in the house of her parents. "It would certainly appear," says Colonel Dalton, "from the social customs of the Garos that their great lawgiver must have been a female. The men do much of the heavy work and all the fighting, and are so far not deprived of their natural obligations as the stronger animal, but in other respects they are dependent on the females."[1] As a consequence, perhaps, of the social superiority of women among the Garos it is regularly the girl, not the young man, who makes the proposal of marriage. Indeed it is her duty as well as her privilege to do so. Any infraction of this rule is summarily and severely punished. If it transpires that a youth has so far forgotten the modest reserve natural to his sex as to ask a maiden to marry him, the whole of her clan resents it as a blot on their scutcheon which can only be washed out by pig's blood and copious libations of beer to be paid for by the clan of the abandoned culprit.[2]

Marriage with a mother-in-law.

A man lives with his wife's parents.

It is the woman, not the man, who proposes marriage.

The information at Mr. Gait's disposal did not enable him

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 63; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, ii. 153 *sq.*; *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 229.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p 64.

Indications of totemism among the Garos.

to say whether the exogamous clans (*maharis*) of the Garos are totemic or not,[1] but that they are in fact totemic is rendered probable by the following statement of Sir Herbert Risley, which summarises the evidence for the existence of totemism in Assam. He says: "In Assam the Garos have monkeys, horses, bears, mice, lizards, frogs, crows, pumpkins, and a number of trees among their totems; the Kacharis recognize as totems the tree snail, the *muga* insect, the sesamum plant, the *kumru* or giant gourd, and the tiger. Members of the tiger sept have to throw away their earthenware utensils by way of atonement when a tiger is killed. The louse and the buffalo are the only animal totems on record among the Khasi; the Kuki have the dog; the Lalung eggs, fish, and pumpkins; the Mikir totems appear to be mainly vegetable. Our information, however, on totemism in Assam is extremely scanty, and the subject requires further investigation."[2]

Exogamy and traces of totemism among the Lalungs.

The Lalungs are a tribe of Assam whose members are found chiefly in Nowgong and the two adjacent districts, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Kamrup. In regard to their social organisation Mr. E. A. Gait tells us that "the Lalungs are divided into a large number of exogamous groups or *phoids*, which again are subdivided into smaller groups. It is difficult to get at the meaning and origin of the terms used to designate these groups. Amongst those recognised I find the 'bamboo,' the 'hill peak,' and 'salt' in use as clan names. The explanation given in these cases, which is probably merely a guess, is that the founder was born on a hill, in a salt-box, etc. The only undoubted case of totemism which I have found is that of the *khara sali* or white pumpkin clan, who will neither eat, grow, nor even touch the gourd after which they are named. Another clan is named after the *mali* fish, and another is said to be descended from two girls who had offended Mahadeo, and were in punishment converted into Lalungs.

The White Pumpkin clan.

"The usual custom in regard to marriage is for the parents of the girl to find a husband for her and take him to

[1] E. A. Gait, *l.c.*

[2] Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 101.

their house as a member of their family. The offspring of such a marriage enter the clan of the mother. Sometimes, however, girls are enticed away; and when this is the case, they enter their husband's clan, together with any children that may be born to them. The husband either pays a sum of money to the girl's parents as compensation for the girl, or else makes over to them the first female child that is born of the marriage. In Kamrup it is reported that children in all cases enter the father's clan, and in the dual practice in vogue amongst the Lalungs of Nowgong it is possible that we witness the process of change from the maternal to the paternal method of reckoning relationship which has already been completed amongst the Lalungs of Kamrup and the Kacharis of the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley but which has not yet commenced amongst the Garos.

Marriage customs of the Lalungs; apparent transition from maternal to paternal descent.

"In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the more remote portions of the Nowgong district, the unmarried male Lalungs reside in a common house, or bachelor's *chang*, similar to that found in Garo and Naga villages. In this respect, also, the Lalungs appear to be in an interesting state of transition, as the practice is no longer in vogue in Kamrup and the more accessible portions of Nowgong."[1]

Common houses for unmarried men.

The Native State of Manipur is situated in the eastern portion of Assam, bordering on Upper Burma. It embraces an immense variety of climate and scenery, ranging from lofty mountain peaks to hot swampy valleys. Tea is indigenous to the hills; india-rubber grows in profusion; about twenty different species of oak have been observed, and forests of huge teak trees form a natural source of wealth. The lakes and hills abound with wild-fowl and game. The natives call themselves Meitheis. They are a people with Mongoloid features, and speak a language allied to the Tibeto-Burman family of speech. Their affinity with the wild hill tribes such as the Nagas and Kukis seems to be well ascertained, though they have advanced considerably beyond these savages in mental refinement and material

The Meitheis of Manipur. Their country.

Their language and ethnical affinities.

[1] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 231.

They are Hindoos by religion and live by agriculture.

civilisation. Having adopted the Hindoo religion in the eighteenth century, they now claim to be Hindoos by descent. They subsist chiefly by agriculture; rice is at once their principal crop and their staple article of food. The countless streams which gush from the foot of the mountain ranges fertilise the soil and produce abundant harvests even when in the more open parts of the valleys, away from the hills, the land is parched with drought.[1]

Exogamous clans among the Meitheis.

The Meitheis are divided into seven exogamous clans, which bear the names of Ningthaja, Kumul, Luang, Angom, Moirang, Khabananba, and Chenglei. The vernacular name for such a clan is *salei*. Each clan includes a number of subordinate groups or subclans called *yumnaks*, the number varying from a hundred and fifteen in the Ningthaja or Royal clan to seventeen in the Khabananba. Tradition runs that there were formerly ten clans, but that two or three have become extinct. Each clan has its head (*piba*), who is sometimes called its king (*ningthou*). The general rule that no man may marry a woman of his own clan is supplemented by another which forbids him to take a wife from his mother's clan. Further, certain of the clans are or were formerly forbidden to intermarry. Thus Angoms might not marry Khabananbas, Moirangs, or Luangs; the Luangs might not take their wives from among the Kumuls; and the Moirangs were forbidden to marry both into the Khabananba clan and into one or two families of the Chenglei clan. The family of Moirang Laipham seems to have been prohibited to the Ningthaja clan, but the case is obscure, and the prohibition, if it existed, is the only one which affected the Ningthajas. A widow may remarry, but not with her deceased husband's brother.[2] Children belong to the clan of their father.[3]

Rules of intermarriage between the clans.

The Levirate forbidden.

Each exogamous clan has its tabooed object, perhaps a totem.

Each exogamous clan of the Meitheis has an object which is tabooed (*namungba*) to it; and the members believe that if they were inadvertently to touch one of these objects,

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 48 *sq.*; T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 300; *id.*, *The Meitheis* (London, 1908), pp. 1 *sq.*, 10 *sq.*, 22, 39 *sq.*, 43 *sq.*

[2] T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 73-77.

[3] So Mr. T. C. Hodson informs me. The statement is not, I think, made in his book *The Meitheis*.

they would die a mysterious death or suffer from some incurable, incomprehensible disease, pine away, and die. Such tabooed objects may provisionally be called totems. The totem of the Ningthaja clan is a reed; that of the Moirangs, a buffalo; that of the Kumuls, a fish.[1] The totems of the four other clans are not recorded. Further, special taboos may be created according to circumstances. Thus, if a man falls from a tree, the elders of his clan may gather round the tree and solemnly declare that it and even all trees of the same sort shall henceforth be taboo (*namungba*) to the clanspeople. This is known, for example, to have happened to a particular mango tree, from which a man fell and was killed. Again, near Imphal, the capital, are two fine peepul trees, between which no man of the Moirang clan would dare to walk, because the bones of Moirang men who perished in a great battle long ago are said to lie beneath them.[2] Further, each clan as a rule worships its eponymous ancestor. For example, the Luang clan worships Luang pokpa, and the Khuman clan worships Khuman pokba. However, the worshipful ancestors of two clans, the Ningthaja and the Angom, appear not to be eponymous; for the Angom clan worships Purairomba, and the Ningthaja clan worships Pakhangba, otherwise called Nongpok Ningthou, "the King (*ningthou*) of the East." This last worshipful ancestor is believed to appear from time to time to men in the form of a snake.[3] These facts seem to shew that the Meitheis to some extent combine totemism with the worship of ancestors.

Each clan worships its eponymous ancestor.

These are all the indications of totemism combined with exogamy which I have noted in Assam. But on the other hand the custom of exogamy is practised in that country by tribes which do not, or at all events which are not reported, to have totemism besides. Nearly all the hill tribes of Assam, indeed, are divided into exogamous clans. Each clan traces its descent from a common ancestor, and

Exogamy without totemism practised by some tribes of Assam.

[1] T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 118.

[2] T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 303; *id.*, *The Meitheis*, pp. 118 *sq.*

[3] T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 99 *sq.*

marriage within the clan is forbidden. In most tribes descent is counted in the paternal line, the children belonging to their father's clan; but to this rule, as we have seen, there are two notable exceptions in the Garos and Khasis, who practise the system of mother-kin as opposed to father-kin.[1] Among the tribes who are divided into exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line are the Mikirs,[2] the Daflas, who inhabit the hills north of Darrang and Lakhimpur; the Deori Chutiyas; and the Naga tribes, such as the Angamis, the Aos, and the Semas.[3] Among the Angamis each village is inhabited by many exogamous clans, between which great rivalry exists. In the old days blood feuds and fights were common between the clans of the same village; indeed it is said that they were far bitterer than the feuds between the villages. In the village of Kohima, which contains seven clans, each dwelling in its own quarter, a party from another village has been known to massacre all the members they could find of a particular clan, while the members of the other clans stood looking on without making the least effort to stop the slaughter.[4] The institution of large common houses in which the unmarried men pass the night exists among the Naga tribes, for example, among the Aos and the Semas. Such houses are called *morangs*; they are adorned with the trophies of war and of the chase, particularly with human skulls; for the Nagas, like the Dyaks of Borneo, used to be passionately addicted to head-hunting. Most of these ghastly trophies they obtained not in fair fight but by treachery, often lurking about a hostile village to decapitate defenceless women and children when they went out to draw water; for the skulls of these poor wretches entitled their cowardly murderers to all the honours of war.[5]

Feuds between the exogamous clans of the Angamis, a Naga tribe.

Common houses for the unmarried men among the Naga tribes.

[1] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 122.

[2] Edward Strack, *The Mikirs*, edited by Sir Charles Lyall (London, 1908), pp. 16, 17, 23 *sqq.* The exogamous clans of the Mikirs are called *kurs*.

[3] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 222, 223, 234, 238, 239, 245, 247. The exogamous clans of the Naga tribes are commonly called *khels*, but the Angamis themselves call them *tepfus* or *tinos* (*op. cit.* p. 238). Mr. Gait here gives a list of thirty-two Angami clans, adding that the list could easily be extended.

[4] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 238.

[5] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 242 *sq.*, 246, 247, 248 *sq.*;

§ 9. *The Classificatory System of Relationship in India*

Totemism and exogamy appear to be, or to have been in former times, universally diffused among the Dravidians, the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

From the foregoing survey of totemism in India we gather that this remarkable institution, combined as usual with exogamy, is widespread among the swarthy, almost black aboriginal race called Dravidian, with their squat figures, dark eyes, and broad negro-like noses, who represent the most primitive type of man in India and occupy the oldest geological formation in the country, to wit, the medley of forest-clad ranges, terraced plateaux, and undulating plains which stretches from the Vindhya mountains on the north to Cape Comorin on the south.[1] Indeed the evidence seems to justify us in inferring that at one time or another totemism and exogamy have been practised by all the branches of this numerous and ancient people. Though some of the branches now speak languages, namely the Munda or Kolarian and the Dravidian proper, which differ fundamentally from each other,[2] yet tribes of both branches are found to be totemic and exogamous; in other words, the customs of totemism and exogamy cross the linguistic boundaries which divide the Dravidian stock and unite the members of that great family by the bond of common institutions. The Dravidian speech proper includes, amongst others, three great languages, the Tamil, the Telugu, and the Canarese, and from the preceding survey it would seem to follow that totemism at the present day is more prevalent among the Telugu-speaking than among the Tamil-speaking and Canarese-speaking branches of the Dravidian family.[3] It appears doubtful

W. H. Furness, "The Ethnography of the Nagas of Eastern Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 451 *sqq.* As to the Naga tribes in general, see Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, "Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi. (1882) pp. 56 *sqq.*, 196 *sqq.*; Miss Gertrude M. Godden, "Naga and other Frontier Tribes of North-East India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 161 *sqq.*, xxvii. (1898) pp. 2 *sqq.*; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), pp. 37 *sqq.*

[1] Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 43, 46; *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Empire of India*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 296.

[2] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 *sq.*, 382 *sq.*

[3] On Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese as branches of the Dravidian family of speech, see *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India*, Part I. (Calcutta, 1903) pp. 284 *sqq.*; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 *sqq.*

It is doubtful whether true totemism exists among any Indian race except the Dravidian.

whether totemism proper is practised by any race of India except the Dravidian. We have indeed found some resemblances to it in combination with exogamy among the Mongoloid peoples of Assam,[1] but it is not certain that these resemblances are proof of the actual existence of the institution. Exogamy, but not totemism, is practised by the Aryan race in India; for the Brahmans, Rajputs, and other high castes among the Hindoos are regularly divided into exogamous clans or septs (*gotras* or *gots*), and the rule that no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*gotra* or *got*) is strictly observed.[2] So far as I am aware, no other Aryan people besides the Hindoos is certainly known to have regulated marriage by a rule of exogamy. Can it be that the ancestors of the Hindoos borrowed the institution from the aborigines with whom they came into contact when they settled in India?

The Dravidians combine, as usual, totemism and exogamy with the classificatory system of relationship.

Having found totemism and exogamy firmly established among the Dravidian peoples of India, we may expect to find these institutions accompanied by the classificatory system of relationship; for, so far as we can see at present, it may be laid down as a general rule, that every people who practise totemism and exogamy count their relationships according to the classificatory system. To this rule the Dravidians are no exception; for the family systems of the Tamil-speaking, the Telugu-speaking, and the Canarese-speaking branches of the Dravidian stock have been accurately recorded, and all three are classificatory, agreeing with each other not only in general character but in minute particulars, though the actual terms of relationship for the most part differ dialectically in the three languages. Further, the Dravidian family system, as it exists amongst the Tamils, the Telugus, and the Canarese, is substantially identical with the family system of the Seneca-Iroquois Indians of North America,[3] which will be described in a later part of this

The Dravidian family system agrees closely with that of the

[1] See above, pp. 319, 321 *sq.*, 323 *sq.*, 326 *sq.* As to the Mongoloid character of the Assamese, see Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 41; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 295.

[2] G. Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Recht und Sitte*, von Julius Jolly (Strasburg, 1896), pp. 62 *sq.*

[3] As to the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese systems of relationship, and their relation to the Seneca-Iroquois system, see L. H. Morgan, *Systems of*

book.[1] No two peoples on earth are more widely separated from each other than the Dravidians of Central and Southern India and the Iroquois of North-Eastern America. Their agreement in the principles and most of the details of a complex family system has been justly described by its discoverer, L. H. Morgan, as "one of the most extraordinary applications of the natural logic of the human mind to the facts of the social system preserved in the experience of mankind."[2]

Seneca-Iroquois of North America.

Coming to details, we may take the Tamil system as typical of the Dravidian family. As commonly happens under the classificatory system of relationship, there is in Tamil no term for brother or sister in the abstract. These relationships are conceived in the twofold form of elder and younger, and there are separate terms for each. To all of my brothers and sisters who are older than myself I apply the respective terms for elder brother and elder sister; to those who are younger than myself I apply the respective terms for younger brother and younger sister. There are two synonyms for elder brother, namely *tămaiyăn* and *annăn*; two synonyms for elder sister, namely *akkărl* and *tămăkay*; two synonyms for younger sister, namely *tangaichchi* and *tangay*; but there is only one term for younger brother, namely *tambi*. Perhaps one set of these synonyms was originally used by the males and the other by the females; but be that as it may, the two sets are now employed indiscriminately.[3]

Classificatory terms of relationship in Tamil.

Separate terms for elder and younger brother and sister.

In the generation above his own a Tamil man applies the same term *tăkkăppăn*, "father," to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters, distinguishing them however as "great (*pĕriyă*) father" or "little (*sĕrĭyă*) father" according as they are older or younger than his father. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *mămăn*, "uncle," to his mother's brothers. He applies

Classificatory terms in Tamil for father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, son, daughter.

Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (Washington, 1871), pp. 386-398, with the Tables, pp. 511 *sqq.*, 523 *sqq.* (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.); *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 435-452.

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 19 *sqq.*

[2] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 441.

[3] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, p. 389.

the same term *tay*, "mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers, distinguishing his mother's sisters from his mother as "great (*pĕriyă*) mother" or "little (*sĕriyă*) mother" according as they are older or younger than his mother. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *attai*, "aunt," to his father's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same terms *tămaiyăn*, "elder brother," *akkărl*, "elder sister," *tambi*, "younger brother," and *tangay*, "younger sister," to his own brothers and sisters, elder or younger, and to his first cousins, the sons and daughters, elder or younger, of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system he applies quite different terms to his other first cousins, the sons and daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers; these he calls his *măittŭnăn*, "male cousin," and his *maitunni*, "female cousin." In the generation below his own he applies the same term *măkăn*, "son," and *măkăl*, "daughter," to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *mărumăkăn*, "nephew," and *mărumăkăl*, "niece," to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Again, in the generation below his own he calls the son and daughter of his male first cousin (the son either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister) "my son" and "my daughter"; but the son and daughter of his female first cousin (the daughter either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister) he calls "my nephew" and "my niece." So far, all is regular in the Tamil system, but now we come upon an anomaly. In the generation below his own, a man calls the son and daughter of his male first cousin (the son either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother) not, as we should expect, "my son" and "my daughter," but "my nephew" and "my niece"; and contrariwise he calls the children of his female first cousin (the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother) not, as we should expect, "my nephew" and "my niece," but "my son" and "my daughter." This variation from the normal pattern of the classificatory system

Anomalous feature in the Tamil system.

is difficult to explain. It is the only important particular in which the Tamil system of India differs from the Seneca-Iroquois system of North America, which in this respect has remained truer to the logical principles of the classificatory system.[1]

Classificatory system of relationship among the Singhalese of Ceylon.

Lastly, it may be noted as very remarkable that the Singhalese of Ceylon, though they speak an Aryan language,[2] nevertheless possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *appâ* "father" to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he distinguishes his father's brothers and the husbands of his mother's sisters as "great (*loka*) father," or "intermediate (*madduma*) father," or "little (*punchi*, *kudâ*, or *bâla*) father" according as they are older or younger than his father. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *mâmâ* "uncle" to his mother's brothers and to the husbands of his father's sisters. He applies the same term *ammâ* "mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers; and he distinguishes his mother's sisters and the wives of his father's brothers as "great mother," "intermediate mother," or "little mother" according as they are older or younger than his mother. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *nendâ* "aunt" to his father's sisters and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *sahôdarayâ* "brother" and *sahôdari* "sister" to his brothers and sisters and to his first cousins, the children either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *massinâ* "male cousin" and *nênâ* "female cousin" to the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 389-391, with the Tables, pp. 523 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 436-452.

[2] A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language* (London, 1880), ii. 76 *sq.*; Sir John B. Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (London, 1880), p. 177; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 416.

the same terms *pûtâ* "son" and *duva* "daughter" to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *bêna* "nephew" and *lêlî* "niece" to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *pûtâ* "son" and *duva* "daughter" to her sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of her sisters. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, she applies different terms *bêna* "nephew" and *lêlî* "niece" to the sons and daughters of her brothers.[1] As the Singhalese apply the same term *mâmâ* "uncle" to the husband of a father's sister and to a father-in-law; and as they apply the same term *nendâ* "aunt" to the wife of the mother's brother and to a mother-in-law, we may infer by analogy that a man's proper wife is his cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother.[2]

The Singhalese seem to be the only Aryan-speaking people who have the classificatory system of relationship. They may be a non-Aryan people who have adopted an Aryan language but retained their old native system of relationship.

So far as I know, the Singhalese are the only Aryan-speaking people who possess the classificatory system of relationship. This remarkable exception to the rule that the Aryan-speaking peoples use the descriptive, not the classificatory, system of relationship points to the conclusion that the Singhalese, though they are Aryans by speech, are not Aryans by blood, but have at some time abandoned their native aboriginal tongue for an Aryan language, retaining nevertheless the classificatory relationships, though they designate these by words which may or may not be Aryan. This conclusion is in turn strongly confirmed by the physical type of the Singhalese, which is not that of a pure Aryan breed. On this subject I will quote the observations of Sir John B. Phear. He says: "The Singhalese people themselves generally have the appearance of being the result of at least an intermixture of an Aryan with some other, yellow-tinted, coarsely-built, ethnic element. It is remarkable that they are broad-shouldered, deep-chested, and muscular, with a

[1] A. A. Perera, "Glimpses of Singhalese Social Life; Relationship and Rights of Property," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxiii. (1904) p. 143. As to cousin-marriages and the inference to be drawn from the identity of these terms of relationship, see above, pp. 224-228.

[2] A. A. Perera, *op. cit.* p. 143.

pronounced calf to the leg, like all Mongolian peoples, and unlike the Aryans of India. But their most striking peculiarity, perhaps, is the excessive hairiness of both male and female. The chest of the man often resembles a door-mat, and the hair of his head reaches low down his back, a feature which attracted the notice of the earliest Greek geographers. The lower part of the abdomen also, both in male and female, is profusely hairy. This extraordinary capillary development is certainly the reverse of what we see in those Mongolian peoples with whom we are best acquainted. It seems, however, that the Ainos, a Turanian race on the extreme east of Asia, possess it even to a greater extent than the Singhalese, and that they at an early historical period were widely spread over the islands and tracts of country now covered by the Japanese, Chinese, and Malays. Can it be that the Singhalese are, by blood, in a large measure traceable to an Aino or a cognate origin, and that they owe little more than their language, literature, and religion to the invasion of Aryans from Upper Bengal, of which history tells us?"[1]

This hypothesis is confirmed by the physical type of the Singhalese, which is not that of a pure Aryan breed.

The geographical position of the Singhalese people certainly favours the hypothesis that they are an aboriginal race who have been driven into their last entrenchments by the pressure of alien invaders; for they are pent up in the southern portion of Ceylon[2] while the northern portion of the island is occupied by a Dravidian population speaking the Tamil language.[3] Clearly if the Singhalese retreated into their present home before the advance of the Dravidians from the north, they had no other spot of ground to which to turn: the next step would have carried them into the sea. They must turn to bay or perish.

The geographical position of the Singhalese favours the view that they are an aboriginal race pent up in their last refuge.

[1] Sir John B. Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (London, 1880), pp. 177 *sq.*

[2] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 416.

[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 380.

CHAPTER XI

TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE REST OF ASIA

No clear evidence for the existence of totemism in Asia outside of India.

WHILE totemism combined with exogamy is widely spread among the aboriginal tribes of India, it is remarkable that no single indubitable case of it has been recorded, so far as I know, in all the rest of the vast continent of Asia. In the preceding chapters we have traced this curious system of society and superstition from Australia through the islands of Torres Straits, New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia, and India. On the eastern frontier of India totemism stops abruptly, and in our totemic survey of the world we shall not meet with any clear evidence of it again till we pass to Africa or America. If we leave India out of account, Asia, like Europe, is practically a blank in a totemic map of the world. Whether this absence of evidence is due to the absence of the institution, to the negligence and supineness of observers, or merely to the ignorance of the present writer, is a question which future research may perhaps decide. Here I shall confine myself to noting either the slight hints of totemism in Asia which I have met with or the positive statements of good authorities as to the absence of the system in the regions known to them.

Totemism not yet found in any tribe of Burma.

In the first place, then, though totemism, or something very like it, occurs in Manipur, on the eastern frontier of India,[1] it has not yet been discovered in any tribe of Burma. On this subject our principal authority on the ethnology of Upper Burma, Sir J. George Scott, observes: "So far as is yet known there is no tribe which habitually takes its family

[1] See above, pp. 326 *sq.*

name, or has crests and badges taken from some natural object, plant, or animal."[1] It is true that a rule of exogamy attaching to family names is observed by the Kachins or Chingpaw, who inhabit the country on the north, north-east, and north-west of Upper Burma. Among these people there are at least ninety-seven different names of families, and all persons bearing the same family name regard themselves as of one blood and will not marry each other, even though they may belong to different tribes; but the origin of these family names has not been ascertained.[2] Further, the Chins are divided into forty or more exogamous clans, called *a'so* or *'kun*; no man may marry a woman of his own clan, but "after the marriage ceremonies are over, the wife is initiated into her husband's clan, and has her wrists wrapped round with a cotton-yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the guardianship of the *'kun* of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are admitted in like manner into the *'kun*."[3] But exogamy alone is no proof of totemism. Again, many Indo-Chinese races of Burma trace their descent from animals, eggs, or other natural objects; but such legends are not of themselves evidence that the tribes who relate them are totemic, even when the legend is associated with a taboo, as happens, for example, with the Southern Chins of Burma, who are forbidden to kill or eat the king-crow which they regard as their parent, because it hatched the original Chin egg.[4]

Exogamy among the Kachins of Burma.

Exogamy among the Chins of Burma.

Legends of descent from animals, etc., in Burma.

[1] *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, by (Sir) J. George Scott, assisted by J. P. Hardiman, part i. vol. ii. (Rangoon, 1900), pp. 39 *sq.* Sir J. G. Scott finds traces of totemism "in the prescribed form of names for Shan and Kachin children and in the changing or concealing of personal names," as well as in "the limiting of marriages between the inhabitants of certain villages only, practised both by tribes of Karens and Kachins." But these things have no necessary connection with totemism.

[2] *Ibid.* part i. vol. i. (Rangoon, 1900) pp. 402 *sq.*

[3] Rev. G. Whitehead, "Notes on the Chins of Burma," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi. (1907) p. 206. The word *'kun* signifies the common ancestry of the clan as well as the clan itself.

[4] *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xii. *Burma*, Part I. (Rangoon, 1902) by C. C. Lowis, p. 133. Mr. Lowis here adduces other similar traditions current among the races of Burma. The Was say that their primaeval ancestors were tadpoles; the Palaungs trace their origin to a Naga princess, who laid three eggs; the Kachins believe that they are descended from a man who was made out of a pumpkin, but this belief does not deter them from eating pumpkins.

When we pass from Burma to the vast empire of China which borders it on the north, positive evidence for the existence of totemism is still to seek. On this subject our best authority on the religions of China, Professor J. J. M. de Groot of Leyden, writes as follows: "A strong belief in animal progenitors of men, families, and tribes may, in any country where the worship of ancestors is prevalent, readily lead to methodic veneration of such beasts. Considering, however, that, so far as we can learn from books, a descent from beasts has never been positively claimed by the inhabitants of what we may call ancient China proper, the existence of ancestor worship in such a garb must be dismissed at once for the provinces north of the Yangtsze. If we peruse the long list of Chinese tribal names, we find half a dozen names of animals, viz. Bear, Dragon, Horse, Cow, Crow, and Swallow; but, to judge from the researches of native authors, they do not point to any alleged descent of the tribes they denote, from an animal ancestor. The two first, which are very rare, are stated to have been at the outset individual names, adopted as family names by the descendants of the bearers. The Horse tribe, which has a much larger number of members, derives this name from the first letter of the cognomen of one of its ancestors. Cow, likewise a rare surname, marks descent from an individual whose cognomen it was; while Crow or Raven denoted the office or office-badge of some ancestor. And Swallow is only apparently an animal name, representing in reality the name of an ancient country in the present Pehchihli. Words denoting wolves or dogs were never in China actual tribal names. And South-China, the old country of the Man, whose mythic pedigree has its root in the dog Dish-gourd? Never have our studies of books brought us across anything intimating that the dog is there more especially an object of worship than other animals, or a respected *do-daim* whose flesh does not appear in the popular bill-of-fare. Zoolatry, as we shall show afterwards, is a prominent feature of China's religion. But the statement must here be made that, as yet, we have found no trace in China of animals being worshipped in their capacity of tribal progenitors, so that we entertain serious doubts whether

Professor de Groot on the absence of evidence for totemism in Eastern Asia.

Chinese tribes with animal names.

any so-called totemism exists in East Asia as a religious phenomenon."[1]

Exogamy attaching to family names in China.

It is true that in China, as among the Kachins of Burma, a rule of exogamy attaching to family names is observed; since no Chinaman is allowed to marry a China-woman who bears his own family or clan name;[2] but exogamy, as I have said, in itself furnishes no proof of totemism. There are estimated to be about four hundred different family names in China, and among these names are words denoting animals, plants, and other natural objects, such as Horse, Sheep, Ox, Fish, Bird, Plum, Flower, Leaf, Rice, Forest, River, Hill, Water, Cloud, Gold, Hide, Bristles, and so on. "Custom and law alike prohibit intermarriage on the part of people having the same family surname. The children are of the father's family, that is, they take his family surname."[3] Amongst the Y-kia, an aboriginal race of Southern China, the same custom is observed. Children take their patronymic name (*sin*) from their father, and with certain exceptions no persons who bear the same patronymic are allowed to marry each other.[4]

Exogamous clans in Corea.

Again, the people of Corea are divided into exogamous clans, each of which traces its descent by primogeniture from a single male ancestor. The prohibition of marriage between persons who bear the same clan name "is more than a law with penalty for infraction; it is a traditional custom of which the negative is inconceivable." Some of the clan names are those of natural objects, such as Horse, Fish, Mule, Plum, Pear-tree, Willow-tree, Dwarf Nettle (*Cectis sinensis*), Gold, and Stone; but we are told that no totemic devices are used by members of the clans.[5]

Reported totemism among the Lolos, an aboriginal race of Southern China.

In recent years a social system which bears some resemblance to totemism has been reported to exist among the Lolos, an aboriginal race of Southern China. These people are found in all parts of the province of Yunnan and

[1] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iv. (Leyden, 1901) p. 271.

[2] J. H. Gray, *China* (London, 1878), i. 186.

[3] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 364 *sq.*, quoting Mr. Robert Hart, of Canton.

[4] Dr. P. R. Deblenne, in *La Mission Lyonnaise d'Exploration commerciale en Chine 1895-1897* (Lyons, 1898), pp. 368, 369.

[5] W. Hough, "Korean Clan Organization," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, i. (1899) pp. 150, 152, 153, 154.

in a few districts of Kweichow; but the home of their race is Szechwan, where in the fastnesses of the great Taliang Mountains they still retain their independence in a country as large as Wales. European travellers have skirted that country, but as yet none have entered it, so that our knowledge of the pure Lolos is very slight. Mr. A. Henry, stationed at Szemao, a Customs post in the south of Yunnan, has studied the Lolos of that neighbourhood,[1] and it is to him that we owe a notice of their social system which contains at least some hints of totemism. He writes: "It is interesting then to know that Lolo surnames always signify the name of a tree or animal or both tree and animal, and that these are considered as the ancestors of the family bearing the name. This name is often archaic. Thus the surname Bu-luh-beh is explained as follows:— Bu-luh is said to be an ancient name for the citron, which is now known as *sa-lu*. The common way of asking a person what his surname is, is to inquire 'What is it you don't touch?' and a person of the surname just mentioned would reply, 'We do not touch the *sa-lu* or citron.' People cannot eat or touch in any way the plant or animal, or both, which enters into their surname. The plant or animal is not, however, worshipped in any way. People of the same surname may marry if there is no obvious relationship. There are, however, groups of two or three surnames, amongst whom intermarriage is forbidden, and no explanation of this is given. There are also groups of two or three surnames who are called comrades, and intermarriage amongst them is favoured. Marriage is brought about by the father of the boy selecting a wife for his son. She is brought home by the groom and a friend, and is accompanied by her brothers and a number of attendant girl friends. The feast occurs in the father-in-law's house. The remarkable peculiarity amongst the Lolos is that invariably, some days after marriage, the bride escapes and runs home to her father's house." The husband sends presents to her father to induce her to return, and if these do not soften her heart he may go and persuade her with a

Lolo surnames are derived from animals or plants, and people may not eat or touch the animal or plant from which their surname is derived.

[1] A. Henry, "The Lolos and other Tribes of Western China," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii (1903) pp. 96, 98 *sq.*

stick.[1] In this account the prohibition to eat or touch the object from which the family takes its name is strongly suggestive of totemism; but on the other hand the absence of the exogamous rule, which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own family or clan, seems to prove that, if totemism exists among the Lolos, it is not totemism of the common type.

Traces of totemism among the aborigines of Formosa.

Again, some hints of totemism have been reported as to the little-known aborigines of Formosa. Those of them who inhabit the mountains and forests in the interior of the northern part of the island are said to be divided into tribes, each tribe with its own village, its own name, and almost its own language. Further, each tribe or village possesses an animal, under whose special protection the inhabitants believe themselves to dwell, and accordingly they keep and feed it in a cage. Some will thus keep a serpent, others a leopard, and so on. It is possible that these guardian animals are totems. The people live in settled villages, which they sometimes fortify. The men hunt and fish, using nets and hooks; the women till the fields, spin, weave, and make excellent mats. Among the crops which they raise are rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. All unmarried men and lads sleep together in a common building raised on posts several feet above the ground. Here the heads which they took in war from their enemies, especially the Chinese, used to be hung, and here festivals are held. Sometimes the inhabitants of a village observe a fast and a species of taboo (*hiang*), during which no one may enter the village.[2]

Each village keeps its guardian animal in a cage.

Common dormitories for unmarried men.

Indications of totemism in Siberia.

When we pass from the vast empire of China to the vast empire of Russia in Asia, the indications of totemism which meet us are still very few and slight among the many heterogeneous races who profess allegiance to the Czar. Such indications are reported of the Yukuts, a race of Turkish stock in Siberia, who inhabit the district of Yakutsk

[1] A. Henry, "The Lolos and other Tribes of Western China," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 105 *sq.*

[2] W. Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingebornen der Inseln Formosa und Ceram," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1882, pp. (56) *sq.*, (60), (61), (62) (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv.).

Sacred animals of the Yakut tribes.

and the valley of the Lena.[1] Von Strahlenberg, a Swedish writer of the early part of the eighteenth century, who has given us a description of Siberia, says of the Yakuts that "each tribe of these people looks upon some particular creature as sacred, *e.g.* a swan, goose, raven, etc., and such is not eaten by that tribe, though the others may eat it."[2]

Exogamous divisions among the Yakuts.

The Yakuts are certainly divided into exogamous sections called *aga-ussa* or "father-kin," from *aga*, "father," and *ussa*, "kin." A wife must always be taken from another *aga-ussa*; indeed well-to-do men will not even marry a wife of their own *nasleg*, which is another and usually larger division comprising within it from one to five *aga-ussas*.[3] But the nature of these divisions is not defined, and there is nothing to shew whether either the *aga-ussa* or the *nasleg* is identical with the "tribe" spoken of by von Strahlenberg. If either identity could be made out, it would go far to prove the existence, present or past, of totemism among the Yakuts. Further, it would seem that the Yakuts have the classificatory system of relationship. For they have no general word either for brother in general or for sister in general; but they have special terms for elder brother and younger brother, for elder sister and younger sister; further, they apply "the term 'child' or 'my child' not only to their own proper children, but also to the children of brothers, or of sisters, or even to brothers and sisters themselves, if they are very much younger."[4] Among the

Traces of the classificatory system among the Yakuts.

[1] H. Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk* (Leipsic, 1885), pp. 146 *sq.*

[2] *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia, but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary, written originally in High German by Mr.* Philip John von Strahlenberg, *A Swedish Officer, thirteen years Captive in those Parts, now faithfully translated into English* (London, 1738), p. 383. The number of Yakut tribes, according to Von Strahlenberg, is ten (*op. cit.* p. 380).

[3] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts, abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 73 *sq.*, 87. "When a Jakut (Siberia) wishes to marry, he must, says Middendorf, choose a girl from another clan. No one is permitted to marry a woman from his own" (Sir John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation*, Fourth Edition (London, 1882), p. 135). In support of these statements Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) refers to Middendorf, *Sibirische Reise*, p. 72, and Müller's *Description de toutes les Races de l'Emp. de Russie*, Pt. II. p. 58. I accept the truth of the writer's statements, though I have not been able to verify his references.

[4] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 90. The account here reproduced from the Russian is so vague, and the facts so mixed with

Avoidance of brothers and sisters among the Yakuts.

Yakuts, further, the mutual avoidance of a woman and her husband's relations, and of brothers and sisters appears to be practised to a certain extent. In regard to the latter we are told that "boys ten or twelve years of age do not eat with their sisters; they do not lie down to sleep with them on the same bed. The boy is given a separate bed, which involves a special expense. They do it apparently not from modesty, but in obedience to an ancient prohibition in the nature of a taboo. These very sisters, however, may go completely naked, entirely untroubled by the presence of their grown brothers."[1]

Exogamous clans among the Samoyeds.

Among the Samoyeds we are told that a man may not marry a woman of his father's clan, but must marry a woman of his mother's clan, however near the relationship between bride and bridegroom may be.[2] If this statement, which appears to be well authenticated, is correct, it proves the existence of exogamy, though not of totemism, among the Samoyeds. Further, it may be noted that some of the tribes of the Kara Kirghiz or Black Kirghiz, inhabiting the northern spurs of the Thian Shan range and the high mountains from Kashgar on the east to Khokan on the west, are divided into tribes, some of which bear the names of animals. The whole people falls, first, into two divisions, namely the *Ong* or the Right and the *Sol* or the Left. The *Ong* or Right division includes six tribes, of which three are

Tribes named after animals among the Black Kirghiz.

speculation, that no precise information can be extracted from it. It is not even quite clear whether the *nasleg* and *aga-ussa* (which the translator regularly represents by *sib*) are kinship or local divisions, but apparently they are the former.

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 90. As to traces of avoidance between a woman and her husband's relations, see *ibid.* p. 93.

[2] "Ueber den religiösen Glauben und die Ceremonien der heidnischen Samojeden im Kreise Mesen, nach dem Russischen," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F. viii. (1860) p. 55. The original article here extracted and translated into German was written by the Archimandrite Benjamin of Archangel and published in the fourteenth volume of the *Wjästnik* of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Though the writer deals specially with the Samoyeds of Mesen in the Government of Archangel, he says that exactly the same marriage law is observed by the Samoyeds of Siberia. Similarly, Pallas says that when a Samoyed wishes to marry, he chooses a woman of another family or clan (*in einem andern Geschlecht*). See P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, iii. (St. Petersburg, 1776) p. 76. Similarly, J. G. Georgi says of the Samoyeds: "From disinclination to marry among relations, they all seek brides in other families or clans (*in andern Geschlechtern*)." See J. G. Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs* (St. Petersburg, 1776), p. 282.

named after the stag, the yellow eland, and the great eland respectively.[1] But I know of no evidence that these tribes are either exogamous or totemic.

Marriage customs of the Gilyaks of the Amoor River.

Among the Gilyaks of the island of Saghalien certain marriage customs are observed which may appropriately be noticed in this book. Brothers appear to hold their wives to a certain extent in common; for when an elder brother is away on a journey, his younger brother enjoys marital rights over his elder brother's wife; but the converse does not hold good, an elder brother never has any rights over his younger brother's wife.[2] Further, the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters is in vogue among the Gilyaks. Boys and girls live and play with each other, but when they have reached the age of puberty brothers and sisters may no longer speak to one other, or if they do speak it must be with averted eyes.[3] Further, it appears that the Gilyaks have the classificatory system of relationship; for we read that "the villages are in general inhabited by members of one and the same family; every Gilyak comes into the world with so many fathers and so many mothers that it is somewhat difficult to understand their system of relationships. He always calls by the name of *ytk*, that is, 'father,' not only his father but the brothers and male cousins german of his father; and he calls by the name of *ymk*, that is, 'mother,' the sisters and the female cousins german of his mother. All the children of brothers and cousins german are considered as brothers and sisters, and are distinguished by the name of *rouer*, a sort of collective name like the word *Geschwister* in German. The family forms a very sharply limited clan, but marriage between relations is not allowed; the father has a great authority over his sons, and the oldest brother over his younger brothers. The families are grouped in tribes and boast of descending from the same father, and every Gilyak always knows the name of his tribe. When a child is born into the world, he receives a name; there is a cycle of names in each tribe, and in the tribe two persons may not bear the same

Avoidance of brothers and sisters.

Classificatory system of relationship among the Gilyaks.

Personal names among the Gilyaks.

[1] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipsic, 1884), i. 230 *sq.*; *id.*, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen Stämme*, v. (St. Petersburg, 1885) p. i. (preface).

[2] P. Labbé, *Un bagne Russe, L'Ile de Sakhaline* (Paris, 1903), pp. 170 *sq.*

[3] P. Labbé, *op. cit.* p. 167.

name; if a child receives a name which is already borne by a man still living, the man or the child will die within the year. When a man dies, it is forbidden to pronounce his name; but when the festival of the bear comes round, at which they sacrifice the beast and send him as a messenger to the divinity, in order to obtain game and fish in abundance, they beat the bear's skin crying out the name of the deceased, and from that day the name may be pronounced by all and will be given to a child subsequently born. The names of boys are chosen by the father, who consults with the old men of the family on the subject; they often signify 'strength,' 'courage,' 'bravery,' 'intelligence,' etc. The names of women are not necessarily taken from the cycle of the tribe."[1]

The Gilyaks seem to believe in the reincarnation of the dead.

From this account of Gilyak personal names we may infer that these people assume an intimate connection between a person's name and his life or soul; and further, perhaps, that they believe in the reincarnation of the dead, a deceased person coming to life again in the child who bears his name. If that is so, the Gilyaks in this respect resemble not only the Central Australian aborigines but also the Indians of North America, among whom, as we shall see later on, a dead person is supposed to come to life again or "to be raised up," as they sometimes express it, in the person of his namesake.

Belief of the Koryaks in the reincarnation of the dead.

The inference that the Gilyaks believe the dead to be reborn in the persons who bear their names is confirmed by the observation that a precisely similar belief is held by another people of North-Eastern Asia, the Koryaks, whose customs and beliefs have lately been investigated with great care by Mr. Waldemar Jochelson. The Koryaks think that before a child is born, the Supreme Being, a benevolent but rather inert old man who lives up in the sky with his wife and children, sends into the mother's womb the soul of a deceased relative of the child to be born again. He keeps a supply of souls suspended by straps from the cross-beams of his house; and as is the length of a soul's strap, so will the length of that soul's life be when it is reborn into the world. A long strap, a long life, and a

[1] P. Labbé, *Un bagne Russe, L'Ile de Sakhaline* (Paris, 1903), pp. 165 *sq.*

Children are named after the deceased relatives whose souls have been reborn in them.

short strap, a short life ; that is the idea. Accordingly as soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the deceased relative whose soul has been reborn in it. There are various ways of identifying him or her. Sometimes the father uses for this purpose a divining stone called the Little-Grandmother. This he ties by a string to a stick and swings it backwards and forwards, enumerating the names of the dead kinsfolk both on his own and on his wife's side of the house. When he mentions the name of the one whose soul has entered into the baby, the stone swings faster. Or he may observe the behaviour of the child while the names are being mentioned. If the infant squalls at any name, that cannot be the name of the person reborn in it. But if the child stops squalling or smiles at the mention of any name, then they know that to be its real name, the name of the kinsman or kinswoman who has come to life again in it. Then the father takes up the baby in his arms and carrying it from the sleeping-tent to the house tells the people, "A relative has come." If any mistake is made in identifying the soul which has entered into the new-born child, something will certainly ail that child ; but the mistake may be corrected and the name changed by means of another appeal to the Little-Grandmother or other mode of divination.[1]

Exogamy among the Golds of the Amoor.

Lastly, strict exogamy of the clan is practised by the Goldi or Golds, a tribe settled in the middle course of the great Amoor River ; and from the following account it seems to follow that the organisation of society in exogamous clans is common, if not universal, among the peoples of Siberia. The tribes of this region were investigated for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition by Mr. Berthold Laufer in the years 1898 and 1899, and he reports upon the exogamy of the Golds as follows :—

Exogamous clans (*xala*) of the Golds.

"The social organization of the Gold is very simple, and resembles that of all other Siberian peoples. The whole tribe is grouped into clans called *rody* by the Russians, and *xala* by the Gold. The members of such clans constitute patronymic societies. All the families of a clan bear the

[1] Waldemar Jochelson, *The Koryak, Religion and Myths* (Leyden and New York, 1905), p. 100 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. vi. part i.). As to the Supreme Being, his wife, and family, see *ibid.* pp. 23 *sq.*

same name. For example, in Sendaka, the region between Chabarovsk and Vyatskoye, the following names occur most frequently: Posaxara, Ojal, Xader, Perminka, Axtanka, Oninka, Donka, Yukkami, Udinka, Pozar. The members of such clans are scattered over the whole territory occupied by the tribe. Some clans have a double name. Thus the clan Axtanka is also styled Beldi. The names of a great many of their clans are met with among the Mangun and Amoor-Gilyak; for example, the name Posaxara occurs among both these tribes. From this fact may be traced the race mixture of early times. Marriage is strictly exogamic. A man belonging to the clan Perminka is never allowed to take a wife of the same family name."[1]

Polygamy. The levirate.

A Gold buys his wife from her father, and he may have as many wives as he can buy and keep. When he dies, his brother may marry the widow on condition that she consents to have him.[2]

Terms of relationship among the Golds.

"A peculiar feature of the Goldian language is that the terms of relationship are divided into two classes. The names of relatives on the paternal side are different from those on the maternal side. Moreover, each of these classes is again subdivided, distinguishing terms used for relatives older from words for those younger than father or mother. The elder brother of the father is called *fafá*; his younger brother, *achá*; the father's elder sister, *dadá*, his younger sister *ghughú*; the mother's elder sister *dadá*, her younger sister, *oukd*."[3] This distinction between elder and younger brothers and sisters points to the existence of the classificatory system among the Golds. We may surmise that the system is widespread among the tribes of Northern Asia, though observers have paid but little attention to it.

Such are the few slight indications or hints of totemism and exogamy which I have been able to glean in Asia outside the limits of India.[4]

[1] B. Laufer, "Preliminary Notes on Explorations among the Amoor Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, ii. (1900) p. 318.

[2] B. Laufer, *op. cit.* pp. 319 *sq.*, 322.

[3] B. Laufer, *op. cit.* p. 321.

[4] The late German traveller Vaughan-Stevens alleged that he had discovered something which he took for totemism among the Sakai, an aboriginal tribe of the Malay Peninsula. But no reliance can be placed on his evidence, and I prefer not to repeat his confused statements on the subject. See W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906), ii. 62-64, 258 *sq.* The barbarous

Absence of totemism and exogamy among he Chukchees and the Koryaks of North-eastern Asia.

In view of the now prevalent theory which connects the American Indians with the peoples of Northern Asia, it is of some interest to observe that the two tribes, the Chukchees and the Koryaks, who inhabit the part of Asia nearest to America, appear to be entirely without both totemism and exogamy, the two great institutions so characteristic of the North American Indians.[1] The striking discrepancy thus revealed between the social organisation of these neighbouring peoples in the two continents does not favour the theory of their racial affinity.

Group-marriage among the Chukchees.

But while neither the Chuckchees nor the Koryaks have totemism and exogamy, it deserves to be noticed that the Chukchees, who occupy the north-eastern extremity of Asia, possess a system which has been called group-marriage. It will be best to describe the system in the words of Mr. Waldemar Bogaras, who has lived among the people and made a careful study of their institutions. His account applies particularly to the marriage customs of the Reindeer Chukchees; with those of the Maritime Chukchees he is less familiar. He says:

"*Group-Marriage.*—Marriage among the Chukchee does not deal with one couple only, but extends over an entire group. The Chukchee group-marriage includes sometimes up to ten married couples. The men belonging to such a marriage-

tribes in the mountains of Northern Tonquin abstain from eating the flesh of dogs, and they say that one of their people lost an eye through looking at some Annamites, who were engaged in eating dog's flesh. But this is not of itself a trace of totemism, though it has been adduced as such. See E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional* (Paris, 1906), p. 240. The Rev. J. Batchelor believes that he has found totemism among the Ainos, an aboriginal race of Japan; but his ideas of totemism appear to be vague, and the evidence which he adduces is quite insufficient. See the Rev. John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (London, 1901), pp. 8-10, 83 *sqq.*, 156-164, 206. The respect which the Ainos and some tribes of the Amoor River (the Gilyaks, Golds, and Orotchis) pay to bears, which they keep in captivity for a time and then sacrifice, is not to be confused with totemism. See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), ii. 374 *sqq.*

[1] The social organisation and the religious beliefs of the Chukchees and the Koryaks have been carefully investigated in recent years by members of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, the prime object of which was to ascertain the ethnical relations between the aboriginal races of America and Asia. See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908); W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909). These works form volumes vi. and vii. of the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, and are issued as memoirs by the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

union are called 'companions in wives' (*ñew-tu'mgıt*). Each 'companion' has a right to all the wives of his 'companion,' but takes advantage of his right comparatively seldom, namely, only when he visits for some reason the camp of one of the 'companions.' Then the host cedes him his place in the sleeping-room. If possible, he leaves the house for the night; goes to his herd, for instance. After such a call, the companion visited generally looks for an occasion to return the visit, in order, in his turn, to exercise his rights.

Group-marriages mostly formed between acquaintances and relations, especially cousins.

"The union, in group-marriages, is mostly formed between persons who are well acquainted . . . , especially between neighbors and relatives. Second and third cousins are almost invariably united by ties of group-marriage; brothers, however, do not enter into such unions. In ancient times this form of marriage was obviously a union between the members of a related group. In course of time, other friendly persons began to be included in the union. The rite accompanying the formation of group-marriages reflects such an origin, for it is intended to give the union the character of a tie between relatives. The persons concerned make sacrifices and anoint themselves with blood, first in one camp, and then in the other. After that they are considered as belonging to one fireside, as do the relatives in the male line. According to tradition, group-marriages with persons of high standing were much sought after by younger people. They would send their relatives as match-makers, and would even serve in a strange herd in order to enter such a union, precisely as is the custom in individual marriages.

As a rule, partners in group-marriages are of about the same age.

"The older people, however, were reluctant to enter the group-union with young people, especially if the latter were single. The mixing of ages in the group-marriage is not approved of. If a married man, on the other hand, has no children, but desires to have some, he is anxious to make a union with a strong single man. The aversion to including bachelors in the marriage-group is primarily based on the absence of reciprocity. The bachelor gains from entering the union, but gives nothing in return.

"The inmates of one and the same camp are seldom willing to enter into a group-marriage, the reason obviously

Partners in group-marriage generally live in different camps.

being that the reciprocal use of wives, which in group-marriage is practised very seldom, is liable to degenerate into complete promiscuity if the members of the group live too close together. However, many exceptions occur to both rules. . . . I have been told that poor people, on entering the group-union, are sometimes so friendly that they live in one tent, and even in the same sleeping-room. . . .

Practically all Chukchee families are united in group-marriage.

"At the present time the unions through group-marriage embrace practically all Chukchee families. Not to be connected with such a union, means to have no friends and good-wishers, and no protectors in case of need; for the members of a marriage-group stand nearer to one another than even relations in the male line. As pointed out above, however, these two ties often coincide.

"In some cases five or six persons enter into a group-marriage, and all enjoy equal marital rights. In other cases a man may have several companions in group-marriage who do not stand in a similar relation to one another. . . .

Group-marriage considered equal to a blood-tie.

"Union through group-marriage is considered equal to a blood tie. The children born in the families of a marriage-union are regarded as cousins, or even as brothers and sisters. They cannot marry each other, which is natural, for they might easily have a common father."[1]

The Chukchee group-marriage is not promiscuity. The members of such groups are usually blood-relations, real or fictitious.

From this account we gather that practically the whole of the Chukchee tribe or nation lives in a state of group-marriage, which is regulated by custom and does not approach to sexual promiscuity. The members of such groups are commonly blood relations, especially second or third cousins, of about the same age; though persons of very unequal ages sometimes live together in a marriage-group.[2] That the partners in these connubial unions are theoretically deemed to be blood relations, even when they are not so in fact, is plainly indicated by the ceremony of smearing themselves with the blood of sacrificial victims in the camps of both the partners; for this is nothing but a form of the widespread blood-covenant whereby two persons are supposed to unite

[1] Waldemar Bogaras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909), pp. 602-605 (forming vol. vii. of *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*).

[2] Mr. W. Bogaras writes: "In another camp I saw two neighbors of very unequal ages, whose tents stood side by side, and who were united by a group-marriage" (*op. cit.* p. 603).

themselves artificially by a tie of consanguinity; and we are expressly told that "union through group-marriage is considered equal to a blood tie." Hence among this people consanguinity is not of itself a bar to marriage, but rather the contrary. "The Chukchee," we are told, "have several methods of securing brides and concluding marriages. One of these is through marriage between relatives, if possible in the same family, or at least in the same camp, or in the neighboring camp, where families of the same blood reside. Most frequent are marriages between cousins." However, marriage between brother and sister or between uncle and niece is considered incestuous.[1] The intention of these group-marriages appears to be mutual protection; persons who do not belong to any such social union are deemed friendless and unprotected.

Consanguineous marriages among the Chukchees.

The tie of affinity between men who are married to sisters is deemed very strong; indeed in the olden times it was considered to be even stronger than brotherhood, and there was a proverb that in battle two such men should fight and fall side by side. There is a special name for this relationship; two men married to two sisters call each other *takalhin*, which means properly "brace-companion."[2]

Close tie between men married to sisters.

It is somewhat remarkable that though Chukchee brothers do not unite in a marriage-group, nevertheless the younger brother regularly marries the widow of his elder brother according to the custom of the levirate. If the deceased left no brothers, the widow passes to one of his cousins. But, in accordance with a rule of which we have met with instances in Australia, Indonesia, and India,[3] it is only a younger brother or a younger cousin who may thus succeed to the place of his dead kinsman; an elder brother or an elder cousin has no right over the widow of his younger brother or younger cousin.[4]

The levirate among the Chukchees.

As might be anticipated from their marriage system, in

[1] W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, p. 576. Mr. Bogaras knows of two cases of incestuous intercourse between father and daughter.

[2] W. Bogaras, *op. cit.* p. 540.

[3] See above, pp. 191, 222, 234, 236, 279, 280, 281, 291, 302, 310, 313, 315. Much more rarely it is the elder brother who marries the widow of his deceased younger brother. See above, pp. 249 *sq.*, 272 *sq.*

[4] W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 607 *sq.*

The Chukchees have not the classificatory system of relationship.

which exogamy plays no part, the Chukchees do not possess the classificatory system of relationship. A man applies the same term (*endiw*) to his father's brother and to his mother's brother; but he applies quite a different term to his father (*elihin*). He applies the same term (*echchai*) to his father's sister and to his mother's sister; but he applies quite a different term (*ela*) to his mother. He applies the same terms to all his cousins, whether on the paternal or on the maternal side; but he applies quite different terms to his brothers and sisters.[1]

Amongst the Koryaks there is neither totemism nor exogamy, and marriage is regulated only by degrees of consanguinity or affinity.

The Koryaks who inhabit the country immediately to the south-west of the Chukchees, at the head of the Sea of Okhotsk, are equally without the institutions of totemism and exogamy. Amongst them marriage is regulated, not by an organisation of the community in exogamous clans, but purely by the degrees of relationship or affinity which exist between individuals. A man is forbidden to marry his mother and her sisters, his father's sisters, his own sisters, his cousins, and his nieces, the daughters either of his brother or of his sister. Between all other blood-relations marriages are permitted. Amongst the relations by marriage whom a man is forbidden to take to wife are his stepmother, the sisters of his living wife, the elder sisters of his dead wife, the sisters of his brother's wife, and the widow of his younger brother.[2] On the other hand, while he may not marry the sister of his living wife, he is obliged to marry his deceased wife's younger sister, though he is forbidden to marry her elder sister. Similarly a widow is bound to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but is forbidden to marry his elder brother. Thus among the Koryaks the common custom of the levirate, which obliges a widow to marry her deceased husband's brother, has its counterpart in a custom which obliges a widower to marry his deceased wife's sister; but in both cases the custom is subject to the condition that the brother or sister who marries the widow or the widower must be younger than the deceased husband or wife.[3]

Marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister.

The levirate.

[1] W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 538 *sq.*

[2] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908), pp. 736 *sq.*, 750, 761 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. vi.).

[3] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.* pp. 737, 748 *sqq.*

Strictness of the relations between the sexes among the Koryaks.

The relations between the sexes among the Koryaks are much stricter and, judged by our standard, more moral than among the Chukchees and other neighbouring tribes. Girls are expected to remain chaste before marriage, and the custom is on the whole observed. It is deemed shameful if a girl is found with child before marriage. Young men will not serve for such a frail one. She is sent away into the wilderness to bring forth in pain and sorrow the fruit of her sin; and she kills the poor babe and buries it in the earth or in the snow. In the olden time her family would sometimes make war on the family of her seducer.[1]

The Koryaks have not got the classificatory system of relationship.

Like the Chukchees, the Koryaks do not employ the classificatory system of relationship. There is one word (*enniw*) for father's brother and mother's brother, but quite a different word (*apa*) for father. There is one word (*itchei*) for father's sister and mother's sister, but quite a different word (*ella*) for mother. There is one word for cousins, whether paternal or maternal, but quite different words for brothers and sisters.[2]

[1] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 733-735.

[2] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.* pp. 759 *sq.* I have not reproduced the typographical subtleties by which Mr. Jochelson attempts to mark the exact pronunciation of the Koryak words. They convey little meaning to an English reader. My spelling must therefore be understood to represent the sounds only approximately. The same observation applies to my spelling of the Chukchee terms of relationship.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER XII

TOTEMISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

§ 1. *Totemism among the Herero*

Totemism widely diffused in Africa.

WHEN we pass from Asia to Africa the evidence for the existence of totemism and exogamy again becomes comparatively copious; for the system is found in vogue among Bantu tribes both of Southern and of Central Africa as well as among some of the pure negroes of the West Coast. We begin with the Herero, Ovaherero, or Damaras as they used to be called, who inhabit German South-West Africa.

The Herero, a Bantu tribe of nomadic herdsmen.

The Herero are a tall finely-built race of nomadic herdsmen belonging to the Bantu stock, who seem to have migrated into their present country from the north and east some hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago.[1]

The land of the Herero.

The desert character of the country and its seclusion from the world long combined to preserve the primitive manners of the inhabitants. A scanty and precarious rainfall compels them to shift their dwellings from place to place in order to find pasture for their cattle; and an arid, absolutely rainless coast of dreary sandhills affords no allurement to the passing mariner to land on the inhospitable shore. From the sea the land rises to the high mountains of the interior in a series of tablelands, separated from each other by great sandstone cliffs. In the hot season the burning tropical

[1] J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 49 *sqq.*, 53 *sqq.* The time when the Herero migrated into their present country has been variously estimated at from one hundred to three hundred years ago. In such a matter certainty is unattainable. Compare Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869), pp. 227 *sqq.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 142 *sq.*; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 1 *sqq.*

sun converts these vast plains into a parched wilderness, where springs of water are few and far between, and the scorched grass, crumbling into dust at the touch, affords no nourishment to the languishing cattle. But when the first rains, accompanied by thunderstorms of tremendous violence, have fallen, the whole scene changes as by magic. The wastes are converted into meadows of living green, gay with a profusion of beautiful flowers and fragrant with a wealth of aromatic grasses and herbs; the trees, too, burst into blossom and perfume the air with their sweet scent. Now is the time when the cattle roam at large on the limitless prairies, and beasts of all kinds descend from their summer haunts in the mountains, bringing life and animation where the silence and solitude of death had reigned before. But when the rainy season is over, the colours quickly fade, and the sun-baked plains soon wear again their former hue of melancholy grey. Only the deep glens which intersect the tablelands then afford coolness and shade, and form the best highroads into the interior. The jaded and thirsty traveller who suddenly descends from the desolation and furnace-like heat of the tableland into one of these ravines, where the river murmurs over a pebbly bed between banks of tall reeds, skirting flowery meadows and verdant groves, may well fancy himself transported into an enchanted land.[1]

The flocks and herds of the Herero.

In their native state the Herero are a purely pastoral people, though round about the mission stations some of them have learned to till the ground. They possess, or used to possess, immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats. These are the pride and joy of their hearts, almost their idols. Their riches are measured by their cattle; he who has none is of no account in the tribe. Men of the highest standing count it an honour to tend the kine; the sons of the most powerful chiefs are obliged to lead for a time the life of simple herdsmen. They subsist chiefly on the milk of their herds, which they commonly drink sour. From a motive of superstition they never wash the milk vessels, believing firmly that if they did so the cows would yield no

[1] Josaphat Hahn, "Das Land der Herero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iii. (1868), pp. 195 *sqq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906). pp. 9 *sqq.*

more milk. Of the flesh they make but little use, for they seldom kill any of their cattle, and never a cow, a calf, or a lamb. Even oxen and wethers are only slaughtered on solemn and festal occasions, such as visits, burials, and the like. Such slaughter is a great event in a village, and young and old flock from far and near to partake of the meat.[1]

The circular huts and villages of the Herero.

Their huts are of a round beehive shape, about ten feet in diameter. The framework consists of stout branches, of which the lower ends are rammed into the ground, while the upper ends are bent together and tied with bark. The intervals between the ribs are stopped with brushwood or long grass, and the whole is coated on the outside with a mixture of cow-dung, blood, and clay. A hole large enough to let a man creep through on all fours serves as a door, and a smaller hole higher up allows the smoke to escape. On the approach of the rainy season the huts are covered with raw hides, which are weighted with great stones to prevent them from being blown away by the wind. A village is composed of a number of these round huts arranged in a circle about the calves' pen as a centre and surrounded by an artificial hedge of thorn-bushes.[2] At night the cattle are driven in through the hedge and take up their quarters in the open space round the calves' pen.[3]

Totemism among the Herero.

A special interest attaches to the Herero because they are the first people we have met with in our survey who undoubtedly combine totemism with a purely pastoral life; hitherto the totemic tribes whom we have encountered have been for the most part either hunters or husbandmen. As

[1] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*[2] (London, 1856), p. 230; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), i. 325; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* iv. (1869) pp. 244-247; C. G. Büttner, *Das Hinterland von Walfischbai und Angra Pequena* (Heidelberg, 1884), pp. 228 *sq.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 158-161; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 32 *sqq.*, 113.

[2] Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*[3] (London, 1890), p. 116; J. Hahn, *op. cit.* iv. (1869) p. 247; H. Schinz, *op. cit.* pp. 155 *sqq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 111 *sq.* Similarly a Zulu village consists of a number of round beehive huts arranged in a circle about the cattle pen as centre, and sometimes surrounded with a palisade to keep out wild beasts (Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 12 *sq.*, with plates 4 and 7). This was, perhaps, the original type of the Bantu village.

[3] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 159.

might have been anticipated, the totemism of the Herero is coloured by the main occupation of their life, the care of the cattle, and it presents besides certain peculiar features. The people are divided into a number of clans arranged on a curious double system, so that every person belongs at once to two different clans, one of which, called an *eanda* (plural *omaanda*), he inherits from his mother, and the other, called an *oruzo* (plural *otuzo*), he inherits from his father. Hence, while the legends which relate the origin of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) refer only to men, the legends which relate the origin of the maternal clans (*omaanda*) relate only to women, each of these maternal clans tracing its descent from a clan-mother. According to some writers the distinction between the two sets of clans is that the maternal clans are social communities and the paternal clans religious communities; but it seems doubtful whether this distinction holds good. Both sets of clans appear to be totemic; at all events, this is suggested not only by their names, but also by the rules and prohibitions, peculiar to itself, which each clan has to observe, especially in regard to diet and costume.[1]

Double system of maternal clans (*omaanda*) and paternal clans (*otuzo*) among the Herero.

There are at present, according to most authorities, eight

[1] My account of the clan system of the Herero has been pieced together from the following sources: C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*,[2] pp. 221 *sq.*, 222 *sq.*; Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*,[3] p. 115; Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) pp. 501 *sq.*; G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," (*South African*) *Folk-lore Journal*, vol. i. part iii. (Cape Town, 1879) pp. 40 note, 48; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsic, 1886), *s.vv.* '*eanda*' and '*oruzo*,' pp. 7, 195 *sq.*; H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Magdeburg, n.d.), pp. 171 *sqq.*; Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 162-165; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 295-298; P. H. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 72 *sq.*; G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda and Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109-117; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 87-93; Eduard Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 11-19. The fullest accounts are those of Brincker, Schinz, Kohler, Viehe (Berlin, 1902), Irle, and Dannert. Andersson and Hahn make no mention of *otuzo*; Bensen, quoted by Prof. Kohler, says nothing of *omaanda*. Some of these writers perhaps confused the two kinds of clans. Being unable to sift their evidence I content myself with reproducing it.

The maternal clans (*omaanda*).

principal maternal clans (*omaanda*, plural of *eanda*), most of them with their subdivisions or septs. According to the latest authority, however, Mr. E. Dannert, there are only six principal *omaanda*. The members of each of these clans have their own traditions and their own special laws as to food and other matters. For example, they are forbidden to eat cattle or sheep of certain sorts, the sorts being determined by the form, colour, shape of the horns, and so on, of the animal.[1] Thus the people of one clan (*eanda*) will perhaps not eat of the flesh of oxen which are marked with black, white, or red spots; those of another refuse to partake of a hornless sheep; those of a third would not touch the meat of draught oxen. Before a Herero accepts meat which is offered to him, he carefully inquires as to the colour of the animal, whether it had horns, and so forth; and should it prove to be of the forbidden kind, he will probably abstain from it, even though he may be dying of hunger. Some carry their scruples so far as to avoid touching vessels in which such meat has been cooked; even the smoke of the fire by which it was prepared is considered injurious.[2] These clans do not live each by itself; on the contrary, men of all clans are found dwelling together in the different tribes. Yet the members of any one clan, though they may reside in different tribes, form among themselves a social community which plays a great part in matters of inheritance; for property, especially property in cattle, must remain in the same maternal clan (*eanda*).[3]

The names of the maternal clans (*omaanda*).

The names of the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are compounded of a prefix *e* (the initial letter of *eanda*), the syllable *kue* (the root of *omukue*, "father-in-law," "son-in-law," "mother-in-law," "daughter-in-law," etc.), and finally a word of various signification, such as *ejuva*, "sun," *ombura*, "rain," and so on. Thus the name of the clan as a whole

[1] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 502; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsic, 1886), *s.v.* '*eanda*,' p. 7.

[2] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, pp. 222 *sq.*

[3] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109 *sq.*, 112; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 89; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 13.

signifies that the members of it are related by marriage to the object after which they are named. Thus *Ekuejuva* is "the clan which is related by marriage to the sun"; *Ekuenombura*, "the clan which is related by marriage to the rain." When we speak of a person or persons of a clan, we substitute the prefix *omu* (singular) or *ova* (plural) for the prefix *e*, thus:—*Omukuejuva*, "a member of the Sun clan"; *Ovakuejuva*, "members of the Sun clan."[1]

List of the principal maternal clans (*omaanda*) of the Herero.

The principal maternal clans (*omaanda*) of the Herero are as follows:—[2]

1. The *Ekuejuva* or Sun (*ejuva*) clan, the name signifying properly "the clan which is related by marriage to the sun."[3] The members of the clan eat no black and white speckled sheep. The clan is divided into four septs, which take their special names from an arrow, scratching, the *omutati* tree, and the pheasant.

2. The *Ekuenombura* or Rain (*ombura*) clan. It is not divided into septs.

3. The *Ekuendjata* clan. Their name is derived by Mr. G. Viehe from *ondata*, "a spring of water." The clan includes two septs called "the Great Heap" and "the Little Heap" respectively.

4. The *Ekuauti* or Shrub (*outi*) clan.

5. The *Ekuatjiti* or Tree (*otjiti*) clan. According to Mr. E. Dannert this is a sept of the preceding clan and takes its name from a strongly aromatic shrub called *okuatjiti*, which the Herero use for rubbing their bodies.

6. The *Ekuahere*, the Marmot or Rock rabbit[4] (*ehere*)

[1] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 112. As to the prefixes *omu* and *ova* see H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, pp. 136 *sq.*

[2] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) pp. 501 *sq.*; J. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 163; G. Viehe, "Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* pp. 111 *sq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 89 *sq.*; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 17 *sq.*

[3] According to Mr. E. Dannert (*Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 17), the name is derived from a word meaning "heap," not "sun." But the weight or at least the majority of the authorities, including that of the lexicographer Dr. H. Brincker, is against him.

[4] Variously described in German as "*eine Art Murmeltier*" and "*Felsenkaninchen.*"

clan. According to Mr. E. Dannert, this is a sept of the following clan.

7. The *Ekuendjandje* or Liberal (*ondjandje*) clan. It includes two or three septs which are called after sunset, darkness, and perhaps the rock rabbit.

8. The *Ekuatjivi* clan. Their name, according to Dr. Brincker, is derived from a word meaning "wicked" or "evil"; according to Mr. E. Dannert, it comes from a word meaning "tree." The clan falls into two divisions, one of which takes its special name from a bush (*omungambu*) and the other from the morning (*omuhuka*).

Other maternal clans (*omaanda*) enumerated by Dr. Brincker in his dictionary of the Herero language are:—

9. The *Ekuahorongo* or Koodoo (*ohorongo*) clan.

10. The *Ekuesembi* or Chameleon (*esembi*) clan. And we hear of another called *Ekuenanjimi*, said to be so named from an ornament of iron wire (*onguanjimi*) which members of the clan wear.[1]

Several of these maternal clans (*omaanda*) derive their names from the same objects after which some of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) are named; for we shall see immediately that among the paternal clans are some which call themselves after the sun, the koodoo, the chameleon, and liberality. It is possible that some writers have confused the maternal clans (*omaanda*) with the paternal clans (*otuzo*); and indeed C. J. Andersson and Josaphat Hahn speak only of *omaanda* without appearing to know of the existence of the *otuzo*. One of the latest and best authorities on the Herero, Mr. Eduard Dannert, definitely affirms that several writers have confounded the two distinct sets of clans.[2] He himself denies that the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are totemic in character, with definite rules as to wearing the hair, keeping various sorts of cattle, and abstaining from various kinds of food. Such customs, according to him, are characteristic of the paternal clans (*otuzo*), not of the maternal clans (*omaanda*).[3] If he is right, the double system of paternal and maternal clans among the Herero

Some writers have perhaps confused the maternal clans (*omaanda*) with the paternal clans (*otuzo*).

[1] C. J. Büttner, in H. Brincker's *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7.

[2] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 16.

[3] E. Dannert, *op. cit.* pp. 13 *sqq.*

is not so complex and confusing as at first sight it appears to be.

Legends told by the Herero to account for the origin of their maternal clans (*omaanda*).

The Herero profess to account for the origin of their maternal clans (*omaanda*) by tales which seem to shed but little light on the subject. Most of these stories turn on two or three sisters who went to the obsequies of their uncle, and of whom the younger was always the more sage and fortunate. For example, the origin of the Sun clan and the Rain clan is set forth in the following anecdote. Once upon a time there were two sisters, whose uncle was dead; and they thought they would go to the funeral. The one said, "It is very hot; let us wait for the rain." But the other had no fear of the heat, and away she went to the funeral. So the one who waited for the rain was called "She who is related by marriage to the rain" (*omukuen-ombura*), and the one who did not fear the noon-day heat was called "She who is related by marriage to the Sun" (*omukuejuva*). That was the origin of the Rain and the Sun clans.[1]

Again, the origin of the Spring of Water clan (*Ekuendjata*) is explained by the following legend. Once upon a time there were some women and they all went on a journey. And it came to pass that they found a spring of water and sat down by it to drink. But the water did not suffice for them all. So some of them said, "Let us go on." But others said, "Let us dig for water to drink." So some went on, and some stopped behind, and those who stopped behind at the spring (*ondjata*, now pronounced *ondata*) were called *Ovakuendjata*. That is the origin of the Spring of Water clan (*Ekuendjata*).[2]

A tale told to account for the origin of the Shrub or Twig clan and the Tree clan runs thus. There were two sisters, an elder and a younger, and they went to the funeral of their uncle. On the way the younger sister found a sweetly smelling shrub called *okakuatjiti* and plucked its fragrant twigs (*outi*); so she was called Omukuauti. Then the elder sister came and plucked the wood or thick branches (*oviti*,

[1] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 113; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 90.

[2] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* pp. 114 *sq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 91.

singular *otjiti*) of the shrub; so she was called Omukatjiti. That is the origin of the Shrub or Twig clan (*Ekuauti*) and of the Tree clan (*Ekuatjiti*).[1]

The paternal clans (*otuzo*) of the Herero.

The paternal clans (*otuzo*, plural of *oruzo*) are much more numerous than the maternal clans (*omaanda*). More than twenty of them have been recorded, but the list is probably incomplete. The etymology of the word *oruzo* and the meaning of most of the names of these paternal clans are alike obscure. These names regularly begin with *oru* or *oro*, which is the genitive prefix of *oruzo*; for example, *Oroesembi* is the Chameleon clan, the name being compounded of *oro* and *esembi*, "chameleon." When we wish to express the members of a clan we prefix *ovo*, the usual sign of the personal plural; for example, *Ovosembi*, "they of the chameleon." Among these paternal clans are the clans of the sun, the chameleon, the koodoo (a species of antelope), rag, liberality, and a girdle or necklace made out of pieces of the shells of ostrich eggs. The members of each clan (*oruzo*) are bound to observe certain customs in regard to food, the wearing of their hair, and so on. Some may not keep hornless cattle; others may not keep oxen with white backs; others keep neither gray cattle nor gray dogs; some are forbidden to eat tongues, others to eat the leg of an ox, others to eat the small stomach of cattle, others to eat gray oxen, others to eat hornless oxen, others to eat draught oxen, others to eat the shins, shoulder-blades, and blood of cattle, others to eat hares, others to eat the steinbock; some may not drink the milk of cows of certain colours or characterised by horns of a certain shape. When animals of a sort which the custom of his clan forbids him to keep are born in a herd, the owner has to give them away or sell them, sometimes for an old song. The members of one clan will not touch clothes, skins, or anything else that has been put off by other people. Members of the Chameleon clan (*Oro-esembi*) take their name from the chameleon (*esembi*), which they regard as sacred: they call the creature "old grandfather"

Each clan (*oruzo*) observes certain rules as to food, the wearing of their hair, and the kinds of cattle and sheep which they may keep.

The Chameleon clan.

[1] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 115 *sq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 92.

and will not kill it. If they find a chameleon, they take it to the sacred hearth (*okuruo*) of the kraal and let it run about there for good luck. They prefer to keep brown and brindled cattle; they keep no grayish sheep and no dun-coloured cattle, nor will they eat the flesh of such animals. Members of the Rag clan (*Oruomakoti*, from *ekoti*, 'rag") throw away the tripe of slaughtered cattle; they keep yellow and dun-coloured kine, but no hornless or earless sheep, nor may they eat the flesh of such animals. Members of the Sun clan may only eat and drink while the sun is visible; they keep hornless cattle, and eat none that is of a bluish tinge. The Koodoo clan (*Orojaharongo*, from *ohorongo*, "koodoo") may not eat the koodoo; but they sacrifice the beast and make magic with it, and the horns of the koodoo decorate their graves: they keep no hornless beasts, no beasts with crumpled horns, and no beasts without ears. The Liberals, as we may call the members of the Liberal clan (*Oruonguendjandje*, from *ondjandje*, "liberal"), sacrifice and make magic with wethers that have a growth behind the ear; they neither keep nor eat gray cattle, and the flesh of tongues is also forbidden to them. Members of the Girdle or Necklace (*ombongora*) clan do not eat the blood of sheep nor flesh from the lower part of the animal's front legs; and women of this clan may not eat a sheep's breast. Each paternal clan (*oruzo*) has its badge or scutcheon, which the male members wear on the nape of the neck. It may be, for example, a boar's tusk or a sea-shell.[1]

The Rag clan.

The Sun clan.

The Koodoo clan.

The Liberal clan.

The Girdle or Necklace clan.

The badges of the clans.

[1] As to the paternal clans (*otuzo*) of the Herero see G. Viehe, in (*South African*) *Folk-lore Journal*, i. (1879) p. 40 note; *id.* "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109-111; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsic, 1886), pp. 195 *sq.*; P. H. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwest-afrikas," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, p. 73; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 164 *sq.*; H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Magdeburg, n.d.), pp. 172 *sq.*; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 295 *sqq.*; *id.*, "Weiteres über das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xix. (1906) pp. 412 *sqq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 87-89; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 11-16. Our two principal authorities on the subject are Messrs. G. Viehe and E. Dannert. Mr. Irle's account agrees closely with that of Mr. G. Viehe and is perhaps dependent on it.

Rules as to marriage in the Herero clans.

We have unfortunately very little information as to the rules which regulate marriage in the Herero clans, both maternal and paternal. From a passing utterance of one of our authorities we gather that the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are exogamous; husband and wife always belong to different *omaanda*.[1] As to the paternal clans (*otuzo*) one of our authorities definitely affirms that exogamy does not exist, and another says that marriage commonly takes place within the clan.[2] Yet we may doubt whether on this point they are not mistaken. From the statement that a wife at marriage passes into her husband's paternal clan (*oruzo*)[3] we may perhaps surmise that the two always belong to different paternal clans, in other words, that the paternal clans (*otuzo*) like the maternal (*omaanda*) are exogamous. Some writers say that at marriage a wife quits her maternal clan (*eanda*) also for the maternal clan of her husband, though her children belong to her original maternal clan (*eanda*), not to his.[4] But the statement perhaps rests on a confusion with the paternal clan (*oruzo*); for it is positively affirmed by good authorities that no person may quit the maternal clan (*eanda*) which he or she has inherited at birth from the mother.[5] Another hint of the exogamy of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) may possibly be elicited from the following utterance: "A young man who wishes to choose a wife for himself has, in most cases, not a very ample field for his choice, as he is bound by many social circumstances and regulations which it would take too much space to explain here." This tantalising statement of a well-informed missionary, the Rev. G. Viehe, is curtly elucidated by his editor with the remark "*eanda* and perhaps *oruzo*."[6]

[1] Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117.

[2] Bensen and Meyer, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 300 *sq.*

[3] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 109; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 87; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 19.

[4] H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7; Meyer, reported by Prof. J. Kohler, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) p. 306; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 19 (on Meyer's authority).

[5] G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* p. 109; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 87.

[6] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero" (*South African*) *Folk-lore Journal*, i. (1879) p. 48. Yet in his own treatise on the Herero clans, to

In the absence of definite information it is impossible to do more than hazard a conjecture as to the origin of this double system of clans. We might suppose that it had arisen through the union of two totemic tribes, one of which had maternal descent of the totem and the other paternal. But, so far as I am aware, there is nothing in the customs of the Herero to confirm this hypothesis, nor do I remember to have met with any instance of such an amalgamation elsewhere. We might also suppose that the twofold system marks an attempt, not fully carried through, to substitute paternal for maternal descent. We have seen that maternal descent appears to have preceded paternal descent among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits.[1] Hence it is not impossible that the Herero are in a state of transition between the two.

Conjectures as to the origin of the double system of clans among the Herero.

Like many other exogamous and totemic peoples, the Herero favour the marriage of cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; while at the same time they forbid and even regard with horror as incest the marriage of cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters. On this subject Mr. Dannert tells us that "marriages between relations are so much preferred that marriages between persons who are not related to each other are a rarity. Again, among relations marriages between cousins are especially preferred, but only between children of a brother and a sister, not between the children of two brothers or of two sisters, because the Herero assert that children of such cousins are weak and die. . . . Indeed such a marriage is not only improper, but is actually regarded as a horror, because the children of two brothers or of two sisters are themselves brothers and sisters according to Herero law, and sexual intercourse between them is viewed as incest and even subjects the culprits to the consequences of the blood-feud."[2] However, Mr. Dannert adds that the custom which directs a man to marry his cousin, the daughter either of his mother's

Cousin marriages among the Herero.

which I have so often referred ("Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero"), Mr. Viehe does not vouchsafe a word as to the restrictions on marriage, with which he seems to be well acquainted.

[1] See above, p. 15.

[2] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 33 *sq.* Compare Bensen, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Rechte der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 300 *sq.*

brother or of his father's sister, is often broken through, but that even then the wife is still looked for among the kinsfolk of her husband.[1]

Group-marriage among the Herero.

The Herero sometimes practise a form of group-marriage, for which the native name is *oupanga*. According to the missionary and lexicographer Dr. Brincker this institution "is a custom of the heathen Herero, consisting in a community of women and property, though the community of property exists only in so far as the *oma-panga* (the members of such a community) may not refuse each other anything. Originally *oupanga* is the right word for 'friendship,' but through the custom of the community of women, which exercises a very corrupting influence on the people, it has acquired a very evil flavour, so that we should be shy of using it in that sense."[2] Elsewhere the same writer tells us that "two men who are each *epanga* to the other bind themselves by mutual presents of cattle and other things to an intimate friendship which makes accessible to every *epanga* the wives of his *epanga*, and on the other hand confers the right to take anything from his herd at pleasure. This evil custom has had as a consequence that the heathen Herero women bear comparatively few children."[3] Again, Mr. Bensen, District Superintendent of Omaruru, informs us that "three men unite together and hold their wives and cattle in common, that is, they use their wives mutually and slaughter their cattle among each other. This they call *oupanga*. The children remain with the father who married the woman who bore the child, even when it can be proved that one of the two other men is its real father."[4]

Mr. E. Dannert's investigation of group-marriage among the Herero.

The subject of these group-marriages has lately been studied with care by Mr. E. Dannert. From him we learn that they are concluded by a verbal agreement without any religious or other formalities, and that they may be dissolved

[1] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 37.

[2] H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 227.

[3] Dr. H. P. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, p. 86.

[4] Bensen, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) p. 298. Compare H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 198 *sq.*

at any time, which commonly happens through a dispute bred by one of the women concerned. But it is remarkable that among these Herero of South-West Africa, just as among the Chukchees of North-Eastern Asia,[1] brothers do not form an *oupanga* or group-marriage; indeed it is strictly forbidden (*ku zera*) for them to do so. More than that, the male partners in a group-marriage should not be related to each other by blood at all. But on the other hand, provided the husbands are no relations to each other, the wives in such a marriage may be sisters. Further, the children of a group-marriage are not considered to be brothers and sisters to each other. Moreover, according to Mr. E. Dannert, the community of wives does not carry with it a community of goods. The partners may not even ask anything directly of each other; if they wish to do so they must send the request through a messenger, who delivers his message in veiled language and roundabout phrases. However, at a festival it is a point of honour with the host to give his connubial partner the choicest morsel of flesh, and to supply him with the best wether as provision for a journey. If the partnership should afterwards be dissolved, each partner must restore or make good to the other what he has received from him during the continuance of the group-marriage.[2]

Brothers are forbidden to join in a group-marriage.

Although brothers may not share their wives in their lifetime, surviving brothers inherit them at the death of their relatives; in other words, the Herero observe the custom of the levirate. In this again their practice resembles that of the Chukchees.[3] Among the Herero it is usually the younger brother who inherits the widow of his deceased elder brother, and the intention of the custom, according to Mr. E. Dannert, is to keep the property in the family. For the same reason it is customary for the heir to marry not only the widow but her growing daughters by her first husband, in order to secure to himself the heiresses and with them the enjoyment of their substance.[4]

The levirate among the Herero.

Lastly, it may be noted that the widespread practice of mutual avoidance between persons related by marriage is

[1] See above, pp. 349, 351.

[2] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 39-42.

[3] See above, p. 351.

[4] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 38 *sq.*

Avoidance between a man and his betrothed wife's parents.

observed by the Herero. As soon as a man is betrothed, he and the parents of his future wife must shun each other's company; till the marriage takes place they may neither see nor speak to one another. The bride also is not allowed to shew her face to the bridegroom. If she does so, or if the man openly goes up to her parents, it is regarded on both sides as equivalent to breaking off the match.[1] And after marriage a man and his wife's mother are said to be *omu-henendu*, that is, strangers or unapproachable to each other. They may not eat together, and what the one has the other may not have.[2]

Maternal clans (*omaanda*) among the Ovambo.

To the north of Hereroland dwell the Ovambo, who unlike their nomadic kinsmen and herdsmen the Herero lead a settled agricultural life.[3] They are said to be divided into maternal clans (*omaanda*) like the Herero, but apparently no details of their social organisation have been published. "The institution of the *omaanda*," says Mr. Schinz, "is found not only among the Ovaherero, but also among all the Ambo tribes, the Uumbangala and probably also among all other Bantu peoples; it is therefore hardly open to doubt that the origin of this grouping is to be traced back to the time when the Bantu peoples, now scattered over the whole of equatorial Africa, formed a single homogeneous tribe."[4] Unfortunately our knowledge of the social organisation of the Bantu tribes is far too imperfect to allow us to affirm that they are all divided into exogamous totemic clans, whether with maternal or paternal descent. Nevertheless the number of Bantu tribes in which totemism and exogamy are known to coexist suffices to render it probable that these institutions either are or have been at one time universal throughout the peoples of the Bantu stock.

[1] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 25.

[2] H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 140, *s.v.* '*omu-henendu*'; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 106.

[3] J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 238. As to the Ovambo see especially H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 271-322.

[4] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 164. Compare Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 501; Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117.

§ 2. *Totemism among the Bechuanas*

The Bechuanas a pastoral and agricultural people.

Another Bantu people who retain the totemic organisation are the numerous and well-known Bechuanas. They form a large nation scattered over an immense area, which stretches from the Orange River on the south to the Zambesi on the north, while it is bounded on the west by the great Kalahari desert, and on the east by the Drakenberg Mountains, which divide the Bechuanas from the Zulus and Swazies.[1] The nation is divided into many tribes, each occupying its own territory, but they all speak the same language with certain minor differences of dialect and cherish substantially the same superstitions and customs. They speak of themselves only by their tribal names and have no one native name for the whole nation, country, or language, though they have adopted the European practice of calling the nation Bechuana and the language Sechuana.[2] The Bechuanas, of whom the Basutos form the eastern branch, are on the whole a peaceable people. The men devote themselves to the chase and to tending the cattle, the women to house-building, the cultivation of the fields, and preparing the food. They raise crops of Caffre corn (*Sorghum caffrum*), maize, sugar-cane, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco. Their huts are circular, but in general do not conform to the common beehive pattern, since they consist of walls built of wattle and clay with conical thatched roofs. However, the huts of the Basutos are of the ordinary beehive shape.[3]

[1] G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (Breslau, 1872), p. 151.

[2] Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 295. Mr. Willoughby calls the people Becwana and their language Secwana. I prefer to adhere to the traditional and well-established spelling of the names. For lists of the Bechuana tribes with their territories, see G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 151 *sqq.*; F. Frédoux, "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IV^me^ Série, xiv. (1857) pp. 372-375.

[3] G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 176 *sq.*, 183, 187 *sq.*; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 500; E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 125 *sqq.*, 153 *sqq.*, 159 *sqq.* As to the share of the sexes in agriculture Casalis writes: "Among the Basutos, the Bapelis, and the Zulus or Matabeles of Natal, agriculture is looked upon in the most honourable light, and more generally pursued, both sexes devoting themselves to it with equal ardour. The other tribes still leave to the women the task of clearing and sowing the fields" (*The Basutos*, p. 159).

LIBRARY OF THE

The Bechuana tribes are named after animals, plants, or other things, which members of the tribe regard as sacred.

The Bechuana tribes are commonly named after animals, plants, or other objects, which the members of each tribe hold sacred, regarding them with a high degree of superstitious reverence and fear. These sacred animals or other objects they call their *seboko* (*siboko*) or *seloko*, which means their "glory," or their *sereto*, or their *seano*. We may call them their tribal totems. The majority of the tribes appear to be named after animals, and in such cases no tribesman dares to eat the flesh or to clothe himself in the skin of the creature whose name he bears. They will not even look upon their sacred animals, if they can help it, for fear of some evil befalling them. If the beast is hurtful, as the lion, it may not be killed without great apologies being made to it and its pardon being asked. Purification is necessary after the commission of such a sacrilege. Each tribe is said to dance (*bina* or *lina*) or sing in honour of its totem; hence when you wish to ascertain to what tribe a man belongs, you ask him, "What do you dance?" The tribesmen swear by their totem, and among all the tribes it is a universal custom to apply the name of the totem animal to the chief as a term of respect. For example, when the Bakwena or Crocodile tribe had assembled in council to meet Sir Charles Warren, the assembly shouted "O crocodile man" at each point of their chief's speech. But "up to the present time," says the latest enquirer, the Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "I have failed to find the slightest trace in philology, customs, or folklore, of any sacrificial rite connected with the totem-animals of these tribes." Nor could Mr. Willoughby discover any evidence that the Bechuanas believe the totem animal to be their ancestor.[1]

[1] T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie de Bonne-Espérance* (Paris, 1842), pp. 349 *sqq.*, 421 *sqq.*; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 13; F. Frédoux (Missionaire à Motito), "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IVme Série, xiv. (1857) pp. 376 *sq.*; E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 211 *sq.*; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), i. 46 *sq.*; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 391 *sq.*; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Sud-Afrika's*, pp. 152-154; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika* (Vienna, 1881), i. 403, 412, 478; C. R. Conder, "The Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) pp. 83 *sq.*; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, lix. (Lyons,

The following is a list of some of the Bechuana tribes with their totems:—[1]

List of Bechuana tribes with their totems.

Ba-kuena, "those of the crocodile."
Ba-tlapi, "those of the fish."
Ba-chueneng, "those of the monkey."
Ba-nare, "those of the buffalo."
Ba-tlou, "those of the elephant."
Ba-taung, "those of the lion."
Ba-tauana, "those of the young lions."
Ba-phiring, "those of the wolf."
Ba-nuku, "those of the porcupine."
Ba-morara, "those of the wild vine."
Bal-letsatsi, "those of the sun."
Ba-kuabi, "those of the wild cat."
Ba-noga, "those of the serpent."
Ba-puti, "those of the duyker or bluebuck" (a kind of antelope, *Cephalolophus mergens*).
Ba-mangwato, totem the duyker or bluebuck.
Ba-hurutsi, "those of the baboon."
Ba-khatli, "those of the ape."
Ba-tlokoa, "those of the ant-eater."
Ba-rolong, totem sometimes said to be iron (*tsipi*) and sometimes the hammer (*noto*).
Ba-tsetse, "those of the tsetse fly."
Ba-mogoma, "those of the garden hoe."
Ba-hurutshe, original totems the eland and hartebeest.
Ba-pedi, totem the mountain-hare.
Ba-pula, "those of the rain."
Ba-pulana, "those of the showers."
Ba-fukeng, "those of the dew, or mist."
Ba-tlaru, "those of the python."
Ba-piri, "those of the hyæna."
Ba-kubuon, "those of the hippopotamus."
Ba-haole, "those of the rhinoceros."
Ba-kuru, "those of the corn-cleaners, or corn-shellers."

1887) p. 98; Father Porte, "Une Mission au Bechuanaland," *Missions Catholiques*, xxvi. (Lyons, 1894) p. 165; *id.* "Les reminiscences d'un Missionaire du Basutoland," *Missions Catholiques*, xxviii. (Lyons, 1896) p. 283; G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (1901) pp. 404 *sq.*; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, edited by George McCall Theal (London, 1905), pp. 408 *sqq.*; Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 295 *sqq.* The Bechuana name for a tribal totem is *seboko* according to Arbousset and Daumas, *siboko* according to Dr. Theal, *seloko* according to Father Porte, and *sereto* or *seano* according to the Rev. W. C. Willoughby. Probably *seboko*, *seloko*, and *sereto* are only different ways of representing the same sounds.

[1] For the authorities, see the writers cited in the preceding note. The chief lists are those of Arbousset and Daumas, Frédoux, Casalis, Fritsche, Stow, and Willoughby.

The Crocodile tribe.

Men of the *Ba-kuena* or Crocodile tribe say that the crocodile is one of themselves, their master, their father, and they make an incision in the ears of their cattle to imitate the mouth of a crocodile. They revere the animal, they sing of it, and they swear by it.[1] Yet if they happen to go near a crocodile, they spit on the ground and indicate its presence by saying *Boleo ki bo*, "There is sin." They imagine that the mere sight of it causes inflammation of the eyes. And if a man of the Crocodile tribe has the misfortune to be bitten by a crocodile or even to have been splashed with water by the reptile's tail, he is banished the tribe. Livingstone met with one of these exiles living in another tribe. The man would not tell him the cause of his exile, lest the explorer should regard him with the same disgust which his fellow-tribesmen felt for him.[2] However, the crocodile is revered by all the Bechuana tribes, whether it is their totem or not. They commonly believe that if a man wounds a crocodile, he will suffer so long as the reptile suffers, and that if it dies he will die also. They will not even look upon the reptile if they can help it, for fear of some evil befalling them.[3]

The Porcupine tribe.

Men of the *Ba-nuku* (*Ba-nokou*) or Porcupine tribe are distressed if any one has hurt a porcupine. If the animal has been killed, they religiously collect its quills, spit on them, and rub their eyebrows with them, saying, "They have killed our brother, our master, one of ourselves, him whom we sing." They would fear to die if they touched its flesh; yet they deem it wholesome for an infant to insert into its joints certain portions of the stomach of a porcupine, mingled with the juices of plants which are believed to possess some occult virtue. The rest of the medicine is given by the mother to her child to drink.[4]

Members of the *Bataung* or Lion tribe are very loth

[1] Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, p. 422; E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.

[2] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 255; C. R. Conder, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 84; Father Porte, "Les reminiscences d'un Missionaire du Basutoland," *Missions Catholiques*, xxviii. (1896) p. 283.

[3] Rev. W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 300; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 46 *sq.*

[4] Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 349 *sq.*

to kill a lion, fearing to lose their sight were they to look at the dead beast. If they do kill a lion, they are careful to rub their eyes with its skin in order to prevent the imaginary danger. They would not eat its flesh, as do the members of other tribes; for how could they eat their grandfather (*mogolu*)? And whereas in other tribes powerful chiefs are wont to flaunt lion-skins on their shoulders as a royal mantle, no man of the Lion tribe would dare to wear a lion's skin.[1] The Lion tribe.

Members of the *Ba-nare* or Buffalo tribe not only will not themselves kill the buffalo or eat its flesh or make use of any part of the animal; they will not even lend their spears to other people to cut its flesh or their needles to sew its hide.[2] The Buffalo tribe.

People who have the hare for their totem bore the ears of their children, both boys and girls, at the age of twelve years. But if a mother has lost several children in infancy, she will be afraid to wait so long and will pierce the new baby's ears before she takes it outside of the house.[3] The Hare tribe.

When the sun rises in a clouded sky, members of the *Ba-letsatsi* or Sun tribe say that he is afflicting their heart. All the food of the previous day is then given to matrons or old women, who alone may touch it or give of it to the young children whom they nurse. The people go down in a body to the river to wash their bodies. Every one throws into the water a stone taken from his hearth, which he replaces by one picked up in the bed of the stream. On returning to the village after this ablution the chief kindles a fire in his hut, and his subjects come and get fire for themselves from his. Then follows a general dance, accompanied by a monotonous chant, on the public place of the village. In this dance he who has lost his father lifts his left hand towards the sky; he who has lost his mother lifts his right hand; and orphans who have lost both their parents, raise neither their right nor their left hand, but cross both on their The Sun tribe.

[1] Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 423 *sq.*

[2] J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 47.

[3] W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 299 *sq.*

breast.[1] The meaning of this ceremony is not quite clear, but perhaps it is intended to disperse the clouds which hide the sun, the fire in the hut of the Sun chief being somehow supposed to renew the fire of his celestial brother.

The Iron tribe and the Garden-hoe tribe.

Members of a tribe which has iron for its totem will not work the metal.[2] Members of the *Ba-mogoma* or Garden-hoe tribe are allowed to employ the hoe in cultivating their gardens, but they would deem it profanation to use it for any other purpose, and it would be a very serious matter were they to strike a dog with it.[3]

The duyker or bluebuck tribe.

An old man of the *Ba-mangwato* tribe, who have the duyker or bluebuck (a kind of antelope) for their totem, told Mr. Willoughby that many years ago, in a time of famine, the tribesmen ate some duykers which they found in their game pits, but that they were careful to protect themselves from harm by rubbing the meat with certain medicines. In those days, if a man of the duyker totem happened to kill a duyker in his game trap, he would slip a noose over its neck at the end of a long stick and drag the beast home to be eaten by people of another totem; but he would not himself eat or even touch it. Another man of the duyker totem told Mr. Willoughby that when his son was a baby they took him to the home of his maternal grandfather, who venerated another totem. The grandmother one cold day thoughtlessly wrapped the child in a duyker skin, and the consequence was that the child's head was covered with sores, which they could not heal till a medicine-man applied the fur of a duyker to them.[4] Thus the totem supplies a homœopathic remedy: it can heal the injury which it inflicts.[5] Though the duyker or bluebuck (*puti*) is the sacred animal of the *Ba-mangwato*, yet to look upon it was a calamity to the hunter or to women going to the gardens. And members of the tribe may not tread on the skin of the animal. A *Ba-mangwato*

[1] Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 350 *sq.*

[2] F. Frédoux, "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IV^me^ Série, xiv. (1857) p. 377.

[3] W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 299.

[4] W. C. Willoughby, *op. cit.* p. 298.

[5] Compare above, vol. i. p. 22.

chief has been seen performing most undignified antics, springing from side to side in order to avoid treading on the skin of a duyker in a missionary's house.[1]

Some of the Bechuana tribes have a subsidiary totem in addition to their principal totem. Thus the *Ba-hurutshe*, who appear to be a stock embracing several tribes, had originally two totems, the eland and the hartebeest. They would not touch the hartebeest, but the only part of the eland which they held sacred was the *leshilo*, which they described as the fat around the heart, and one section of the tribe, while retaining the old totems, thought it right to eat even this. They distinguished between the two totems by saying, *Pino ke kyama sereto ke phofhu*, that is, "The dance is to the hartebeest; the veneration is for the eland." A small section of the tribe, called the *Bomakgane* section, venerate the wild boar as a subsidiary totem, without neglecting the old tribal totems, the eland and the hartebeest. They say that once, when their chief was childless, a medicine-man whose totem was the wild boar gave the chief some medicine, assuring him that a son would be born to him and ordering that the son and all his descendants should venerate the wild boar. Hence the section of the tribe adopted the wild boar as a subsidiary totem.[2] Another section of the same *Ba-hurutshe* tribe has abandoned its old totems the eland and the hartebeest and has adopted the baboon instead. They say that a chief of the tribe once captured a young baboon and tamed it, but his son, in playing with the animal, allowed it to escape. The father was angry and beat his son, who retaliated by seceding with a section of the tribe; and the seceders adopted the baboon as their totem.[3] According to Mr. Willoughby, the *Ba-kuena* or Crocodile tribe is also an offshoot of the *Ba-hurutshe*, and have in their turn given rise to the *Ba-mangwato* tribe, whose totem is the duyker or bluebuck. To explain why they venerate the duyker, the *Ba-mangwato* say that their original ancestor, hard pressed by his foes, took refuge in a thicket, and that

Subsidiary totems among the Bechuanas.

The wild boar totem.

The baboon totem.

The duyker or bluebuck totem.

[1] J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 391 *sq.*

[2] W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 299, 301.

[3] W. C. Willoughby, *op. cit.* pp. 299, 300 *sq.*

a duyker saved him by springing from the thicket and so diverting the attention of his enemies.[1] The *Ba-tlaru* or Python tribe is sometimes called the *Ba-mothlo-a-re*, "the men of the Wild Olive," because their great ancestor Mo-tlaru ("he of the python") and his followers erected their huts under spreading olive trees.[2] These facts point to the conclusion that subsidiary totems sometimes arise through the subdivision of a tribe; a new community so formed may either adopt an entirely new totem or, retaining its old one, may add a subsidiary totem to distinguish it from other branches of the same totemic stock.

The subsidiary totems seem to have arisen through subdivision of a tribe.

The Bechuanas all hate the chameleon and the lizard, because they associate them with the origin of death.

While each Bechuana tribe as a rule reveres one or more species of animal, all of them are at one in regarding two harmless reptiles, the chameleon and the lizard, with a violent antipathy, because in their opinion these creatures brought death into the world and all our woe. The way in which they did so was this. In the beginning God made up his mind that when men died they should come to life again, and he sent the chameleon to convey the glad tidings to the first Bechuanas. But while the reptile was crawling to deliver its message, God changed his mind and sent the lizard post haste after the chameleon to say that now he had thought better of it men were to die outright and be done with it. The bearer of this gloomy intelligence out-

[1] W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 295, 299, 300. As to the relation of the Ba-hurutshe, the Ba-kuena, and the Ba-mangwato, see also J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 356 *sq.*: "The precedence as to rank among the tribes in North Bechuana-land is taken by the Bahurutse. The first-fruits of a new harvest must be first partaken of by Moilwe, the present chief of that tribe. For another chief to *loma*, without waiting to hear that his superior had done so, would be a public insult and a cause for war. But in recent times such transgressions have been numerous, for the Bahurutse are not now a powerful tribe. The Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, and the Bamangwato were originally one people. Tradition retains a glimmering of the circumstances of their separation. The Bakwena included the Bamangwato when they separated from the Bangwaketse; but afterwards a subdivision took place, the Bamangwato being the younger or minor party. We have already seen that afterwards the Bamangwato again divided, the minor party being now the Batowana, at present residing at Lake Ngami." This successive subdivision of the tribes, with the consequent rise of new totems, is instructive. On the history of the Bahurutshe, Bakuena, and Bamangwato tribes, see G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 518 *sqq.*

[2] G. W. Stow, *The Native Tribes of South Africa*, p. 528.

stripped the laggard chameleon; so that when the gospel messenger at last came panting in with tidings of a joyful resurrection, nobody would believe him, and both reptiles were knocked on the head out of hand, the lizard for coming in first with bad news and the chameleon for coming in second with good. That is why all the Bechuanas hate both these reptiles to this very day.[1]

The Bawenda and their animal gods or totems.

The Bawenda are a Bantu people who inhabit the rugged but fertile mountain country between the Levuvu and Limpopo rivers in the northern part of the Transvaal. They keep cattle and practise agriculture, raising crops of sweet potatoes and maize; in the old days they smelted iron and fashioned the metal into all the tools and weapons they needed. To secure them against attack their villages are hidden away in thick underwood or perched in places difficult of access on the steep sides of the mountains. Narrow slippery footpaths lead with many turns and windings up hill and down dale, through high grass and dense brushwood, to a collection of round huts with thatched roofs encircled by rich vegetation and shaded by tall trees, among the boughs of which a noisy troop of monkeys may be jabbering and disporting themselves.[2] Each district has its special god, and the gods of some districts are animals. For example, one district reveres a large snake, and another the mountain-monkey. Where the mountain-monkeys are the gods, they are not molested and so become very tame, often indeed coming down from their mountains and paying visits to people in the village.[3] These district deities in animal shape are probably totems.

The Makalakas and their totems.

The Makalakas inhabit a high, healthy and fruitful region, which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. They are reported to be the most skilful cultivators of the soil in the whole of Bechuana-land.[4] From the following account it would seem that they share the totemic system of the Bechuanas: "The Makalakas have the same prejudices with regard to the

[1] J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 47. Compare E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 242.

[2] R. Wessmann, *The Bawenda of the Spelonken* (London, 1908), pp. 9 *sq.*, 11 *sq.*, 14 *sq.*, 21-23, 28 *sq.*, 73.

[3] R. Wessmann, *op. cit.* p. 81.

[4] J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 149, 298.

flesh of certain animals that other tribes have. One man starved himself for a whole day because it was his *motupo*, as they call it, not to eat the water-buck; another, because he worshipped sheep, and could not eat the flesh. The Makalakas generally *biena* (a superstitious reverence) the *ewhobo* (meerkat). The Mashapatani *biena* the *shoko* or baboon; others worship the crocodile, and other animals and reptiles, which they will not defile themselves by touching."[1]

Thus the Bechuana tribes are totemic, but it does not appear that they are exogamous.

The foregoing evidence suffices to prove that the Bechuana tribes are totemic; for the *seboka* of each tribe is clearly its totem. Whether the tribes are also exogamous is not stated by the authorities I have consulted. From their silence it is natural to infer that the tribes do not observe the rule of exogamy, in other words, that a man is free to marry a woman of his own tribe. Such an inference, however, is at the best precarious, and it becomes doubly precarious when we consider how many other branches of the Bantu stock combine totemism with exogamy. Yet if the Bechuana tribes are, as they appear to be, communities each inhabiting its own territory to the exclusion of other tribes, it is probable enough that the rule of exogamy does not apply to them; since the exogamous system generally rests on a basis of septs or clans interfused with each other in the same territory, rather than on tribes which occupy each a country of its own. However, in the absence of positive evidence the question of the exogamy of the Bechuana tribes must remain in suspense.

Bechuana regard for consanguinity.

With regard to the marriage of near kin, we are told that "the Bechuanas and the Caffres acknowledge and respect the same degrees of consanguinity as we do. They do not reckon relationship beyond the degree of second cousin. Marriages between brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, are disapproved of. Those between cousins frequently take place, but there are some tribes that condemn them as incestuous."[2] The writer unfortunately does not discriminate between the different cousins who may or may not marry each other. If we may

Cousin marriages.

[1] J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), ii. 284.

[2] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 191.

judge by analogy, it is probable that the children of a brother and a sister are allowed, while the children of two brothers or two sisters are forbidden, to marry each other.

Children probably belong to the tribe of their father.

On the question whether, if the parents are of different tribes, the children belong to the tribe of the father or to that of the mother, our authorities are again silent; but from their silence we may in this case infer with more confidence that the children belong to the tribe of the father and not to that of the mother. For in the descent of property the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed by the Bechuanas; a man's heir is his eldest son, who inherits everything and gives to his brothers and sisters only what he chooses to leave to them. Women inherit nothing. Even in his father's lifetime the eldest son enjoys many advantages. He bears the title of "son-lord," while his younger brothers are called "son-servants," and his father dares to do nothing of any importance without consulting him and asking his consent.[1] All this is patriarchal; yet a possible trace of mother-kin survives in the rights which in some Bechuana tribes the maternal uncle has over his nephews and nieces. Thus among the Basutos the maternal uncle is understood to replace the mother, whose sex keeps her in a state of dependence. This is a counterbalance to the authority of the father and of the eldest son, especially in polygamous families, where rivalry is generally keen. It is the special duty of the maternal uncle to protect his sister's child and to purify it by means of sacrifices. When the rite of circumcision is performed, he presents his nephew with a javelin and a heifer; and he also defrays in part the expenses of the young man's marriage. In return he is entitled to a share of the spoil taken by his nephews in war, of the game they kill, and of the cattle that come into the family at the marriage settlement of his nieces. It often happens that the maternal uncle fills the office of prime minister and regent at the chief's court.[2]

Trace of mother-kin in the rights and duties of a man with regard to his sister's children.

Wives are bought from their parents with a price which varies according to the tribe from five to twenty-five or thirty head of cattle.[3] The death of her husband does not

Wives obtained by purchase.

[1] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, pp. 179, 187, 190.

[2] E. Casalis, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 180 *sq.*

[3] E. Casalis, *op. cit.* pp. 181 *sq.*

The levirate.

release the widow from the rights which his family have acquired over her by purchase. She falls by law to one of his brothers or to the next of kin. The children of this second union bear the name of her first husband and are understood to belong to him, and to inherit his possessions; they have very small claim to the succession of their real father. But the obligation on the widow to remain in the family even although she has already borne children to the deceased seems to shew that the purchase of which she was the object is the chief obstacle to her liberation.[1] Here as elsewhere the brother of the deceased inherits the widow, not in virtue of a former system of polyandry, but because she has been bought and paid for by her husband's family and passes to his heir with the rest of the inheritance.

§ 3. *Totemism among the Ama-Xosa and Ama-Zulu*

Little evidence of totemism in the eastern branch of the Bantu family in South Africa, the Ama-Xosa and the Ama-Zulu.

While the evidence for totemism, if not for exogamy, is ample among the western and the central branches of the Bantu family in South Africa, namely, the Herero and the Bechuanas, it is very scanty for the eastern branch of the family, the Ama-Xosa and Ama-Zulu, who inhabit the south-eastern coasts of Africa from Cape Colony to Delagoa Bay.[2] Indeed so meagre is the evidence that we may even doubt whether these Eastern Bantus have totemism at all. However, the following passages at least suggest that the Zulus, like many other branches of the Bantu stock, are or have at one time been divided into totemic clans. The Englishman Farewell, who resided for some time among the Zulus in the early part of the nineteenth century, is the authority for the statement that among them "it is prohibited in many families to eat certain animals' flesh, such as in some beef, in others elephant's, in others hippo-

[1] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 190.

[2] The Ama-Xosa occupy the southern part of this territory as far north as the Bashee River. Beyond that river northward extend the tribes who may be grouped together under the general name of Ama-Zulu. Properly speaking the Zulus were a comparatively unimportant tribe till the despot Chaka, in the early part of the nineteenth century, raised them to a position of power and made them the terror of all the tribes from the Am-Xosa to Delagoa Bay. See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857), pp. iii. *sq.*; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 6 *sqq.*, 119 *sqq.*

potamus'. It is said, that provided any family transgress this rule, and eat the forbidden flesh, their teeth will drop out, which is termed *motupo*. The forbidden flesh to all the royal family is the hearts of animals. All children must follow the *motupo* of their father, which causes much difference in families."[1] Here it should be observed that the Zulu word *motupo*, which expresses the family prohibition, is identical with the Makalaka word which designates the totemic taboo.[2] Further, the Scotchman David Leslie, who lived among the Zulus later on in the nineteenth century, tells us that "the whole Zulu nation, as at present constituted, is broken up into little tribes, the remnants of those conquered by Chaka. Each tribe has its *Esebongo* or name of thanks; for instance, one tribe is called Emtetwa, or scolders; another Niaow, or foot; another Zungu, or weariness; and when a chief makes a present of anything to one of his people, they will say, 'Yes, father; yes, Zungu'; or 'Yes, Emtetwa,' as the case may be. Each of these tribes has its peculiar habits and customs; for instance, one, Mat-e-enja (dog's spittle) will not eat goat-flesh, because they always leave a goat on the grave of their dead. When any one dies they bury him, and over his grave they spread out his mat, blankets, etc., and on the latter they place a goat, then go away and leave it. They say the goat never deserts the spot, but grazes about, and on the fourth day dies. If they eat any part of a goat unawares, they are seized with epilepsy and die. Even the young children in the kraal, who are too young to know anything of this, when a piece of goat-flesh is given to them, will not eat it, but carry it in their hands for a little, and then throw it away; and, be it remembered, that meat is their greatest dainty."[3] Again, with regard particularly to the Ama-Xosa we read that "the superstitious prejudices against eating certain foods are most widely spread, yet these also will be observed by one tribe, while another will disregard them, without it being possible to discover any

The *motupo* or totemic taboo.

One Zulu tribe will not eat goat's flesh.

Superstitious prejudices against certain foods among the Ama-Xosa.

[1] Captain W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London, 1833), ii. p. 396.

[2] See above, p. 378.

[3] David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Second Edition (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 146.

Abhorrence of fish.

reason for the different practice. As a general rule it may be assumed that all the Bantu peoples of South Africa abhor the use of fish as food; they call fish 'water-serpents' and are careful not even to touch them. Many also reject pork as an article of diet, though this abstinence is neither so universal nor so fanatic as the rejection of fish; further, the particular tribes display peculiar prejudices in regard to many other animals, whether in refusing to eat or even to kill them."[1]

Rule of exogamy among the Zulus and other Eastern Bantus: no man may marry a woman who bears the same family name as himself.

Further, the Zulus and other Eastern Bantus observe a rule of exogamy, for no man may marry a woman who bears the same family name (*isibongo*) as himself, even though no blood relationship can be traced between them.[2] For example, Amanywabe is a family name among the Zulus, the Pondos, the Tembus and many other tribes. The people who bear this family name in the different tribes cannot trace any relationship with each other, yet no marriage between them is permitted. Moreover, they have ceremonies peculiar to themselves. Thus, for example, the customs observed at the birth of a child are exactly the same in every part of the country among people of the same family title, though they may never have heard of each other, while neighbours of the same clan, but of different family titles, practise customs altogether dissimilar. In addition to the exogamy of the family name it is a rule with the Eastern Bantus that no man may marry a woman related to him by blood on the father's side, however remote the relationship may be. Some tribes, as the Pondos, Tembus, and Xosas, extend the same prohibition to all women related by blood on the mother's side also. Children take the family title of their father, and are thus free to marry persons of the same family title as their mother, provided that no blood relationship can be traced between them.[3]

[1] G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 106.

[2] F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika* (Hermannsburg, 1876), pp. 134; G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (1901) pp. 430 *sq.* The family or praise name, *isibongo* or *isibonga*, is to be distinguished from the *i-gama* or individual name bestowed on a person soon after birth. The latter (the *i-gama*) is the more sacred of the two. See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 219-222.

[3] G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 430 *sq.* Compare J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of*

Similarly, among the Matabele, who are an offshoot of the Zulus, persons who have the same family name may not marry each other; but this relationship is reckoned only in the male line.[1]

Difference of custom in regard to the marriage of cousins between the tribes of the coast and the tribes of the interior.

"Every man of a coast tribe regarded himself as the protector of those females whom we call his cousins, second cousins, third cousins, and so forth, on the father's side; while some had a similar feeling towards the same relatives on the mother's side as well, and classified them all as sisters. Immorality with one of them would have been considered incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. Of old it was punished by the death of the male, and even now a heavy fine is inflicted upon him, while the guilt of the female must be atoned by a sacrifice performed with due ceremony by the tribal priest, or it is believed a curse will rest upon her and her issue. . . . In contrast to this prohibition the native of the interior almost as a rule married the daughter of his father's brother, in order, as he said, to keep property from being lost to his family. This custom more than anything else created a disgust and contempt for them by the people of the coast, who term such intermarriages the union of dogs, and attribute to them the insanity and idiocy which in recent times has become prevalent among the inland tribes."[2] Speaking of unions which the Bantu regard as incestuous, another writer observers that they "are not punishable by

Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 45 *sq.*; F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika*, pp. 134 *sq.*

[1] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 158. As to the descent of the Matabele from the Zulus, see L. Decle, *op. cit.* pp. 150 *sqq.*

[2] G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 431, 432. In a note Dr. Theal tells us that among the Hlubis and others, commonly called Fingos, a man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother and other relatives on that side, but not on his father's side. The expression, a cousin "on the father's side," is ambiguous, because it includes the children of a father's sister as well as the children of a father's brother, and these two sets of cousins in the estimation of many peoples stand on quite a different footing from each other. By cousins on the father's side Dr. McCall Theal seems to mean the children of a father's brother. The expression, a cousin "on the mother's side," which Dr. McCall Theal employs, is equally ambiguous, because it includes the children of a mother's brother as well as of a mother's sister, and these two sets of cousins in the estimation of many peoples stand on quite a different footing. By cousins on the mother's side Dr. McCall Theal perhaps means especially the children of a mother's sister.

Dread of consanguineous marriages.

Kafir law; but they have a far more powerful preventative in their superstitious fears, which teach them to dread that some supernatural evil will befall the parties committing such acts; they lose caste, as it were, and are considered in the light of sorcerers: hence such crimes are seldom committed. Consanguineous marriages are prohibited by custom rather than by law; and if the parties are not too nearly related, and resolutely persist in their determination to marry, and if the man is prepared to pay pretty dearly for his wife, they generally succeed in gaining their point. Such cases are, however, very unfrequent. Relationship by *affinity* merely, and not by *blood*, presents no obstacle to marriage, and a man may even marry two sisters at the same time."[1] Indeed such marriages with two sisters at the same time are common among the Zulus[2] as they are among many other peoples. "Incestuous marriages," says another writer, "are dissolved, and a heavy penalty inflicted on the man. Any relationship which may be traced to whatever distance is considered as coming within the bounds of consanguinity; and intercourse is punished, whether it be by marriage, or by carnal connection without marriage. To marry two sisters is not considered incestuous; but to marry the descendants of a man's ancestors is considered incest."[3]

Marriage with two sisters simultaneously.

The levirate.

The Zulus, Swazies, and Pondos practise the custom of the levirate; that is, the widow is married by the brother of her deceased husband, and the children she has by him are reckoned not to their real father but to his dead brother. Among the Fingoes it is the younger brother who weds his elder brother's widow. The custom of the levirate is not observed by the Tembus and Gaikas.[4]

[1] Mr. Warner's notes, in Col. Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), pp. 60 *sq.*

[2] F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika* (Hermannsburg, 1876), p. 135. Compare J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 46.

[3] Mr. Brownlee's notes, in Col. Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 112; compare *ibid.* p. 159.

[4] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 46, 86; Col. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), p. 159; Rev. J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 272; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 226 *sq.*

Among the Eastern Bantu the same ceremonial avoidance of relations by marriage, and especially of a mother-in-law, is practised which we have already met with among many other exogamous and totemic peoples. Custom requires that a man should "be ashamed of" his wife's mother, that is to say, he must studiously shun her society. He may not enter the same hut with her, and if by chance they meet on a path, one or other turns aside, she perhaps hiding behind a bush, while he screens his face with a shield. If they cannot thus avoid each other, and the mother-in-law has nothing else to cover herself with, she will tie a wisp of grass round her head as a token of ceremonial avoidance. All correspondence between the two has to be carried on either through a third party or by shouting to each other at a distance with some barrier, such as the kraal fence, interposed between them. They may not even pronounce each other's proper name (*i-gama*).[1] Similarly, a woman is cut off from all social intercourse with her husband's father and all his male relations in the ascending line. She may not enjoy their company nor be in the same hut with them; she is supposed not even to look at them. Further, she is debarred from pronouncing their names even mentally. Nay, more than that, she may not pronounce the emphatic syllable of their names even when it occurs in other words; in such cases she is bound either to substitute a different syllable or to employ an entirely different word. Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women. The tabooed syllable is the one which immediately follows the prefix of the proper name.[2]

Rules of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and between a woman and her husband's father.

[1] L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1810), p. 136; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 46; David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Second Edition (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 141, 172; Mr. Warner's notes, in Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 93; Rev. J. Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) p. 273; *id.*, *Light in Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 163 *sq.*

[2] Mr. Warner's notes, in Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws ana Customs*, p. 92. Compare Rev. J. Macdonald, *ll.cc.*; David Leslie, *op. cit.* pp. 141 *sq.*, 172 *sq.*; L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika*, p. 136. The ceremonial avoidance of the names of relations is called *klonipa*. It applies to the personal name (*i-gama*), but not to the family or praise name (*isibongo* or *isibonga*). See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 221 *sq.*; and for more details *The Golden Bough*,[2] i. 413 *sq.*

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ama-Zulus.

The Ama-Zulus possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *u-ma-ma*, "my mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. He applies the same term *u-ba-ba*, "my father," to his father, to the husbands of his mother's sisters, and, curiously enough, to his father's sisters. A man calls his first cousin, the son of his father's brother, *unfo natu*, "my (own) brother." He calls his brother's wife his wife, and she calls her husband's brothers her husbands. But the form of the system seems to present many anomalies or deviations from the primitive pattern.[1]

The classificatory system of relationship among the Barongo of Delagoa Bay.

Another Bantu people of South Africa who possess the classificatory system of relationship are the Barongo of Delagoa Bay. Their customs and beliefs have been recorded with praiseworthy diligence by the Swiss missionary Mr. H. A. Junod.[2] From his account it does not appear that the Barongo now practise either totemism or exogamy, but their classificatory system of relationship raises a presumption that at one time or other they must have been divided into exogamous classes. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *tatana*, "father," to his father, to his father's brothers, to the husbands of his mother's sisters, and to the brothers of the husbands of his mother's sisters. Further—and this is one of the peculiarities of the Barongo system—a man applies the term *tatana*, "father," to certain of his first cousins, namely, to the sons of his father's sisters. Hence it often happens that a Barongo "father" is younger than his own son. Yet the Barongo are not so mad as to think that the father begat his son before he (the father) was born; they merely use the term "father" in a sense which does not at all imply the physical act of procreation; and unless we in like manner can rid our minds of that implication, it is in vain for us to wrestle with the complexities of the classificatory system. Again, in the generation above his own a man

[1] See L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 463 *sqq.*, with the Tables, pp. 523 *sqq.* (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii., Washington, 1871).

[2] Henri A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga, Étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa* (Neuchatel, 1898).

applies the same term *mamana*, "mother," to his mother, to all his father's other wives (for the Barcngo, like other Bantu peoples, are polygamous), and to his mother's sisters. But while he calls his father's brother his father, and his mother's sister his mother, he by no means regards his mother's brother as his father nor his mother's brother's wife as his mother. Far from it, the relation in which he stands to his mother's brother (*maloumé*) is a very free and easy one, reminding us of the high and mighty manner in which in Fiji a sister's son (*vasu*) comports himself towards his unfortunate maternal uncle. In fact, he may do what he likes to his mother's brother, who on his side stands in terror of his nephew, being bound to humour him in all his whims and caprices. Nor is this all. The relation in which the nephew (*moupsyana*) stands to his uncle's wife is, if possible, still more free and easy. He calls her his wife (*nsati*), and she calls him her husband (*nouna*), and the two are at liberty to act accordingly. When the nephew honours his maternal uncle with a visit, he regularly repairs to the hut of that one of his uncle's wives who most takes his fancy, and there deposits a mat in the hut. The reason, according to Mr. Junod, why the nephew is free to treat his maternal uncle's wives so cavalierly is simply that when the uncle dies, he (the nephew) steps into the dead man's shoes by marrying the widows in a batch; so that he only anticipates his rights by the familiarities which he takes with them in his uncle's lifetime.

Privileges of a man in respect of his maternal uncle and his maternal uncle's wife.

In his own generation a man applies the term *bamakwabo* (plural of *makwabo*), "brothers and sisters," to his brothers and sisters and also to all his cousins german even to the fifth and sixth generation. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *nouana*, "son" or "daughter," to his sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. And similarly in the generation below her own a woman applies the same term *nouana*, "son" or "daughter," to her sons and daughters and to her nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of her sisters. Further, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, grand-uncles and grand-aunts are called grandfathers and grandmothers (*kokouana*), and grand-

Cousins confounded with brothers and sisters; nephews and nieces confounded with sons and daughters.

nephews and grand-nieces are called grandsons and granddaughters (*ntoukoulou*).[1]

Marriage of cousins forbidden.

The marriage of cousins, even in the fourth, sixth, eighth and tenth degrees, is prohibited among the Barongo; indeed two persons are forbidden to marry each other if it can be shewn that they have a single common ancestor, however remote. The prohibition is particularly stringent when the relationship is traced through males; it is sometimes relaxed after four generations when the relationship is traced through women. In such cases the husband has to pay a sum in addition to the customary bride-price for the purpose, as they say, of "killing the scruples" (*dlaya chilongo*), after which the tie of consanguinity is supposed to be severed. Yet the rule which thus bars the marriage of cousins among common people is totally disregarded in the marriage of chiefs.[2]

Rules of avoidance between relations by marriage among the Barongo.

Amongst the Barongo we find the custom of ceremonial avoidance observed between persons who are related by marriage. Such persons are called *bakonouana* to each other, and they cannot even pronounce the word without a feeling of discomfort, almost of fear. Yet curiously enough among them the woman whom a man is bound to shun most strictly is not his wife's mother but his sister-in-law, the wife of his wife's brother. If a man meets the wife of his wife's brother on a path, he must at once make way for her. He dare not eat out of the same dish with her. He speaks to her with embarrassment, and if he approaches her hut, he will not enter but will crouch at the door, and greet his formidable sister-in-law in a trembling voice.[3]

§ 4. *A Theory of Bantu Totemism*

According to Dr. Theal the reverence of the Bantus for

Before leaving this part of our subject, it is proper to call attention to an explanation which has been given of Bantu totemism by Dr. Theal, the eminent historian of South Africa. According to him the reverence of the

[1] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga, Étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa* (Neuchatel, 1898), pp. 72-83.

[2] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, pp. 84-86.

[3] H. A. Junod, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 79-81.

Bantus for their totemic animals rests on a belief that the souls of their dead are lodged in the creatures; in other words, totemism with them is only one form of the worship of ancestors. He says: "The Bantu believed that the spirits of the dead visited their friends and descendants in the form of animals. Each tribe regarded some particular animal as the one selected by the ghosts of its kindred, and therefore looked upon it as sacred. The lion was thus held in veneration by one tribe, the crocodile by another, the python by a third, the bluebuck by a fourth, and so on. When a division of a tribe took place, each section retained the same ancestral animal, and thus a simple method is afforded of ascertaining the wide dispersion of various communities of former times. For instance, at the present day a species of snake is held by people as far south as the mouth of the Fish river and by others near the Zambesi to be the form in which their dead appear. This belief caused even such destructive animals as the lion and the crocodile to be protected from harm in certain parts of the country. It was not indeed believed that every lion or every crocodile was a disguised spirit, but then any one might be, and so none were molested unless under peculiar circumstances, when it was clearly apparent that the animal was an aggressor and therefore not related to the tribe. Even then, if it could be driven away it was not killed. A Xosa of the present time will leave his hut if an ancestral snake enters it, permitting the reptile to keep possession, and will shudder at the thought of any one hurting it. The animal thus respected by one tribe was, however, disregarded and killed without scruple by all others. The great majority of the people of the interior have now lost the ancient belief, but they still hold in veneration the animal that their ancestors regarded as a possible embodied spirit. Most of them take their tribal titles from it, thus the Bakwena are the crocodiles, the Bataung the lions, the Baphuti the little blue antelopes. Each terms the animal whose name it bears its *siboko*, and not only will not kill it or eat its flesh, but will not touch its skin or come in contact with it in any way if that can be avoided."[1]

their sacred or totemic animals rests on a belief that the souls of their dead transmigrate into these creatures.

[1] G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 404 *sq.*

It is true that the Zulus and other Caffre tribes believe the dead to be reincarnated in serpents, but this is not in itself a proof of totemism.

On this it is to be observed that while it is true the Zulus and other Caffre tribes believe the dead to be reincarnated in serpents,[1] there is no evidence that the revered serpents are their totems. The belief in the transmigration of human souls at death into the bodies of snakes is too widespread to be accepted as of itself a proof of totemism. And Dr. Theal admits that the Bantus of the interior, by whom he appears to mean the Bechuanas, have lost the belief that their dead ancestors are in their totemic animals. But what evidence is there that they ever had such a belief? I do not remember to have met with any. The title of "father" or "grandfather" or "brother" bestowed on a totemic animal is not a proof that the soul of a dead kinsman is believed to be in the beast, since such titles are bestowed on totemic animals by people who entertain no such belief.[2] On the whole, then, Dr. Theal's explanation of Bantu totemism, though he does not use the term, appears to be an inference of his own from the facts rather than to rest on definite statements of the Bantu themselves. The inference is, indeed, a perfectly legitimate one, but it is not conclusive so long as it lacks positive native testimony.

Other Bantu tribes believe that the souls of the dead transmigrate into lions, hippopotamuses, and other kinds of animals.

At the same time in favour of Dr. Theal's view it deserves to be remembered that some Bantu peoples believe in the transmigration of their dead into other animals than serpents. Thus the Banyai on the lower Zambesi think that the souls of their dead chiefs enter into lions and hyænas, and therefore they never kill these creatures, so that the country swarms with them. When they meet a lion or hyæna, they salute it in their customary fashion by clapping their hands.[3] Similarly, the Makanga in the angle between the Shire and Zambesi rivers refrain from killing lions, because they believe that the spirits of deceased chiefs are lodged in them.[4] The Barotse, a people akin to the Zulus[5] in the upper valley of the Zambesi, imagine that the souls

[1] See especially Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, part ii. pp. 140-144, 196-200, 208-212; and for more evidence of this belief in Africa and elsewhere, see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 73 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 423, 448 *sq.*, 456 *sq.*, 490, 495 *sq.*, 528.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 615.

[4] A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1906), p. 64.

[5] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 466.

of chiefs transmigrate into hippopotamuses.[1] Some tribes on the upper Zambesi suppose that every man transmigrates at death into an animal, and that he can choose in his lifetime the particular creature into which his soul shall pass when it has shuffled off the human frame. In order to partake of the animal's nature he swallows maggots bred in its putrid carcase and imitates the voice and movements of the living brute, whether it be a lion, a panther, a jackal, a crocodile, a hippopotamus, a boa-constrictor, or what not.[2]

Theory that the souls of the dead transmigrate into the animals which they resembled in their life.

Of certain Caffres, apparently also on the upper Zambesi, we are told that they judge of the sort of animal into which a man will transmigrate at death by the likeness which he bore to it in his life. Thus the soul of a big burly man with prominent teeth will pass into an elephant; a strong man with a big head and a long beard will be a lion; an ugly fellow with thick lips and a large mouth will be a hyæna; a long lanky man with bright eyes will be a *nhiaco*, serpent. All these animals accordingly they deem sacred and inviolable.[3] Another tribe of Caffres at the foot of Mount Caroeira, in the upper valley of the Zambesi, think that the souls of the departed come back in the guinea-fowl that perch on the thick-foliaged trees under whose shadow their kinsfolk lie buried.[4]

Some tribes of the Congo think that people can choose the animals into which their souls will transmigrate at death.

The Ababua in the upper valley of the Congo fancy that after death their spirits will dwell in the bodies of leopards or gorillas or hippopotamuses; every man chooses one or other of these beasts for his future abode, and the creature of his choice he henceforth deems sacred and will not eat its flesh.[5] Some of the Congo peoples who hold this faith conform to the habits of their chosen animal in their lifetime; and when the chosen animal is a leopard or a crocodile, the practices of the leopard-men or the crocodile-men are horrible. Many tribes in the northern parts of the Congo basin hold that the souls of great chiefs always transmigrate into the bodies of

[1] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 74.

[2] A. Bertrand, *The Kingdom of the Barotsi, Upper Zambezia* (London, 1899), p. 277, quoting the account of the French missionary M. Coillard.

[3] Father Courtois, "Scenes de la vie Cafre," *Missions Catholiques*, xv. (Lyons, 1883) p. 593.

[4] Father Courtois, "A travers le haut Zambèze," *Missions Catholiques*, xvi. (Lyons, 1884) p. 299.

[5] Joseph Halkin, *Quelques peuplades du district de l'Uelé*, i. (Liège, 1907) p. 102.

Amongst the Bahima the belief in transmigration exists along with totemism, but is quite independent of it.

gazelles, hippopotamuses, or leopards.[1] The Bahima, a pastoral people of Ankole, between Uganda and the Congo Free State, believe that their dead kings turn into lions, their queens into leopards, and their princes and princesses into snakes. There are three belts of forests where the bodies of kings, queens, and princes and princesses are deposited, and where the wonderful transformation into the appropriate animals is supposed to take place. In each of these forests there is a temple with priests, who attend to the worship of the sacred animals, be they lions, leopards, or snakes. The ghosts of commoners have no special abode but wander about near the villages.[2] This last case is particularly instructive because, as we shall see, the Bahima have totemism; yet their belief in the transmigration of kings, queens, and princes into wild beasts seems to have no relation to their totemic system, since none of the animals into which the royal and noble dead transmigrate are found in the list of their totems.[3] Similarly in regard to the southern Bantu tribes, with whom we are concerned in this chapter, there appears to be no sufficient ground for connecting their totemism with their belief in metempsychosis.

There seems to be no sufficient ground for connecting the totemism of the Bantu with their belief in metempsychosis.

§ 5. *Hints of Totemism among the Bushmen and Hottentots*

No clear evidence that the Bushmen and Hottentots had totemism and exogamy.

With respect to the two other native races of South Africa, the Bushmen and the Hottentots, who probably occupied the whole of the continent from the fifteenth degree of south latitude to the Cape of Good Hope till they were gradually reduced in numbers and circumscribed in territory by the tide of Bantu invasion from the north,[4] there is no clear proof or even indication that either of them was organised on a basis of totemism and exogamy. Of the Bushmen whom he met with on the Zouga River Livingstone tells us that "the animal they refrain from

[1] *Notes analytiques sur les collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo*, i. (Brussels, 1902-1906) p. 162.

[2] J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii.(1907) pp. 101 *sq.*; Major J. A. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. xxii. (January 1907) pp. 151-153.

[3] See below, p. 536.

[4] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 467.

eating is the goat, which fact, taken in connection with the superstitious dread which exists in every tribe towards a particular animal, is significant of their feelings to the only animals they could have domesticated in their desert home."[1] Similarly Mackenzie writes that "the Madenassana Bushmen *bina* the common goat; that is to say, it is their sacred animal, as the *kwena* or alligator is to the Bakwena. Now just as it would be hateful and unlucky to the Bakwena to meet or gaze upon the alligator, so the common goat is the object of 'religious' aversion to these Bushmen; and to look upon it would be to render the man for the time impure, as well as to cause him undefined uneasiness."[2] But this only proves that the Bushmen revered or dreaded, for the two sentiments are near akin in the minds of many savages, the common goat; and such a feeling for a single species of animal does not constitute totemism. If it could be shewn that other tribes of Bushmen entertained a like reverence or dread for other species of animals, this would certainly raise a presumption of totemism; but apparently Livingstone did not mean to affirm this; the other tribes he speaks of may have been the Bechuanas, with whose tribal totemism he was acquainted.

Superstitious respect of the Bushmen for the goat.

As to the Hottentots we learn that on the banks of the Kei-Garib River some hordes of Koranas, a branch of the Hottentot race, bore the names of Right Hands, Left Hands, Sorcerers, Springbucks, Scorpions, Asses, Hippopotamuses, and Tall Ones; and that further to the west, on the middle course of the Orange River, were tribes of Koranas, who rejoiced in the titles of Bush Folk, Cats, Narrow Cheeks, Tailors, and Tanners.[3] But such tribal names are not in themselves any proof of totemism.

Hordes of Koranas named after animals, etc.

[1] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 165.

[2] J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 135 note.

[3] G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 367.

CHAPTER XIII

TOTEMISM IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

§ 1. *Totemism in Central Angoniland*

Scenery of British Central Africa or the Nyasaland Protectorate.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA or the Nyasaland Protectorate comprises that vast region of Central Africa which lies embedded among the great lakes, bounded on the east by Lake Nyasa and extending to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika on the north. The country consists in large measure of high plateaux reached by toilsome and precipitous ascents of several thousand feet, from the sharp edge of which you look back and down on a yawning gulf, where the far-spreading landscape stretches away, league upon league, into the dim distance or the deep indigo-blue waters of the lake shimmer in the sun. The surface of these plateaux is a rolling grass land variegated by swelling downs and granite mountains and watered by small streams and lakes. There is but little of those sweltering jungles and matted luxuriant forests which a European mind naturally associates with the scenery of the tropics. Indeed the air of these high uplands is cool and bracing; in clear weather the sky is of a beautiful pale blue; and the wild flowers, such as the violets, the buttercups, the forget-me-nots, and the anemones, which bespangle the short grass might almost beguile an Englishman into imagining himself at home.[1]

The population of the Nyasaland Protectorate includes

[1] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 4 *sqq.*, 35 *sq.*; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1906), pp. 8 *sqq.*

many tribes belonging to different stocks and speaking different languages, but they are all members of the great Bantu family. Of the various stocks the Nyanja-speaking peoples are the most numerous and important. They include many tribes, amongst whom are the Amananja, the Ambo, the Anyanja, and the Achewa. The Angoni, who give their name to Central Angoniland, a district of the Protectorate lying at the south-west end of Lake Nyasa, are a Zulu people, who having rebelled against the despot Chaka were defeated by him and fled northward, crossing the Zambesi in 1825 and settling in the country to the west of Lake Nyasa. They have intermarried with other tribes, particularly with the Achewa, so that they are now a mixed race; but the northern Angoni still speak the Zulu language, though with some dialectical modifications. At present the Angoni are not so much a separate people as a ruling caste dwelling in the midst of British Central African tribes whom their ancestors conquered.[1] The natives of British Central Africa live chiefly by agriculture. The chase is a subsidiary pursuit, and except among the Wankonde, at the north end of Lake Nyasa, the keeping of cattle is an accident or an appanage of chieftainship. Among the principal crops raised by the natives are maize, millet, rice, beans, sweet potatoes, yams, pumpkins, and tobacco. The arts of weaving, pottery, and basketry are practised by the people, and they are acquainted with the working of iron and copper. Their houses are for the most part circular in shape with walls of wattle and daub and thatched roofs.[2]

The native population belongs to the Bantu family.

The Angoni, a people of Zulu descent.

Arts and industries of the natives.

The Nyanja-speaking natives of Central Angoniland are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, some with descent in the male and others in the female line. Generally children take their clan from their father, but in some cases from their mother. The name of the clan

Exogamous and totemic clans among the natives of Central Angoniland.

[1] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 389-392; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1906), pp. 24 *sqq.*, 208 *sqq.*, 278 *sqq.*; R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja* (London, 1907), p. viii.

[2] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 424 *sqq.*, 430 *sqq.*, 435 *sq.*, 453 *sqq.*, 457 *sqq.*; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, pp. 176 *sqq.*

is nearly always that of an animal, but sometimes it is that of a plant or other thing.[1] The following are some of the animal names of clans :—[2]

Ngaluwe, bush-pig.
Ngondo, hartebeest.
Nsamba, fish.
Mabvu, wasp.
Nkoma, coney.
Duwe, zebra.
Pofu, eland.
Nyati, buffalo.
Nyuchi, bee.
Soko, baboon.

Among the names of clans derived from plants or inanimate things are the following :—[3]

Gumbo, water-melon.
Manda, mushroom.
Manzi, water.
Mvulu, rain.
Minga, thorn.
Churu, ant-hill.

Obsolete words among the clan names.

Among the clan names are many old words, which are no longer used in common speech to designate the objects they formerly denoted. For instance, the old word for a zebra was *duwe*, which is still the name of the Zebra clan, but the modern word for a zebra is *mbidzi*. The old word for an eland was *pofu*, which is still the name of the Eland clan, but the modern word for an eland is *nchefu*. Again, the old word for a baboon was *soko*, which is still the name of the Baboon clan, but the modern word for a baboon is *nyani*.[4] It is possible that in these and similar cases the old names may have been disused and new ones substituted out of respect to the sacred animals; and a like cause may perhaps explain seeming discrepancies in other totemic tribes, among whom the clan not unfrequently bears a different name from that of its totem.

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 174.

[2] R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 176.

[3] R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 177.

[4] R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 176.

Respect shewn by the natives of Angoniland for their totems.

The natives of Central Angoniland generally shew a regard for the animal, plant, or thing which gives its name to their clan; in short, they respect their totems. A person may not kill, eat, or destroy his totem; and if it is an animal, he may not wear its skin. For example, a man of the Elephant clan was not supposed to benefit, even indirectly, by the barter of an elephant's tusks, though he might give the calico, beads, or whatever he got for them to his wives and friends. The taboo on eating the flesh of the totem animal is called *kusala*. If a person violates the taboo by eating, whether knowingly or not, of the meat, it is believed that his body will break out in spots, which is called *kuwenga*. The remedy for this eruption of the skin is to bathe the body in a decoction made from a bone of the animal, the eating of which caused the malady.[1] Thus here again the totem furnishes a homœopathic remedy by healing the harm it did.[2]

Split totems.

Some of the tabooed objects or totems are not whole animals but only parts of them. Thus there is a clan called *Moyo* which means "life" or "heart"; and its tabooed object or totem is the heart of a goat. Again, there is another clan called *Mpumulo*, which means "nose," and the members of it may not eat the face and nose of an ox or cow.[3] Such totems I have called split totems.[4]

Clan names of chiefs with their tabooed objects or totems.

It is polite to address a person by his or her clan name; indeed in addressing a woman it is the clan name which is always used. But certain clan names of chiefs might not be spoken after dusk; any one who wished to address a chief in the dark had to use some other and common name, such as *Piri*, the clan of the Hills. Among some of the clan names borne by chiefs are the following:—

Maseko (a Zulu word). This was the clan name of the Angoni chiefs who settled in what is now Dedza district. *Maseko* in Chingoni (the Angoni language) means a pebble, also a kind of bird; but the tabooed

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 174 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 22.

[3] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 176.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 10.

objects, in other words the totems, of the clan are fish and elephant's flesh, fowls, and rhinoceros' flesh.

Jere (a Zulu word, meaning a bangle). The tabooed object or totem of the clan is fish.

Njobvu, the elephant, the name of the Elephant clan. The tabooed object is elephant's flesh.

Piri (a word of Achewa origin), the Hill clan. The tabooed object or totem of the clan is the baboon. The Achewa have a legend that all their people formerly bore this clan name of *Piri*, till their chieftainess Nyangu called them all together and, in order to prevent the evils of close interbreeding, gave each family a new name, which was to descend to the children and children's children. In this tribe (the Achewa) children belong to the clan of their mother, not of their father. The reason alleged for the practice is that in the far past the chiefs were women, and so their children took their clan names from their mothers to mark their royal descent. This legend of the origin of totem clans is interesting, because, like similar Australian traditions, it points to the deliberate institution of exogamy as a means to prevent the marriage of near kin.[1]

Achewa legend that exogamy was instituted to prevent close interbreeding.

Both the Angoni and the Achewa believe in reincarnation. Some say that after death they turn into the thing from which they take their name, that is, into their totem, as their fathers and kinsfolk did before them; others affirm that they turn into other animals, not into their totems.[2] Thus their theory partly confirms and partly disagrees with Dr. Theal's view that Bantu totemism rests on a belief in the transmigration of the souls of the dead into their totem animals.[3] Connected with this belief in metempsychosis is a certain dance called *Zinyau*, which is danced to songs with a weird cadence all over the Angoniland plateau. It is always danced after a funeral on a moonless night or before the moon is up. The dancers are members of a secret society disguised as various animals. Women are allowed to be present at it. The intention of the spectacle seems to be to make the people think that the dancers

Belief of the Angoni and Achewa in the transmigration of souls.

Dance of men disguised as animals.

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 175 *sq.*, 177.

[2] R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 178.

[3] See above, pp. 388 *sqq.*

are real animals, and that one of them is the dead man risen from the grave and reincarnated in animal shape. The secret society which furnishes the performers for this dance has a cryptic language and a password with a countersign. Candidates for admission to it in old days had to undergo a variety of ordeals, some of them revolting, some of them cruel, which sometimes ended fatally. Amongst other things the novice was set up on very high stilts. Intruders on the society were instantly killed.[1]

Rule of exogamy.

No man may marry a woman who bears his own clan name, though she may be of another race and live in a distant country, for all members of the same clan are in the relation of brother and sister. In other words, the totem clans are strictly exogamous. The rule of exogamy appears to hold good among all the tribes, whether they trace descent in the male or in the female line. On the other hand, the rule of taboo as applied to the totem is seemingly unknown or ignored among others.[2] Among the Achewa, as we have seen, children take their clan from their mother, not from their father; and the same rule of exogamy with maternal descent is observed by the Yaos, another tribe of British Central Africa.[3] In this tribe the chieftainship as well as the clan descends in the female line; a chief is succeeded, not by his son, but by his sister's son.[4] On the other hand, the Angoni apparently trace descent and transmit the chieftainship in the male line, following in these respects the Zulu custom.[5]

Maternal and paternal descent.

Rules as to the marriage of first cousins.

First cousins may marry each other provided that they are the children respectively of a brother and a sister, because in that case their totems will be different. For example, a man of the Zebra clan has a son and daughter who are both necessarily Zebras. The Zebra son marries a woman of another clan, but his children will be Zebras like himself, since among the Angoni the clan descends in the male line. But the children of his Zebra

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178 *sq.*

[2] R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* pp. 177, 202.

[3] A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 252.

[4] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 471; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 254.

[5] A. Werner, *op. cit.* pp. 253, 258; R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 188 *sq.*

sister will not be Zebras, since she must marry a man of another clan, say the Eland clan, and her children will take their father's clan, not hers; if the father is an Eland, the children will be Elands too. Thus the Zebra brother and sister will have respectively Zebra and Eland children, and these first cousins will be free to marry each other, since they belong to two different totem clans. But first cousins who are children of two brothers may not marry each other, because they are necessarily of the same totem clan. For example, two Zebra brothers have a son and daughter respectively, but these first cousins may not marry each other because they are both Zebras like their fathers. First cousins who are children of two sisters may marry each other provided that their mothers married men of different clans, for in that case the two cousins will have different totems. For example, if two Zebra sisters marry two Eland men, their children, who are first cousins, will all be Elands and therefore cannot marry each other, since they have all the same totem. But if one Zebra sister marries an Eland man, and the other Zebra sister marries an Elephant man, then the children of the two sisters will be Elands and Elephants respectively, and these first cousins may marry each other, since their totems are different. On the other hand, in tribes with exogamy and female descent, first cousins, the children of two sisters, may never marry each other because they must always be of the same totem; but first cousins, the children of two brothers, may marry each other provided that their fathers married women of different clans, for in that case the two cousins will have different totems. First cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are as free to marry under a system of exogamy with female descent as under a system of exogamy with male descent, because in both cases the cousins have necessarily different totems.[1]

Mutual avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

A man's social position with regard to his wife's mother changes immediately after his marriage. The two avoid each other on every occasion, and should they meet by

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 202. Compare A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, pp. 252 *sq.*

chance they cover their faces and run away from each other. "All this," we are told, "is from some sense of shame and modesty which hardly finds a counterpart among civilized nations, and has, of course, nothing to do with the fact that the son-in-law has to perform various menial acts of service for his wife's mother and relations."[1] Among the Anyanja and Yaos it is the universal custom for a man at marriage to go and build a house at his bride's home. The practice no doubt is connected with the rule that in these tribes the children belong to their mother's kin, not to their father's. "One of the new husband's first duties is to hoe a garden for his mother-in-law, though he is bound by the rules of propriety to avoid her to a certain extent. He must not eat in her presence nor see her eat, and there are various other restrictions, all of which come to an end when he has brought her the first grandchild, with a present. The same rules apply also to the father-in-law, and to the maternal uncles of both; while the wife has to observe them with regard to her husband's parents, and *their* uncles."[2]

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship.

These tribes appear to possess the classificatory system of relationship; for we are told that a man applies the name of father not only to his real father but to all his father's brothers; and that similarly he applies the name of mother not only to his real mother but to all his mother's sisters. Further, there is no single word for "brother" or "sister" in general, but there are distinct words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," and similarly for "elder sister" and "younger sister." There is a word which means "sister" when used by a brother, and "brother" when used by a sister, but which is never applied to a person of the same sex as the speaker.[3] All these are marks of the classificatory system of relationship.

[1] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 204. The Wankonde in British Central Africa "have that curious custom by which a man is practically forbidden to speak to or even look at his mother-in-law. This also obtains amongst the A-nyanja to some extent; yet here the son-in-law has to hoe his mother-in-law's garden and assist her in many other ways" (Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 415).

[2] A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 132.

[3] A. Werner, *op. cit.* p. 254.

§ 2. *Totemism among the Wagogo, Wahehe, and Waheia of German East Africa*

The Wagogo and their totemic clans.

The Wagogo are a Bantu-speaking people of mixed blood who inhabit the Iramba tableland in German East Africa to the south of Kilima Njaro.[1] They both till the ground and keep cattle.[2] They are divided into totemic clans. The following is a list of their clans with their totems (*muziro*), which they may not eat or use.[3]

Clans.	Totems (*muziro*).
1. Wanyagowe . .	*Muhanga*, an animal about as large as a hog, which lives chiefly on white ants. It sleeps in a hole underground in the daytime.
2. Wanyang'anga .	*Mbala*, bush buck.
3. Wanyacipegu .	*Fumbu*, a certain part of the stomach.
4. Wanyagatwa . .	*Ng'hanu*, civet cat, and *mbala*.
5. Wasewando . .	*Mbala*.
6. Wamunyanzoka .	Things killed by snakes.
7. Wambuga . .	Sheep with short tail.
8. Wasenhyina . .	*Cisunha*, a very tiny red bird, and *Nhyenesi*, a bird said to warn of danger.
9. Watemekwira . .	*Muhanga*.
10. Wakando . .	*Fumbu*.
11. Wamusukuma .	*Mbata*, roan antelope.
12. Waseng'ongo .	To carry a spear which is concave on both sides.
13. Wanyang'hwalo .	*Ng'hwahe*, a kind of wild vegetable.
14. Wamunyambwa .	Red clothes.
15. Wamunyatoma .	„ „
16. Wasembuce . .	*Muhanga*.
17. Wegongo . .	*Nhongolo*, eland.
18. Wamunyiranga .	*Cisira*, a kind of squirrel.
19. Wamunyanguluwe .	*Mbala*, or a spotted animal of any kind.
20. Wamunyang'hali .	*Wamusitakwendwa*, a tree which they do not use for building or firewood.
21. Wamunyanduli .	*Nhongolo*.
22. Wanyeguruwi .	*Ngubi*, pig.

[1] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 464; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 49 *sq.*, 767 *sq.*

[2] Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 336 *sqq.*

[3] Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* pp. 305 *sq.*

Clans.	Totems (*muziro*).
23. Wanyagundu .	Red clothes.
24. Wanyelangali .	*Nziriri*, an animal something like a badger.
25. Wasigani . .	Premature calf.
26. Wang'halunga .	*Ng'halu*, a small bulb resembling an onion.
27. Wamusitakwendwa	Tree of this name which they do not use for building or firewood (see above, No. 20).
28. Wamunyachuma .	Red copper wire.
29. Wanyamhumbwa .	*Machikwang'hala*, a bird which makes a peculiar noise in flying.
30. Wabalagudi . .	*Naagulagu*, a bulb which is used in anointing and for stomach-ache.
31. Waseyingwe . .	*Cituwa*, entrails of an animal.
32. Wamunyaciri .	*Itoga*, liver.
33. Wasehaba . .	*Cipehema*, end of breast-bone.

Ill effects of killing or eating the totem.

The Wagogo think that if a person kills or eats the animal which is the totem of his clan, he thereby endangers his relations, but not himself. Thus, when they see a child suffering from scabs on its head, they say at once that the child's father has eaten his totem (*muziro*) and that is why his child has scabs (*mapere*).[1]

The levirate.

Avoidance of relations by marriage.

We are not informed whether the Wagogo clans are exogamous, nor whether they are inherited in the paternal or the maternal line. A widow usually marries a brother or other relation of her deceased husband. She may indeed refuse to do so, but such refusals are rare. A man may not look at his mother-in-law, but he may speak to her at a distance. The same restrictions apply to a woman in respect to her father-in-law.[2]

Licence at circumcision.

"At time of circumcision," says Mr. Cole, "abusive language is very much indulged in, and the women especially lose all sense of modesty, and the country becomes a mighty bedlam."[3] This brief statement seems to indicate that a period of sexual licence, if not of promiscuity, accompanies the operation of circumcision among the Wagogo, just as it used to do among the Fijians.[4]

[1] Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 307.

[2] Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 312.

[3] Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 338.

[4] See above, pp. 145 *sqq.*

Two sets of totems, the *muziro* and the *mulongo*.

As a Wagogo clan has its *muziro* (forbidden thing), so each Wagogo family has its *mulongo* (forbidden thing), which is transmitted from the father to his children. The wife may have a different *mulongo* from that of her husband, but her children do not inherit it. The *mulongo* is apparently forbidden only after marriage. To eat the *mulongo* involves the loss of hair and teeth; to eat the *muziro* is said to cause the skin to fall off.[1] From this account it would seem that the Wagogo have, like the Herero, a double set of totems, one set (*muziro*) being appropriated to the clans and the other set (*mulongo*) to the families. The latter are hereditary in the male line. But details of the system are wanting.

The Wahehe of German East Africa.

The Wahehe inhabit the district of Iringa in German East Africa, to the south of the Ruaha River. They are a tall, slim, well-built people; the features of the men are regular and expressive, the faces of the women are comely. Their country is a beautiful mountain land, with a cool, often cold climate, where the cutting winds oblige the natives to go warmly clad. Though they raise crops of maize, sweet potatoes, and beans, the country is not well adapted to agriculture. On the other hand, it lends itself admirably to pasture; for the rugged mountains abound in clear, cold, rushing streams and fine waterfalls, which keep the grass on their banks lush and green throughout the year. Hence the Wahehe are above all a tribe of herdsmen; all their pride and ambition are in their herds. No man will willingly part with a single head of cattle, and even in time of famine he will rather go with an empty stomach than diminish the number of his beloved herds by slaughter. The houses of the Wahehe are built of stakes coated with clay. They are square in shape with perpendicular walls and flat roofs. As a rule each family occupies its own house.[2]

The totems of the Wahehe are always animals or parts of animals.

The Wahehe have totems which descend in the male line, the children taking their totem from their father. But their totemism is not combined with exogamy; a man is free

[1] Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 317.

[2] E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), pp. v. 1, 3.

to marry a woman of the same totem as himself. If a wife's totem differs from that of her husband, she retains it after her marriage. At present a whole district will often have, with insignificant exceptions, the same totem. A totem is called *msiro* or *mundzilo*, though the commoner expression for it is *muiko*. It always consists in, or carries with it, the prohibition to eat a certain food, and this prohibition is strictly observed. The forbidden food is always an animal, very often only a particular part of an animal. The punishment for eating the tabooed flesh is supposed to be a lingering and painful sickness inflicted on the delinquent by the ancestral spirits. Scab and other skin diseases are often attributed by the sufferer himself to some unwitting violation of the totemic taboo. In such a case he hastens to consult the medicine-man or magician (*mlagussi*) and to offer an expiatory sacrifice. Even children observe the totemic taboo from their earliest years. Yet, though a man may not eat, he may freely hunt and kill his totem animal. Among the tabooed foods or totems of the Wahehe are the guinea-fowl, an unborn calf, sheep's head, the heart and kidneys of all animals, and two species of gazelle (*mato* and *funo*). The heart and kidneys of all animals are a very common totem. Sometimes a family has two totems, and if one of them is very inconvenient, they may rid themselves of it by an appropriate ceremony. For example, there was a rich cattle-owner who had for his totems a species of gazelle (*funo*) and an unborn calf. The latter proving inconvenient, he swallowed a certain medicine, seasoned an unborn calf with the same, and ate it. As he survived the ordeal, his family renounced the unborn calf as a totem, but kept the gazelle.[1]

Ill effects of eating the totemic animal.

A family may have two totems, but may rid itself of one.

Amongst the Wahehe the marriage of cousins who are the children of two brothers or two sisters is not allowed; but there is no objection to the marriage of two cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively.[2] The Wahehe practise polygamy. Even the poorest man, we are told, has at least two wives, while the rich have twenty or even fifty. Such customs seem to point to a large numerical

Cousin marriages among the Wahehe.

Polygamy.

[1] E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 42 *sq.*

[2] E. Nigmann, *op. cit.* p. 60.

majority of women over men. Wives are purchased from their fathers, the price of a bride varying from two hoes to four head of cattle according to the rank of the family.[1] On a man's death the bulk of his property goes to his eldest son. Wives with no children or with children under age are inherited by the grown son or, if there is none, by the brother of the deceased. But a man never thus takes to wife his own mother or her sisters. The principal wife is regularly inherited by the full brother or, if there is no full brother, by the half brother of the deceased.[2]

The levirate.

Totemism among the Waheia.

Another totemic tribe of German East Africa are the Waheia, a Bantu people who inhabit Bukoba, on the western side of the great Victoria Nyanza Lake. They are divided into exogamous clans called *kabila*, each with a particular kind of animal for its totem. One clan has for its totem the lizard, another the long-tailed monkey. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, and he may not kill or eat any part of his totem animal. If he kills or eats the animal, he is supposed to suffer from an eruption of the skin.[3] Thus the totemism of the Waheia appears, so far as we can judge from the brief report of it, to be of the normal pattern.

Exogamous clans among the Yao, Makua, and Makonde.

Lastly, it may be noted that several Bantu tribes of German East Africa, such as the Yao, the Makua, and the Makonde, are known to be divided into exogamous clans with descent in the maternal line, though they appear not to practise totemism. Among the Yao the system is decadent, but among the Makua and Makonde it is still in full bloom, and in these two tribes some of the clans are named after animals or plants on which the members of the clan are said to have especially subsisted. Among the Makonde the clans are very numerous; the names of fifty-two of them have been recorded. The name for an exogamous clan in the language of the Yao is *lukosyo* (plural *makosyo*), in the language of the Makua it is

[1] E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), p. 59.

[2] E. Nigmann, *op. cit.* p. 61.

[3] J. Kohler, "Das Banturecht in Ostafrika," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xv. (1902) pp. 2, 3, referring to Lieutenant Richter, in *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xii. 83, 84.

nihimmu, in the language of the Makonde it is *litaua*.[1] All these tribes live chiefly by agriculture, though they do not neglect the chase.[2]

§ 3. *Exogamy and the Classificatory System of Relationship among the Masai*

The Masai and their country.

Among the savages of eastern equatorial Africa the redoubted Masai are probably the most famous, their remarkable military organisation and fighting propensities having long rendered them the terror of their neighbours, and secured their predominance in the wide, often bare and arid plains over which these warlike herdsmen roam with their flocks and herds, once enormous in number but now sadly thinned by the cattle plague. Their present country extends from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it both in British and German territory. Neither in language nor in appearance do the Masai belong to the Bantu family. They are tall slender, lithe men, with features which have not much of the negro in them and which sometimes approach to the European type. It is believed that the race has been formed by a cross between the Nilotic negroes and the Hamitic peoples of the Galla and Somali family, who blended with each other long ago and dwelt apart somewhere in the mountains or tablelands which stretch eastward from the White Nile to the Karamojo country. From this cradleland of their race some cause unknown, whether the pressure of tribes from the north, or intertribal warfare, or famine consequent on drought, seems to have driven the Masai eastward and southward to the country between the great extinct volcano of Mount Elgon and the shores of Lake Rudolph. Here a division took place within the tribe. One branch betook themselves to agriculture; the other and more powerful branch continued, or reverted to, a purely pastoral life, and raiding their neighbours in all directions not only acquired vast

They seem to be a blend of Nilotic negroes with the Galla-Somali stock.

[1] K. Weule, *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse meiner ethnographischer Forschungsreise in den Südosten Deutsch-Ostafrikas* (Berlin, 1908), 59 *sq.*, 66 *sq.*, 104 *sqq.*

[2] K. Weule, *op. cit.* p. 37.

herds of cattle but pushed southward and made themselves lords of equatorial Africa from Ugogo and the Unyamwezi country eastward to within a hundred miles of the Indian Ocean.[1]

Exogamy and the classificatory system among the Masai.

Though the Masai apparently are not a totemic people, they practise exogamy and possess the classificatory system of relationship. A brief notice of these institutions will therefore not be out of place in this work.

Clans and exogamous subclans among the Masai.

The Masai are divided into four clans named *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, and *Il-Molelyan*. These clans are not exogamous, but they are divided into subclans which are exogamous. For example, the *Il-Aiser* clan contains, among others, the subclans *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. A man of the *In-gidoñgi* subclan may not marry a daughter of an *In-gidoñgi* man; but he may marry the daughter of an *Il-Parkeneti* man; that is, he may not marry a woman of his own subclan, but he is free to marry a woman of his own clan provided that she belongs to a different subclan. Further, he is at liberty to marry a woman of any clan other than his own; for instance, an *Il-Aiser* man may marry the daughter of a man of the *Il-Meñgana* clan, or of the *Il-Mokesen* clan, or of the *Il-Molelyan* clan. Members of the various subclans are usually to be found in all the districts and subdistricts into which the territory of the Masai is divided. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations. In all the subdistricts a man enjoys the same marital rights which he has in his own subdistrict.[2]

From the foregoing statement it will be seen that among

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), ii. 796 *sqq.*; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore* (Oxford, 1905), pp. iii., xi. *sqq.* The other principal authorities on the Masai are Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1895), pp. 403 *sqq.*; Oscar Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 156 *sqq.*; S. L. Hinde and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai* (London, 1901); M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904).

[2] For this information I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. A. C. Hollis, who has very kindly placed at my disposal the results of his careful enquiries into the Masai system of relationship. These results will soon, I hope, be published entire in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Meantime for some of the facts mentioned in the text I may refer readers to Mr. Hollis's book *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 260 *sq.*, 303. As to the clans and subclans of the Masai with their rule of exogamy see also M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 16 *sqq.*

the Masai descent is reckoned in the male line; children belong to the clan of their father. Thus the Masai have the system of father-kin. Yet a trace of the system of mother-kin seems to survive in the remarkable rights which a man enjoys over his sister's children, who under a system of mother-kin would be his natural heirs. "A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. . . . If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu* and *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused." [1]

Traces of mother-kin among the Masai.

Reciprocal rights of the maternal uncle and his sister's sons over each other.

While the sexual relations of the Masai, judged by our standard, are very loose in some respects, they are exceedingly strict in others. "First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sōtwa* (or *en-e-'sōtwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise, though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always con-

First and second cousins forbidden to marry each other; of third cousins some are allowed and others forbidden to marry each other.

[1] From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

tingent on the two parties not belonging to the same subclan. The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same subclan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-group[1] if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his subclan.

Punishments for incest among the Masai.

"If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own subclan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-group, he is punished by the members of his age-group. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-group, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-group. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey-wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die. If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to 'kill the relationship' (*a-ar eng-anyit*)."[2]

Continence observed by the Masai in making poison and brewing honey-wine.

Like many other savages the Masai on certain occasions observe strict continence from purely superstitious motives. One of these occasions is the making of poison. During the eight days that a man is making poison he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 A.M. and not return till 7 P.M., when he must rub clay on his body; he may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he

[1] As to the age-groups of the Masai see below, pp. 412 *sqq*. As to the relationship denoted by *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sotwa*, see below, pp. 416 *sq*.

[2] From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

must sleep alone. Perhaps some civilised reader may jump to the conclusion that this isolation of the poison-maker is a sage precaution, a sort of quarantine, designed to obviate the risk of his inadvertently infecting some of his friends with the venom. If any of my readers has made that jump, I must beg him to retrace his step. Such an inference, like most attempts to rationalise superstition, only betrays an incapacity in the civilised mind to place itself at the point of view of the savage. The motive which induces the Masai poison-maker to keep aloof from his fellows is not any regard for them; far from it, what he fears is not that the poison would hurt them, but that they would hurt the poison; he believes that were he to break any of these rules the poison would have no effect. This is not a matter of inference; it is the avowed belief of the Masai. In like manner strict continence must be observed by the persons who are brewing honey-wine; and in this case there can be no question of infection. A man and a woman are chosen to brew the honey-wine, and it is considered essential that both of them should be chaste for two days before they begin to brew and for the whole of the six days that the brewing lasts. A hut is set apart for them and they occupy it till the wine is ready for drinking; but they are strictly forbidden to sleep together. When the wine is made, they are paid and go their ways. The Masai think that if the couple were to break the rule of continence while the wine is brewing, not only would the wine be undrinkable but the bees which made the honey would fly away.[1] We shall in vain attempt to understand the marriage customs of savages if we do not allow for the element of superstition in them. The savage attributes to the relations of the sexes with each other a certain mysterious influence, a magical virtue, which the civilised man has long ceased to associate with such processes and which he finds it hard even in imagination to comprehend. Yet some of these superstitions, incomprehensible though they may be to us, probably lie at the root of many customs which we still strictly observe without being able to assign any valid reason for doing so.

The savage attributes a certain mysterious influence or magical virtue to sexual relations.

[1] From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

Mutual avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

Among the Masai, as among so many savages, a man and his wife's mother must mutually avoid each other. If a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut, she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, while he remains in the outer compartment. Thus separated they may converse with each other. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*).

The levirate.

When a man dies, his full brother may not marry the widow, but she may be taken to wife by his half-brother, the son of the same father but not of the same mother. Indeed the only person who is allowed to marry a widow is one of her deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. However, it often happens that widows never marry again but dwell with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of his nephews and nieces.[1]

Age-groups or age-grades among the Masai.

Reference has been made to the age-groups or age-grades, as they are now commonly called, into which the Masai are divided. These are determined by the times at which boys and girls are circumcised. The account which the people themselves give of the custom runs thus :—"The Masai have what they call ages (*'l-porori*, singular *ol poror* or *ol boror*). Children are not all circumcised together ; they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (*i.e.* until they reach the age of puberty). Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later.' They also become members of this age. When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age. Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation. Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,'

[1] From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners.'"[1]

The age-grades determined by the times at which the youth of both sexes are circumcised.

To make this account more explicit it should be said that when leave is granted by the medicine-man (*ol oiboni*) to hold the circumcision festivals, one feast is held in every subdistrict every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. Boys as a rule are circumcised between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. Orphans and the children of poor parents often wait until they are twenty.[2]

All persons circumcised within the same period of seven and a half years constitute an age-grade.

Thus four circumcision ceremonies are performed in every seven and a half years, and all persons circumcised at any time during such a period constitute an age-group or age-grade (*ol poror* or *ol boror*); hence the period which constitutes an age-grade is seven and a half years. Further, two successive age-grades are known respectively as "the right-hand circumcision" and "the left-hand circumcision" and together form a generation. Each of these two age-grades has to observe certain rules, which forbid the pronunciation of certain words and the eating of certain foods. Thus persons of "the right-hand circumcision" may eat neither the heads nor the tails of slaughtered cattle; they may not call a fold for goats *eŋg aŋ en dare*, they must call it *e merata en dare*; they may not call a head *ol okuŋgu*, they must call it *ol ogunja*; they may not call a tail *ol gorom*, they must call it *en aisuba*. Persons of "the left-hand circumcision" may not eat pumpkins and cucumbers; and they may not call arrow-poison *e sajĕt*, they must call it *en duerai*. To do or say anything in the presence of one who is forbidden by custom to say or do it is an insult which often provokes retaliation on the spot.[3]

Taboos observed by the age-grades.

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 261 *sq.* Compare M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 70 *sq.*, who gives *ol borōr* as the Masai expression for an age-group or age-grade. *Ol poror* is the form given by Mr. A. C. Hollis.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. 262 note[1]; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 60 *sq.*

[3] M. Merker, *op. cit.* p. 71.

The military organisation of the Masai rests on the division of the males into age-grades.

On this institution of age-grades rests the military organisation of the Masai. At circumcision a youth enters the army as a recruit (*ol barnoti*, plural *il barnot*); after passing into the next age-grade he becomes a full warrior (*ol murani* or *ol morani*, plural *il muran* or *il moran*). All the men who have been circumcised about the same time, and who therefore belong to the same age-grade, are known by a distinctive name, such as "the White Swords" or "the Invincibles." If a man was circumcised at the age of fifteen, he will have completed his terms of service as a recruit and as a warrior at the age of thirty, since two age-grades together make up a period of fifteen years. In former days a man might not marry until he had served his time as a soldier, that is, until he was about thirty years of age; but meanwhile he was free to cohabit, and did habitually cohabit, with young unmarried girls in a separate kraal, where the warriors and the girls lived together. After circumcision warriors plait their hair and subsist entirely on the flesh, blood, and milk of their cattle, varied with honey and sugar-cane. Game and all kinds of corn are forbidden to them; they may not smoke nor touch intoxicants. Moreover, they will not eat milk and flesh on the same day. Their custom is to eat nothing but milk for some days and then nothing but flesh and blood for some days more. But before they pass from one diet to the other, they take a strong purgative to make sure that no trace of the former food remains in their stomach; so scrupulous are they not to bring milk into contact with flesh and blood. This custom they observe from a superstitious fear that such a contact would injure the udders of the cows from which the milk was drawn and would diminish their supply of milk. At marriage a man is freed from all restrictions on his diet; he may now eat vegetable food, drink honey-wine, and snuff tobacco. He becomes an elder (*ol moruo*, plural *il moruak*), retires from the standing army, and passes into the reserve.[1]

Cohabitation of the warriors with unmarried girls.

Diet of the warriors.

They may not eat milk and flesh on the same day for fear of injuring the cows.

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, pp. xvi. 302; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 66 *sq.*, 73 *sqq.*, 82 *sqq.*; Oscar Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 161 *sq.*; Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1885), pp. 426 *sqq.*; S. L. Hinde and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai* (London, 1901), pp. 55, 56 *sqq.*, 66 *sqq.*, 72 *sqq.* As to the diet of the warriors and elders, see J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*,

Rights of hospitality which members of an age-grade are entitled to claim from their fellows.

Further, membership of an age-grade carries with it certain rights of hospitality, which any member is entitled to claim from his fellows in other villages. Thus we are told, in the words of the Masai themselves, that "when a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife. Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered. A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die." [1]

Sexual privileges and disabilities attaching to the age-grades.

From this native account we gather, first, that in a village or kraal the huts of people of the same age-grade are grouped together; and, second, that men of the same age-grade have a right to share each other's wives, in fact that something like sexual communism prevails between men and women of the same age-group. This latter inference is confirmed by what we learn both of the sexual privileges and of the sexual disabilities which an age-grade entails upon its members. On the one hand we have seen that a man is severely punished by members of his own age-grade if he has sexual intercourse with any of their daughters; and that he is fined or solemnly cursed by members of his father's age-grade if he commits adultery with one of their wives.[2] On the other hand, men are free to cohabit with women, married or unmarried, of their own age-grade. On

pp. 429-431, 443; P. Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Leipsic, 1892), pp. 287 *sq.*; O. Baumann, *l.c.*; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 32 *sq.*; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. xvi. Of these writers Captain Merker is the only one who explains why the Masai will not bring milk and flesh into contact with each other. On this subject see further my paper "Folklore in the Old Testament," in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 151 *sqq.*

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, pp. 287 *sq.*

[2] See above, p. 410.

this subject the Masai themselves say:—"No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed. Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine. But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence."[1]

The Masai seem to live in a state of group-marriage regulated by the age-groups and the exogamy of the subclans.

"From this it will be seen," says Mr. Hollis, "that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age."[2] This seems equivalent to saying that sexual communism, or something very like it, prevails between all the men of one age-grade and all the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject no doubt to the rule of exogamy which forbids a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own subclan. In other words, the Masai appear to live in a state of group-marriage based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades and restricted by the exogamy of the subclans.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Masai.

With such a social organisation the Masai naturally possess the classificatory system of relationship. Their terms of relationship differ accordingly as the relative is spoken of indirectly or addressed directly. For example, "my father" referred to indirectly is *menye*, but addressed directly he is *papa*. "My mother" referred to indirectly is *ñgoto*, but addressed directly she is *yeiyo*. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term "my father" (*menye* or *papa*) to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term "my mother" (*ñgoto* or *yeiyo*) to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *ol-alashe*, "brother," and *eng-anashe*, "sister," indirectly to his brothers and sisters and to his cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers. On the other hand, he does not, as by analogy we should expect, apply the terms "brother" and "sister" to his first cousins, the sons

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. 312.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 312, note [1].

and daughters of his mother's sisters; he calls them indirectly *ol-le-'sōtwa* or *en-e-'sōtwa* according as they are male or female; and he has different terms again, as we might have anticipated, for his other first cousins, the children either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. A husband applies different terms to his wife and to his wife's sisters; and a wife applies different terms to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *ol-ayōni, en-gerai* indirectly to his sons and to his brothers' sons; and he applies the same terms *en-dito, en-gerai* indirectly to his daughters and to his brothers' daughters.[1]

§ 4. *Totemism among the Taveta*

The Taveta and their country.

The Taveta or Wa-taveta are a mixed race of Hamitic and Bantu stock, who number between three and four thousand souls, and inhabit the rich and fertile district of Taveta at the foot of the great snow-clad Kilima Njaro, the highest mountain in Africa. Through the country winds the Lumi River, its banks covered with luxuriant forests of gigantic trees festooned with creepers, while in the glades of the forest appear a few picturesque huts surrounded by a grove of bananas or by a field of corn and sweet potatoes.[2] All land in the Taveta forests belongs to the inhabitants, each member of a family owning a portion. No stranger may cultivate a patch of ground without the owner's leave. The plains are considered no man's land. Dread of the Masai formerly prevented the Taveta from settling there.[3]

The Taveta respect the ground-hornbill.

All the Taveta respect the ground-hornbill (*mudide*, in Kiswahili *ndite*), a large black bird with red gills and white markings on its wings. It is believed that anybody who kills one of these birds will be struck down by a mysterious disease which will carry him off in a few days.[4] But being revered

[1] From Mr. Hollis's unpublished papers, which he has very kindly placed at my disposal.

[2] A. C. Hollis, "Notes on the History and Customs of the People of Taveta, East Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. (October 1901) p. 98.

[3] A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. p. 118.

[4] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 103 *sq.* Mr. Hollis writes to me (27th May 1908) that the sacred bird is the ground-hornbill, not the turkey-buzzard as he stated in the paper referred to. With regard to the

Totemic families of the Taveta.

by the whole people the ground-hornbill cannot properly be described as a totem. However, the Taveta are divided into four clans, each of which is subdivided into a number of totemic families. The following is a list of the families with their sacred objects, which we may call their totems :—[1]

Family.	Totem.
Muinjari-wa-Kakuku	None.
Shomi, Moserengi	Grant's gazelle (*Gazella granti*; native Kitaveta name *datari*).
Muinjari-wa-Mesera	Impala antelope (*Aepyceros melampus*; native name *sarigha*).
Ndighiri-wa-Mbele, Ndighiri-wa-Mkamati	Vegetable called in Kitaveta *mnabu*, in Kiswahili *mnavu*.
Suiya	Spleen of any animal.
Chokawa, Mborio, Mrambeni, Ngumba, Kwisu-wa-Ugweno	A small kind of pigeon called in Kitaveta *kihunguru*.
Kwisu-wa-Uru	Portion of the stomach of any animal (in Kitaveta *kita-shira*).
Dakama, Manyi, Mbale, Somandzi-wa-Reta	Mushroom.
Muru, Somandzi-wa-Kahe, Somandzi-wa-Kiruveni	A monkey (*Cercopithecus-viridis-griseo*; in Kitaveta *ngima*, in Kiswahili *kima*).
Somandzi-wa-Umba	A tree called *mringaringa* much employed for the purpose of making beehives or honey-barrels.

The subfamilies or subclans of the Taveta are exogamous.

In regard to rules of marriage Mr. A. C. Hollis informs me[2] that the totemic families or clans, as he would now call them, of the Taveta are not exogamous, but that the

ground-hornbills of Africa we are told that since the days of Bruce there are few African travellers who have not met with and described these birds, whose large size and fearless habits render them conspicuous as they walk or run on the ground or perch on trees when they are disturbed. The genus is found from Abyssinia to Natal. See Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893-1896), pp. 433 *sq.*

[1] A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. pp. 98, 104.

[2] In a letter dated Nairobi, East Africa Protectorate, June 15th, 1909.

subfamilies or subclans are so; that is, a man may marry a woman of his own totemic family or clan, provided that she does not belong to the same subfamily or subclan as himself. Thus, for example, a Taveta man of the Somandzi-wa-Kahe family or clan may marry a woman of that clan, provided that they do not both belong, say, to the Mnene-wa-Somandzi subfamily or subclan. Again, a man and woman of the Kwisu-wa-Ugweno family or clan may marry each other, provided that they do not both belong to the same subdivision of it. In these respects the marriage rules of the Taveta agree with those of the Masai.[1]

The levirate.

When a man dies, his possessions are divided among his sons, the eldest receiving the lion's share, and his wives go to live with his eldest surviving brother, or, if there is no brother, with the eldest surviving cousin (father's brother's son). A woman inherits nothing.[2]

Age-grades among the Taveta.

Like the Masai, the Taveta are divided into age-grades. Each "age" (*irika*, in Kiswahili *hirimu*) is a period of fifteen years and has a special name. The government of the country is entrusted for periods of about fifteen years to the men of one of these age-grades, at whose head are four middle-aged chiefs. It is said that the members of a particular age-grade come into power whenever they can kidnap the daughter of one of the ruling chiefs or one of his contemporaries. In this they are aided by the elders of the former age-grade, who went out of power some fifteen years before, when the reigning age-grade came in; for these deposed elders are glad to treat the rulers for the time being as those rulers once treated them. In olden times the reigning chiefs and their fellows never suffered themselves to be ousted without a battle-royal, and it was with some difficulty and danger that the younger men seized the reins of government. Formerly it was a matter of no small consequence to belong to the reigning age-grade, for two-thirds of the spoils of war and of the duty (*hongo*) leviable on all caravans passing through the country were appropriated by the chiefs and their contemporaries, while the rest went to the witch-doctors and the other old men.[3]

[1] See above, p. 408.

[2] A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. p. 118.

[3] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 104-106.

§ 5. *Totemism among the A-kamba*

Country of the A-kamba.

The A-kamba or Wakamba are a Bantu tribe in the British East Africa Protectorate. They occupy a triangular stretch of country some ninety miles wide from east to west by a hundred and fifty miles long from north to south. Roughly speaking, their territory is bounded on the west by the Uganda Railway from Mutito Andei to Kiu stations and thence northward by a line running as far as the eastern slopes of Mount Donyo Sapuk; on the north it is bounded by the Tana river and from the junction of the Thika and Tana by a line running east as far as the northern end of the Mumoni range and onward to 38° 30′ East Longitude; while on the east the boundary runs south along that meridian as far as 2° 30′ South Latitude.

Mr. C. W. Hobley's researches among the A-kamba.

The tribe, which is said to be probably the purest Bantu race in British East Africa, has lately been studied with care by the Administrator, Mr. C. W. Hobley. He has collected a large amount of unpublished information on the tribe, and generously allows me to draw on his manuscript materials. The following account of the social and totemic system of the A-kamba is accordingly based on his researches.[1]

Mode of life of the A-kamba.

The people call themselves in the plural A-Kamba (singular Mu-Kamba), though they are more generally known as Wakamba (with the Kiswahili prefix Wa—meaning "people"). I shall retain their own form of the name. They are a sturdy race of husbandmen, who raise a large variety of crops, including sorghum, eleusine grain, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, yams, beans, manioc, pumpkins, and bananas. They also keep cattle, sheep, goats, and bees; they are skilful at working iron and copper wire into bracelets, necklaces, and so forth; and they make pottery without the use of the wheel. Their houses are of the common circular type with walls about four feet high and a conical roof. They kindle fire by twirling a piece of hard wood on a

[1] For an earlier account of the A-kamba or Wakamba, see J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878) pp. 347 *sqq.*

piece of soft wood, using dry leaves as tinder. In war the only weapons they carry are bows and arrows, swords and clubs; unlike the southern Bantu tribes they do not employ spears and shields. They are very good shots with the bow; nearly all their arrows are envenomed with a poison made from the *muvai* tree and the poison gland of the scorpion.

Exogamous clans among the A-kamba.

The A-kamba are divided into a large number of exogamous clans, some at least of which appear to be totemic. Two classes of clans are distinguished, namely the original clans and the subdivisions of them. For example, Mu-tui is an original clan and there are three subdivisions of it, namely Mu-Sii, Mu-Mui, and Mwa-Ithangwa. Originally members of these subdivisions were not allowed to marry each other, though curiously enough they might marry back into the original stock. Thus a Mu-Sii might not marry a Mu-Mui, but either of them might marry a Mu-Tui. But this custom is not rigorously enforced nowadays; for they say that the numbers of each clan are becoming so great that the intermarriages in question are no longer regarded as a serious offence. A man may marry more than one wife from one clan or subdivision of a clan, but he may not marry two sisters. The widespread custom of providing a visitor with a temporary wife prevails among the A-kamba; but the woman thus lent to a guest must not be a member of his own clan.

Totemic taboos among the A-kamba.

The totemic prohibitions recorded by Mr. Hobley are few in number. Thus, among the clans (*mbai*) of the Kitui district, the Ngutu have the liver of animals for their totem (*uthuku*); another, the Ndewa, is prohibited from killing a species of kite (*mbungu*). Among the clans (*mbai*) of the Mumoni district, the Ba-Nzi are forbidden to eat the lungs and the Ba-Lema to eat the liver of any animal; one half of the Ba-Mutongoi may not eat pig's flesh, and several clans are debarred from eating the flesh of the bush-buck. This bush-buck (called by them *ndoya* or *ndwaya*) is one of the principal totems of the A-kamba. Members of the Eombi clan are particularly strict in observing the taboo. It is said that some hunters once broke out into dreadful sores in consequence of killing a bush-buck; so they tabooed the animal for the future. People who have the bush-buck for their totem may not

Prohibition to keep a tame animal of the totemic species.

keep a tame animal of the species in their village; they are forbidden to touch a bush-buck or even to wear pieces of its skin. Members of the Asi clan are very strict observers of their own particular taboo, which is the prohibition to eat liver. Were an Asi man to eat liver, it is believed that his eyes would weep continually afterwards. Women have to observe the totemic taboos equally with the men, and in addition they may never eat the tongue or heart of an animal. A married man is forbidden to eat the totem animal of his wife's clan, and so are his children.

A man may not eat his wife's totem.

Birds and beasts of omen among the A-kamba.

Apart from their totemic animals the A-kamba regard other birds and beasts with superstitious respect or fear and draw omens from their appearance. Thus there is a small kind of woodpecker with a red head called *ngoma komi*, which the A-kamba will not kill. If it calls out on the left side of a traveller, it is a good omen and may lead the lucky man to a dead elephant. If it sings out on the traveller's right side, the omen is not good; but if it calls out ahead of the wayfarer, he may count on being attacked by a lion or a rhinoceros. If a hyæna or jackal crosses your path from left to right, it is auspicious; but if it crosses the path from right to left, it is inauspicious. The ground-hornbill (*ndundu*) is a bird of ill omen. If it perches on a tree near a village so as to overlook the village and utters its deep bass booming note, some one in the village is sure to sicken and die within a few days; so people place broken cooking-pots in the trees near a village to frighten away the birds. These examples shew, what should be obvious without them, that totemic peoples entertain superstitious beliefs in regard to animals other than their totems and draw omens from them; which should be a warning against rashly inferring that a beast or bird of augury must necessarily be a totem. The truth is that totemism is only one of a multitude of forms in which superstitions touching animals and plants have crystallised.

Story of the chameleon, the frog, and the thrush, how the

The A-kamba have also a great wealth of folk-tales, in which birds and beasts play conspicuous parts without having anything to do with totemism. One of them is clearly akin to the Bechuana story of the origin of death.[1] Once on a

[1] See above, pp. 376 *sq.*

time, so say the A-kamba, God (*Engai*) sent out the chameleon, a frog, and a bird called *itoroko*, which is a kind of thrush with a black head and a buff breast (*Cossypha irnolacus*). The three were charged by God to find people who died one day and came to life again the next. So off they set, the chameleon leading the way, for in those days he was a very important person indeed. They came to some people lying like dead; so the chameleon went up to them and said softly *Niwe, niwe, niwe.* That annoyed the thrush, and he asked the chameleon testily what he was making that noise for. The chameleon answered, "I am only calling the people who go forward and then come back." He said that the dead could come back to life, but the thrush derided the idea. Sure enough, however, in response to the call of the chameleon the dead people opened their eyes and listened to him. But here the thrush cut in and told them that dead they were and dead they must remain. Then away he flew, and though the chameleon preached to the corpses, telling them he had come from God to resuscitate them, and that they were not to believe the lies of that shallow sceptic the thrush, nevertheless the corpses obstinately refused to budge. So the chameleon returned to God and reported to him what had happened, and how when he preached the resurrection to the dead corpses the thrush had roared him down, so that the corpses could not hear a word he said. God then cross-questioned the thrush, who said that the chameleon so bungled his message that he felt it his imperative duty to interrupt him. The confiding deity believed the thrush and being very angry with the chameleon he degraded him from his high estate and made him walk so slow, lurching to and fro before every step he takes. But God promoted the thrush to the office of wakening mankind from their slumber every morning, which he does punctually at 2 A.M., two hours before the note of any other bird is heard in the tropical forest.

chameleon preached the resurrection to some corpses, and they refused to believe him.

Every married woman among the A-kamba is thought to have two husbands, the one corporeal and the other spiritual. Her fertility is believed to depend on the attentions of her spiritual husband, who is the spirit of one

Spiritual husbands among the A-kamba.

of her ancestors; and if she does not bear children, a ceremony is performed to propitiate the spiritual spouse.[1]

Mutual avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

Among the A-kamba, as among so many exogamous peoples, a man has to avoid his mother-in-law. If they meet in the road, they both hide their faces and pass by in the bush on opposite sides of the road. Were a wife to hear that her husband had stopped and spoken to her mother in the road, she would leave him. When a man has business to discuss with his wife's mother, he goes to her hut at night and she will talk to him from behind a partition.[2] However, the A-kamba have a way of ridding themselves of this burdensome restriction. A man who wishes to do so, gives due notice of his intention, and then on a certain day the people of the neighbourhood assemble at the village where his mother-in-law lives. There they dance and feast at his expense, and he also formally presents a blanket both to his father-in-law and to his mother-in-law. After that he may communicate freely with his wife's mother.

Between the age of puberty and her marriage a girl must avoid her own father.

Between the age of puberty and the time of her marriage a girl has in like manner to avoid her own father. If they meet in the road, she hides while he passes; nor may she ever go and sit near him in the village until the day comes when he tells her that she is betrothed to a certain man. After her marriage she does not avoid her father in any way. This prohibition of ordinary social intercourse between a father and his daughter so long as the girl is mature and unmarried can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a precaution designed to prevent an improper intimacy between the two. The rule therefore confirms the like interpretation of all similar rules of avoidance between relatives of different sexes.[3]

§ 6. *Totemism among the Mweru*[4]

The Mweru are a very large tribe of the British East Africa Protectorate, inhabiting the northern and north-

[1] This interesting information as to spiritual husbands among the A-kamba I derive from a letter of Mr. C. W. Hobley to me. The letter is dated Nairobi, British East Africa, 21st June 1909.

[2] The rule of avoidance of a wife's mother has also been recorded for the A-kamba by Mr. L. Decle (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 490).

[3] See above, pp. 77 *sqq.*, 188 *sq.*

[4] For the following account of

eastern slopes of Mount Kenia and the Jombeni range. They are not pure A-Kikuyu, but appear to have a strong strain of Masai blood. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans called *mwiria*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, but must seek a wife in another. The members of each clan have a distinctive badge or pattern, which they mark on their honey-pots; they have other marks for their cattle, which are made on the ears and flanks of the beasts. Each clan has its totem called *netiri* or "the forbidden thing." When the totem is an edible object, a youth may not eat it until he is adult and has been initiated. His father makes medicine and performs a certain ceremony in which the youth has to take part. The young man can then eat his totem without suffering any ill effects from so doing. The following is a list of Mweru clans with their totems, so far as these are known:—

The Mweru are divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*mwiria*).

A man may eat his totem after initiation.

List of Mweru clans and totems.

Clan (*mwiria*).	Totem (*netiri*).
1. Ntowaita (in the Mweru language *ku-ita* means "to cut")	
2. Athanya . . .	The twine with which their *vyondo* or baskets are made.
3. Njaru	White cattle.
4. Nthia	Speckled or mottled cattle.
5. Ntuni	Red cattle.
6. Amakui . . .	A plant called *mukui* which has an edible root.
7. Athinga	Giraffe.
8. Antuanthama (*antu* in the Mweru language means "people")	Mpala.
9. Singamburi	Goats.
10. Antwa mwakia ("the greedy people")	Neotragus (*dik-dik*).
11. Angilo	Black cattle.
12. Mwianda (*anda* is the Mweru word for "louse")	Lice.
13. Amatu (*matu* in Mweru means "ears")	Francolin, a kind of partridge (in Swahili, *Kiringende*).

Mweru totemism I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. W. Hobley, who has very courteously placed his unpublished materials at my disposal.

Traditionary origin of the Ntowaita clan.

The first of these clans, the Ntowaita, is the dominant one. There is a legend to explain the origin of the name, which is supposed to come from a verb *ku-ita*, "to cut." The clan say that once when they were hard pressed by their enemies, who penned them in on the banks of a river, their medicine-man (*laibon*) by his magic art opened a passage for them through the waters, which, after they had passed over on dry land, closed up again behind them, thus presenting an impassable barrier to their pursuers.

§ 7. *Totemism among the Suk, Maragwetta, and Kamasia*

The district of Baringo and its people.

The tribes which inhabit the large district of Baringo in the British East Africa Protectorate have recently been investigated by the Hon. K. R. Dundas, and he has discovered the existence of totemism and exogamy in several of them. Through the kindness of Mr. A. C. Hollis I am allowed to extract from Mr. Dundas's unpublished papers the following account of the people and their social system.[1]

The district of Baringo stretches from Lake Rudolph on the north to Lake Hannington on the south, and from the eastern wall of the Great Rift Valley on the east to the Kamasia Hills, the Elgeyo Escarpment, and the Tirkwel River on the west. Little Lake Hannington, which terminates the Baringo district on the south, might appropriately be called the Lake of the Flamingoes, for these beautiful birds haunt the margin of the lake and its submerged banks by countless thousands, seeming in places to tinge its blue-green surface with a flush of rosy pink.[2]

The pastoral, nomadic tribes of the plains, and the agricultural tribes of the hills.

The population of the district falls naturally into two classes, the pastoral, nomadic tribes of the plains, and the agricultural tribes of the hills. To the nomad herdsmen of the plains belong the Suk and Turkana; to the husbandmen of the hills belong the Kamasia, Chebleng, Ndo, and Hill Suk. The two branches of the Suk are essentially the

[1] Mr. Dundas's account of the tribes of the Baringo district will probably be published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), i. 13 *sqq.*

same tribe, the Suk of the plains being an overflow from the hills, whence indeed their numbers are being daily recruited. Yet the population of the plains is thin and sparse. For the country is a desert of barren rocks or drifting sands, where lines of palm trees, dotted here and there, mark afar off the courses of the wadies or dry river-beds. In these lowlands the heat during the day is so intense that the natives rarely venture out except in the cool of the morning or of the evening. All the hill tribes build their villages on terraces high up the hillside to escape the swarms of mosquitoes which infest the low country during the rains. The only crops raised by these highlanders are eleusine and millet; the country is subject to long spells of severe drought, and when their crops fail, the natives of the more arid and barren regions in the north are often hard put to it, having to eke out a miserable subsistence for months together on roots, berries, rats, and mice, with an occasional windfall of an elephant to fill their shrunken bellies. Naturally they make the most of such water as they have and are expert in the art of irrigation.

The villages and crops of the hill tribes.

The Suk or Bawgott, as they call themselves, are a tall, well-built people, slim and lithe, light of foot and nimble runners. Like most East African tribes they are a mixed race. They all speak dialects of one language which is closely akin to the Nandi tongue. The pastoral Suk, who number about three thousand all told, seem to have begun to migrate into the Baringo district in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Suk tribe is divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*orten*, singular *oro*) with paternal descent; in other words, each clan has its totem, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and children take their clan and their totem from their father, not from their mother. The following is an incomplete list of the Suk clans with their totems:—

The Suk are divided into exogamous and totemic clans with paternal descent.

[TABLE

SUK CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
Kagorondor	frog	Chebarsitch	lion
Kaborai	,,	Araboin	God or rain (*ellat*)
Chepbai	,,	Kibbesetim	,, ,,
Chemmergwan	buffalo	Chibbekapturu	hyæna
Sangei	,,	Legen	,,
Chebokuo	,,	Chebajigwa	bee
Kajonyir	,,	Turgoll	zebra
Moiyoi	,,	Orror	ant-eater
Kachemmergaw	baboon	Sopan	elephant
Kagiserr	sun	Chepbau	hyrax
Saniak	kite	Cheman	a tree from which the Suk get oil
Kachigawk	,,		
Chibberwongo	lion	Terem	?

The levirate among the Suk.

Amongst the Suk a widow passes into the possession of a brother of her late husband; if there is no brother, she belongs to the clan of the deceased.

The Maragwetta and Ndo are divided into totemic clans.

Chebleng is the name given to a number of tribes who occupy the western wall of the Elgeyo Valley, and of these tribes the most northerly are the Maragwetta. Beyond them, still further to the north, are the Ndo, and beyond them again the Hill Suk. The Maragwetta and Ndo resemble the Suk in their manners and customs, and like the Suk they are divided into totemic clans, but we are not told whether the clans are exogamous. Each clan occupies a separate geographical district. The following is a list of Maragwetta clans with their totems and districts:—

MARAGWETTA CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	District.
1. Tallai	*kogai*, the crow	Beya
2. Oreon		Kaksegai
3. Sirichon	*seran*, the dik-dik, a small antelope	Katut
4. Kamugo	*kogai*, the crow	Kabioso
5. Tallai	*kogai*, the crow	Bogorror

South of these districts are five more, each with its own totemic clan, but these have not been visited by our informant, the Hon. K. R. Dundas.

The following is a list of Ndo clans with their totems and districts :—

NDO CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	District.
1. Saban	the elephant	Sibo
2. Tallai or Tulin	the crow and jackal	Kapsagat
3. Kapsegom	*sirere*, the kite	Kaksegom
4. Tallai	*kogai*, the crow	Kapsekerr
5. Tallai	„ „	Kamarein
6. Kapsegom	*sirere*, the kite	Kauwau
7. Tallai and Legen	crow and frog	Mareich
8. Chepbogamwoi	the buffalo	Kabell

Superiority of the Maragwetta and Ndo to the Suk.

The Maragwetta are very nearly related to the Elgeyo, who are allied to the Nandi. The Ndo appear to be a mixture of Maragwetta and Suk, with perhaps a slight infusion of Masai or Samburu blood. On passing from the Hill Suk to the Maragwetta and Ndo a traveller is at once struck by the higher civilisation of the two latter tribes, whose houses, in contrast to those of the Suk, are exceedingly well built and collected in villages, which are arranged in terraces, one above the other, on the hillside, giving an impression of cleanliness and order. This superiority is probably due in great measure to the more favourable natural conditions under which they live ; for their country is fertile and well watered, so that whereas the Suk hover on the verge of starvation, the Maragwetta and Ndo are comparatively rich ; famine is hardly known among them, and every year they sell the surplus stock of their grain and tobacco to other tribes.

The Kamasia tribe is divided into many totemic clans.

Perhaps the most numerous of all the hill tribes in Baringo are the Kamasia, who occupy the range of hills named after them. They form a very large and powerful tribe, divided into many geographical districts and many totemic clans. Mr. Dundas was unable to obtain a full list

of their totemic clans; but the following lists contain the clans in two districts, the Kapteberewa and the Nderois :—

KAMASIA CLANS (KAPTEBEREWA DISTRICT)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
1. Kapkeruwa	the sun (*sot*)	8. Kapsonok	the sun (*sot*)
2. Kaptogongo	„ „	9. Kapartaber	„ „
3. Kamengo	„ „	10. Kapkolumon	„ „
4. Kapchessoito	„ „	11. Tallai	the leopard
5. Kapalangwa	„ „	12. Kawbil	the porcupine (*sabet*)
6. Kameiwan	„ „	13. Tungaw	the hyæna (*chesin*)
7. Kaperchino	„ „	14. Kirimos	„ „

Marriage rules of the Kamasia clans; only two clans are exogamous.

In this list the number of clans which have the sun for their totem is remarkable. Mr. Dundas understood from the Kamasia that members of all these Sun clans were free to intermarry with each other and even to marry wives of their own clans; indeed that the only two exogamous clans in the list are the Kawbil and Tungaw.

KAMASIA CLANS (NDEROIS DISTRICT)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
1. Kimoi . .	the buffalo	4. Sot . .	the sun
2. Mogei . .	the bee	5. Kimwan .	the guinea-fowl
3. Tallai . .	the frog	6. Terriki . .	the elephant

The Turkana are divided into exogamous clans, which seem not to be totemic.

Another people of the Baringo district investigated by Mr. Dundas are the Turkana. It is commonly supposed that the Suk and Turkana are closely related to each other; but beyond a superficial resemblance due to tall stature and a common infusion of Samburu blood, Mr. Dundas failed to discover any real similarity between the two. Indeed the differences between them are many and striking. Thus whereas the Suk are very slender, the Turkana are big-limbed and heavily built; whereas the Suk speak a peculiarly soft

language, a dialect of Nandi, the Turkana speech, which closely resembles the Masai, is deep, hoarse, and guttural; whereas the Suk circumcise both sexes, the Turkana circumcise neither; whereas the Suk are very truthful and honest, the Turkana are very untruthful and dishonest, so that a traveller in their country has to keep a sharp look-out, for they will steal everything they can lay hands on. Lastly, although the Turkana are divided into exogamous clans, these clans, unlike those of the Suk, appear not to be totemic; at least after much questioning Mr. Dundas entirely failed to find any form of totemism among them. Each sex is divided inro three age-grades. The first age-grade of the males is that of the young boy (*nidue*); the second is that of the warrior (*egile*); and the third is that of the old man (*kasikou*). The corresponding age-grades of the women are called *apesur*, *aberu*, and *agemat*. The generations of warriors are called *asavanissia*. Each generation, as it attains the warrior's age, is given a distinctive name. Apparently a new age is created about every four or five years.

Age-grades among the Turkana.

§ 8. *Totemism among the Nandi*[1]

The Nandi are a tribe of mixed blood, who apparently combine elements of the Bantu, the Nile negro, the Masai, and the pigmies, with perhaps a dash of the Galla. Some of the men are tall with features almost of the so-called Caucasian type; others are dwarfish with protruding cheek-bones and low foreheads. Until 1905 they inhabited the whole of the highlands known as the Nandi plateau in the British East Africa Protectorate, extending from Mount Elgon on the north to the Nyando valley on the south, and being bounded by Kavirondo on the west and the Elgeyo escarpment on the east. The country has an

The Nandi, a mixed race.

The Nandi country.

[1] The Nandi are the subject of a valuable monograph by Mr. A. C. Hollis (*The Nandi, their Language and Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1909), on which I have freely drawn. See also C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Survey* (London, 1902), pp. 10 *sqq.*, 36 *sqq.*; *id.* "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 325 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), ii. 853 *sqq.*

altitude of from six to seven or even ten thousand feet above the sea; the soil is magnificent, but a great part of the land is covered with dense forest, the rainfall is very heavy, and fogs blot out the landscape for days together. The nights, too, at such an elevation are bitterly cold. Yet the scenery has much that reminds an Englishman or Scotchman of his native land. Here are swelling green downs crested with woodland as in Sussex or Surrey, roaring burns of brown water tumbling over grey rocks, forests of gaunt junipers that look at a little distance like the pines and firs of Scotland, meadows full of forget-me-nots and clover, and ferny hollows spangled with buttercups, daisies, and violets. In clear weather you may see far off, from some breezy height or at the end of a forest glade, the silvery gulfs and ghostly mountains of the Victoria Nyanza, dim and faint as dreams.[1]

In the year 1905 the Nandi, having made themselves obnoxious by attacks on the Uganda Railway and on peaceful natives, were removed from their native highlands and placed in a reserve somewhat to the north of the escarpment which bears their name.[2] They keep cattle and raise large crops of eleusine grain and millet; they also cultivate beans, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. The men clear the bush for plantations and help to sow the seed and to harvest some of the crops; the rest of the agricultural work is done by the women. Most of the fields are allowed to lie fallow every fourth or fifth year. Cattle-herding is the chief occupation of the men and the big boys. They breed cattle, sheep, and goats. Formerly their herds were enormous.[3] The Nandi do not live in villages. Every man has his own hut or huts near his fields of eleusine grain and millet. The huts are circular, built of wattle and mud, with walls about four feet high and conical roofs of grass.[4] Certain women of the tribe make unglazed, but ornamented, pottery in huts built specially for the purpose.[5] Iron is smelted and forged by Uasin Gishu Masai, who live among the Nandi.[6]

Habits of life of the Nandi.

Their houses.

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1908). p. 1; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 12; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), i. 28 *sqq.*

[2] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 1.

[3] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 17-20.

[4] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[5] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 35.

[6] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 36.

The Nandi are divided into totemic clans (*oret*, plural *ortinuek*) which are not, however, exogamous; a man may freely marry a wife of his own clan. Each clan is sub-divided into families named after the ancestors who are supposed to have been the first to settle in the Nandi country. For instance, the Kamarapa family of the Kipiegen clan are descended from one Marapa, and the Kapkipkech family of the Sokom clan are descended from one Kipkech. These families, as distinguished from the clans, observe the rule of exogamy; in other words, no man may marry a woman of the same family as himself.[1]

The Nandi are divided into totemic clans, which, however, are not exogamous.

The following is a list of the Nandi clans with their totems:—[2]

Principal Name of Clan (*oret*).	Other Names (used by Women only).	Totem or Sacred Animal (*tiondo*).
1. Kipoiis	Mende	(*Leluot*) jackal
	Kerus	(*Solopchot*) cockroach
2. Kipkoiitim	Kâpongen	(*Peliot*) elephant
	Kiram-gel	(*Nyiritiet*) chameleon
3. Kipamwi	Ñgemwiyo	(*Cheptirgichet*) duiker
	Kipketoi	
4. Kipkenda	Maiimi	(*Segemyat*) bee
	Maram-goñg	(*Mororochet*) frog
	Ram-dolil	
	Kuchwa	
	Kami-pei	
5. Kipkōkōs	Kâpsegoi	(*Chepkōkōsiot*) buzzard
6. Kipiegen	Ingoke	(*Moset*) baboon
	Katamwa	(*Muriot*) house rat
	Kipwalei	
7. Talai[3]	Kipya-kut	(*Ñgetundo*) lion
	Tule-kut	
	Kimapelameo	
8. Toiyoi	Moriso	(*Pirechet*) soldier ant
		(*Robta*) rain
9. Kipsirgoi	Pale-kut	(*Toret*) bush pig
	Kâpil	
	Malet-kam	
10. Sokom	Kâpyupe	(*Chepsiriret*) hawk

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 4-6. We are not told whether the clans and families descend in the male or the female line.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 5.

[3] The medicine-men, or *Orkoiik* (equivalent to the Masai *'L-oibonok*), all belong to this clan.

Principal Name of Clan (*oret*).	Other Names (used by Women only).	Totem or Sacred Animal (*tiondo*).
11. Moi	Rarewa	
	Kâparit-kisapony	(*Koñgonyot*) crested crane
	Partatukasōs	(*Soet*) buffalo
12. Kiptopke	Tuitokoch	(*Chereret*) monkey (*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*)
13. Kâmwaïke	Kipongoi	(*Taiyuet*) partridge
14. Tungo	Korapor	(*Kimaketyet*) hyæna
	Pale-pēt	
15. Kipaa	Koros	(*Erenet*) snake
	Kâpcher-Mwamweche	(*Koroiiyet*) Colobus monkey
16. Kipasiso	Kipkōyo	(*Asista*) sun
	Kâparakok	(*Puñguñgwet*) mole
17. Chemur		(*Kiptuset*) wild cat

Respect shewn for the totemic animals.

In former times the killing of the sacred animal, or totem, was strictly forbidden, and any breach of this law was severely punished, the offender being either put to death or driven out of his clan and his cattle confiscated. Nowadays the custom is less rigorously enforced; it is still considered wrong to kill the sacred animal, but if its life is taken, an apology to the creature seems to be thought a sufficient reparation. Thus a man of the Elephant clan told Mr. Hollis that he had shot an elephant, his sacred animal, because it had good tusks; and when the beast lay dead on the ground, he went up to it and said, "So sorry, old fellow, I thought you were a rhinoceros." He sold the tusks to the Swahili, gave the elders a present, and the matter was hushed up. Children, however, are taught to respect the totem of their clan, and if a child were to kill or hurt his totem he would be severely beaten.[1]

Power of Bee men over bees.

Men of the Bee clan seem able to control bees. Once when Mr. Hollis and his carriers had been put to flight by a swarm of bees, leaving their baggage behind them, a man of the Bee clan, practically naked, went boldly among the angry insects, led them back to their nest, and returned scathless.[2]

Besides respecting their sacred animals, the members of

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 6.
[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 6 *sq.*

the various clans are bound to do or to abstain from doing certain things. The following is a list of the several prohibitions and peculiarities.[1] Taboos observed by the clans.

Clan—Kipoiis. *Totems*—jackal and cockroach

No man of this clan may take as his first wife a woman who has previously conceived; but if he has himself got her with child, then he may take her as a junior wife. The people of this clan may hunt, but may not make traps; they may not build their huts near a road; and they may not wear the skins of any wild animals except the hyrax. They may not intermarry with the Talai clan. The Kipoiis clan.

Clan—Kipkoiitim. *Totems*—elephant and chameleon

The members of this clan do not as a rule hunt, but they may eat all kinds of game; yet they are forbidden to wear garments made from the skins of any wild animal except the hyrax. Under no circumstances may they marry a girl who has already conceived. The Kipkoiitim clan.

Clan—Kipamwi. *Totem*—duiker

The members of this clan are great hunters and live largely by the chase. But they may not eat the flesh of the duiker or of the rhinoceros. None of them may plant millet, or settle in Lumbwa, or have any intercourse whatever with the smiths. They may not even build their huts near those of the smiths, nor buy their weapons directly from them, nor allow their goats to meet the goats of the smiths on the road. They are forbidden to intermarry with the Tungo clan. The Kipamwi clan.

Clan—Kipkenda. *Totems*—bee and frog

No person of this clan may go to Kavirondo or to Kamasia. They may not hunt, make traps, or dig game pits; but they are free to eat all kinds of meat and wear the skins of any wild animals except the duiker. At a The Kipkenda clan.

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 8-11.

marriage a goat must always be slaughtered when the bride is fetched home. Members of this clan may not intermarry with the Kiptopke clan.

Clan—Kipkōkōs. *Totem*—buzzard

The Kipkōkōs clan.

The members of this clan are forbidden to settle in Nyangori and in Kavirondo; they may not hunt and they may not wear the skins of any wild animals except the hyrax, but they may eat the flesh of all game except the rhinoceros and the zebra. They are forbidden to marry a girl who has already conceived, and they may not intermarry with the Tungo clan.

Clan—Kipiegen. *Totems*—baboon and house rat

The Kipiegen clan.

No member of this clan may settle in Lumbwa, or eat zebra meat, or hunt, or dig pits, or make traps, or wear the skin of any wild animal except the hyrax. They may not bleed oxen or gather honey during the rains, and they may not marry as a first wife a girl who has already conceived. But a man of the clan is allowed to take as a junior wife a girl whom either he or one of his brothers has gotten with child. Members of this clan may not intermarry with either the Kiptopke or the Tungo clan.

Clan—Talai. *Totem*—lion

The Talai clan.

Members of the Lion clan may not wear a head-dress of lion-skin nor eat the meat of an animal which has been killed by a lion. They may not settle in Nyangori or Kamasia; in battle they may only fight on the right flank; they may strike nobody on the head; and they may only bleed oxen in the morning. All children of this clan wear a necklace made of pieces of gourd, and during the circumcision festival the boys wear a necklace of beads made out of ostrich egg-shells. Members of the clan may not see the bull-roarer or the friction drums which are sounded at circumcision.[1] A man of this clan may not marry a girl

[1] As to the ceremonies observed by the Nandi at circumcision, see A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 52 *sqq*. As to the bull-roarer and friction drums, see *id.* p. 40.

who has already conceived, nor may he intermarry with the Tungo, Kipoiis, and Sokom clans.

Clan—Toiyoi. *Totems*—soldier ant and rain

The Toiyoi clan.

If soldier ants enter the house of a member of this clan, they are requested to leave, but they are not driven out; on the contrary, the people themselves vacate the house, if necessary, until the ants have passed on. During a heavy thunderstorm members of the clan seize an axe, rub it in the ashes of the fire, and then throw it outside of the hut, exclaiming, "Thunder, be silent in our town" (*Toiyoi, sis kain-nyo*). The intention of throwing out the axe is probably to wound or at least frighten the spirit of the thunder and so drive him away. Similar means of putting an end to a thunderstorm have been adopted by savages and peasants in Europe and elsewhere both in ancient and modern times. Thus in Upper India it is still a very common practice to throw out axes and knives to scare the thunder demon;[1] and a cook's chopper deposited outside the house with the blade upwards is equally effective to keep off hail.[2] So, too, in a storm South Slavonian peasants carry out sharp-edged tools into the farmyard, in order that the witches may hurt themselves on them and stop the hail.[3] Italian peasants of the Romagna adopt the like means to keep the hail from their crops and vines.[4] During a thunderstorm some savages of New Britain stick a spear with its point upwards at the door of the hut. This, they think, will prevent the lightning from striking the hut, because he, the lightning, will fear to hurt himself on the point of the spear.[5] So, when the Indians of Canada were asked by the Jesuit missionaries why they planted their swords in the ground with the point upwards, they replied that the spirit of thunder was shrewd, and that if he saw the naked blades he

Ceremony performed by the Toiyoi clan to stop thunder.

Similar modes of stopping thunderstorms are practised by other peoples.

[1] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1906), i. 34.

[2] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i. 13, § 81 (April 1891).

[3] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven* (Münster i. W. 1890), pp. 118 *sq.*

[4] M. Placucci, *Usi e Pregiudizj dei Contadini della Romagna* (Palermo, 1885), pp. 135 *sq.*

[5] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 197.

would not come near the huts.[1] The Esthonians in Russia fasten scythes, edge upward, over the doors of their cottages in order that the demons, fleeing before the thundering god, may cut their feet on them if they try to seek shelter in the house. Sometimes for a like purpose the Esthonians take all the edged tools in the house and throw them out into the yard. It is said that, when the storm is over, gouts of blood are often found on the scythes and knives, showing that the demons have been wounded by them.[2] During a thunderstorm the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula run out of their houses and brandish their poles and weapons to drive away the demons.[3] In antiquity the Thracians used to shoot arrows at thunder and lightning and to threaten the god.[4] But to return to the Nandi.

Taboos observed by the Toiyoi clan.

No member of the Toiyoi clan may build in or near a forest, or wear the skin of any wild beast but the hyrax, or settle in Kamasia, Elgeyo, or Lumbwa. They prefer to elope with the girl of their choice rather than to marry her in the usual way; and they are glad if their daughters conceive before marriage, counting it a sign that as wives they will be prolific. But they may not themselves marry a girl who has already conceived. No child of the clan is named till it is six or seven years of age. The women generally wear brass instead of iron-wire ornaments.

Clan—Kipsirgoi. *Totem*—bush pig

The Kipsirgoi clan.

The members of this clan are mainly hunters; but they may not kill a beast which has been wounded by a member of another clan. Also they may not touch a donkey nor allow one to graze near their herds. For his first wife a man of this clan must always choose a girl who has already conceived; and if necessary he must capture her and arrange about the purchase-money with her parents afterwards.

[1] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1637, p. 53 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

[2] Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 110.

[3] Lieut.-Col. James Low, "The Sakai," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iv. (Singapore, 1850), p. 430.

[4] Herodotus iv. 94.

Clan—Sokom. *Totem*—hawk

The members of this clan may not settle in Kavirondo or Lumbwa; they may not eat the flesh or wear the skin of the duiker, but with that exception they may eat any kind of meat and wear the skin of any wild animal: they must always live apart and build their huts away from those of other people; and they must make their own fire by the friction of fire-sticks. They may not intermarry with the Tungo, Kiptopke, and Talai clans. The Sokom clan.

Clan—Moi. *Totem*—crested crane and buffalo

The people of this clan are not allowed to settle in Kamasia or raid in Kavirondo. They may not build in or near a forest, nor take small boys prisoners to adopt them, nor wear a garment made of the skin of a duiker or a bush-buck. Their first wife must be a woman who has never borne a child. When they shift their kraals or break down their huts, they must choose a site to the east of their former abode. Three days before a circumcision festival begins, the members of this clan perform a special ceremony called *kireku leget*. The cattle of this clan are not branded like most Nandi cattle, but ear-marked. The Moi clan.

Clan—Kiptopke. *Totem*—monkey (*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*)

This clan may not dig pits for game nor make traps, and their cattle may not pass the night outside of their own kraal. Members of the clan may not intermarry with the Kipkenda and Sokom clans. The Kiptopke clan.

Clan—Kâmwaïke. *Totem*—partridge

No member of this clan may settle in Nyangori or marry a girl who has already conceived. The clan is forbidden to intermarry with the Kipaa and Tungo clans. The Kâmwaïke clan.

Clan—Tungo. *Totem*—hyæna

This clan is held in high esteem, and one of their number is chosen as a judge or umpire in all disputes. The Tungo clan.

It falls to them to close the roads against the attack of an enemy and to form the rear-guard in a retreat. No man of this clan may elope with a girl if her parents refuse their consent, and he may not ask for a bride till the girl has performed a ceremony called *kâpkiyai*. The marriage price for a girl of the clan is less than for the girls of any other clan, being only one ox and five goats. When a hyæna howls at night, the women of the clan do not flick their ox-hide covers till it stops, as do the women of all the other clans; and when the corpse of a man of the clan is thrown out in the usual way for the hyænas and they do not devour it at once, the body may not be turned over on its other side like the bodies of other people.[1] The clan does not intermarry with the Kipamwi, Kipkōkōs, Kipiegen, Talai, Sokom, and Kâmwaïke clans.

Clan—Kipaa. *Totems*—snake and Colobus monkey

The Kipaa clan.

Members of this clan may not hunt or make traps, and they may wear the skin of no wild animal except the hyrax. They may only bleed their cattle in the morning during the rains, and they may not intermarry with the Kâmwaïke clan. Whenever it is possible, a member of this clan is engaged to plant the *korosiot* sticks, which are planted in a circle near the back entrance of the bridegroom's hut at marriage.[2]

Clan—Kipasiso. *Totems*—sun and mole

The Kipasiso clan.

People of this clan may not catch rain water in vessels or use it for cooking. If a goat sniffs at their grain or walks over it when it is spread out to dry or ripen, they may not use it except for feeding unnamed children. With them the ceremony of naming a child is not performed till the child is six or seven years old. When people of the clan make porridge, they must first of all sprinkle a little spring water on the fire. They may drink milk one day after eating game.

The Chemur clan.

There is another clan called Chemur, which has the wild

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 7, 11, 70 *sq.*

[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 62 *sq.*

cat for its totem; but its taboos and peculiarities are not known.

The names of some of the Nandi clans are derived from their totems.

All the names of the Nandi clans, as well as the names applied to them by women, have meanings, but the meanings of many of them are obscure.[1] However, some of the names of the clans are clearly derived from their totems. Thus the Kipkōkōs clan takes its name from its totem the buzzard (*chepkōkōs*); the Kipasiso clan takes its name from its totem the sun (*asis*); and the Kipaa clan takes its feminine name Koros from its totem the Colobus monkey (*koroiit*). The name of the Toiyoi clan means "thunder" (*toiyoi*); and we have seen that members of this clan perform a ceremony to stop a thunderstorm.[2] Hence we may conjecture that thunder as well as rain is, or used to be, one of their totems, and that like the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia they claim the power of controlling their totem by magic. The Kipamwi clan has for its totem the duiker, and the animal is sometimes called by the same name (*kipamwi*). Kami-pei, one of the women's names for the Kipkenda clan, means "those who eat water"; and the name is appropriate, since one of the totems of the clan is the frog. Pali-pet, one of the women's names for the Tungo clan, means "those who go to bed in the morning," and clearly alludes to the nocturnal rambles of the hyæna, which is one of the totems of the clan. The name of the Moi clan means "calf," and doubtless refers to the buffalo, which is one of the totems of the clan. Again, Rarewa is one of the women's names for the same clan, and it means "heifer." With these examples before us we may guess that many of the other names for the Nandi clans are derived from their totems, though their meanings are now obscure.

The hyæna is held in respect or fear by all the Nandi, whether it is their totem or not.

While one of the Nandi clans has for its totem the hyæna, all the Nandi, like most tribes of East Africa, hold that animal in respect or fear, apparently because it devours corpses and may thus be supposed to be physically akin to the living as well as to the dead, since it has absorbed the flesh and blood of their kinsmen. The Nandi expose

[1] For the following remarks on the names of the Nandi clans I am indebted to a letter of Mr. A. C. Hollis (dated 3rd September, 1908).

[2] See above, p. 437.

LIBRARY

The Nandi expose their dead to the hyænas.

the bodies of their dead near their huts in order that they may be eaten by the hyænas. The relations who lay the corpses on the ground call to the animals to come and eat them; and if on the second day after the death they find that the body has not been touched by the brutes, they kill a goat and place the flesh on and near the corpse, in the hope of attracting the attention of the hyænas.[1] Hence naturally enough the Nandi imagine that hyænas hold communication with the spirits of the dead and can talk like human beings. When several children in one family have died, the parents place the next newly born babe for a few minutes in a path along which hyænas are known to walk; for they hope that these brutes will intercede with the spirits of the dead, and that the child may live. They will not molest a hyæna prowling round their houses, though they will not hesitate to kill or wound him on unappropriated land. Nobody dares to imitate the cry of a hyæna under pain of being banished from the tribe or of being refused a husband or wife in marriage. If a child so far forgets itself as to mimic the howl of a hyæna, he may not enter the hut till a goat has been slaughtered and the excrement rubbed on him, no doubt as a form of purification; after that he is soundly thrashed. While a hyæna howls at night, all Nandi women, except those of the Tungo clan, flick their ox-hide coverlets till the melancholy sound dies way in the darkness. If the droppings of a hyæna are found on a plantation, the corn is deemed unfit for use until the field has been purified by a person from Kamasia, who receives a goat for his pains.[2] These Nandi superstitions about the hyæna are another instance of the respect in which among a totemic people an animal may be held by persons who have not got it for their totem. I call attention to such superstitions for the sake of warning my readers against the common error of hastily concluding that any animal which a savage treats with a superstitious regard must needs be his totem.

Punishment for imitating the cry of a hyæna.

The same association with the dead probably explains the widespread veneration in which the hyæna is held by the Wanika of East Africa. Thus we are told that "the

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 70 *sq.*

[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 7.

greatest funeral ceremonies held by the Wanika are those which they get up on the death of hyænas. They regard that animal with the most singular superstition. They look upon it as one of their ancestors, or in some way associated with their origin and destiny. The death of the hyæna is the occasion of universal mourning. The *mahanga* (wake) held over a chief is as nothing compared to that over the hyæna. One tribe only laments the former, but all tribes unite to give importance to the obsequies of the latter."[1] It is true that the Wanika do not, like the Nandi, regularly expose their dead to be devoured by hyænas; on the contrary, they bury them in deep, well-dug graves. But the bodies of the friendless, of criminals, and of other exceptional persons, are thrown into the woods or among the rocks to be the prey of prowling hyænas.[2] This custom may have sufficed to ensure to the animal the place which it occupies in the religion of the Wanika. Certainly the universality of the respect in which the foul animal is held by the Wanika nation proves that it cannot be a totem; for a totem is regularly the sacred animal of a section of a people, not of the whole.

The whole Wanika people mourn the death of a hyæna; but the animal is not their totem.

Amongst the Nandi on a man's death his sons inherit his flocks and herds, the bulk of the property going to the eldest son of the principal wife. When an unmarried warrior or a man with no sons dies, his brothers inherit his property. If he has no brothers, his step-brothers are his heirs, and failing them his paternal cousins succeed.[3] Thus the Nandi have father-kin in the matter of inheritance. Yet a trace of mother-kin survives among them in the position of influence and authority which the maternal uncle occupies in the family. An understanding exists between a boy and his mother's brother such as exists between no other relations. When a boy is in disgrace, his mother's brother is asked to intervene on his behalf. The nephew may not be circumcised, or have his teeth extracted, or have the lobes of his ears pierced, without the leave of his maternal uncle. It is always usual for warriors to give their maternal uncle a cow after a raid in

Rules of inheritance among the Nandi.

Trace of mother-kin in the power of the maternal uncle over his sister's son.

[1] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 122.

[2] Charles New, *op. cit.* pp. 121, 122.

[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 72 *sq.*

return for the kindness he shewed them in childhood. The most terrible thing that can happen to a Nandi is to displease his maternal uncle. If he does so, the uncle formally curses his nephew by scratching his shin till the blood flows, rubbing in ashes, and saying, "The child of our child! May this blood eat thee, for we gave life to thy mother that she might bear thee." It is believed that a nephew so cursed will die in a few days unless by a present of cattle he can persuade his uncle to remove the curse.[1]

The levirate.

Among the Nandi a widow nominally becomes the property of either the next elder or next younger brother of her late husband; but often she lives in her old home with one of her sons or goes to reside with her father or a brother.[2]

Uncleanness of the manslayer.

A Nandi who has killed a member of his own clan is regarded as unclean for the rest of his life, unless he can kill two other Nandi of a different clan and can pay the fine himself. He may never again enter any cattle-kraal except his own, and whenever he wishes to enter a hut he must strike the earth twice with a rhinoceros-horn club before he crosses the threshold.[3]

The classificatory system of relationship among the Nandi.

The Nandi possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a person of any age or sex applies the same term of address to his or her father, to his or her father's brothers, and to the husbands of his or her mother's sisters. He or she applies the same term of address to his or her mother, to his or her mother's sisters, and to the wives of his or her father's brothers. Referring indirectly to his brothers and sisters, and to his first cousins the children either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters, he applies the same term *tupchet* to them all. A man refers to his own sons and daughters by the same term *lakwet* by which he refers to the sons and daughters of his brothers.[4] The terms of relationship differ according as the relation is addressed directly or referred to indirectly; and in some cases the terms of address differ according to the age and sex of the speaker. Thus a father is referred to as *kwanda* or *kwanit*, but addressed as *papa* by a boy, as *apoiyo* by a

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 94.
[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 73.
[3] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 74.
[4] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 92 *sq.*

man, and as *pakwa* by a girl or woman. A mother is referred to as *kamet* or *kametit*, but addressed as *korket* by a man and as *eiyo* by a boy, girl, or woman.[1]

Age-grades among the Nandi.

While the Nandi people are divided genealogically into clans and families, they are also divided socially, like the Masai, the Taveta, and the Turkana, into what are now called age-grades, which are determined, as the name implies, not by the descent but by the age of their members. As such age-grades are common in savage communities and appear to have been instrumental in building up the classificatory system of relationship,[2] which in turn is intimately bound up with exogamy, they deserve to be noticed in this book. Among the Nandi the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders; and the female sex is divided into girls and married women. The first stage for both sexes continues till circumcision, which is performed both on boys and girls. Roughly speaking, the ceremony of circumcision is performed about the age of puberty. It may take place between the ages of ten and twenty, but most commonly it is performed on boys between fifteen and nineteen. A festival of circumcision for boys is celebrated about every seven and a half years and lasts for a couple of years. All boys who are circumcised at the same time are said to belong to the same age or cycle (*ipinda*).[3]

The seven ages.

There are seven ages in all, which make up a total of about fifty-three years. They always bear one of the following names and succeed each other in the following order:—

Maina (small children, who will be circumcised about 1915).
Nyonge (boys between 10 and 20; their circumcision festival began in 1907).
Kimnyike (men between 18 and 28, circumcised about 1900).
Kâplelach (men between 26 and 36, circumcised about 1892).
Kipkoiimet (men between 34 and 44, circumcised about 1885).
Sowe (men between 42 and 52, circumcised about 1877).
Juma (men between 50 and 60, circumcised about 1870).

In each age or cycle there are three subdivisions called

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 92 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 179 *sq.*

[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 11 *sq.*, 52 *sqq.* Since the Nandi were removed to their reserve (see above, p. 432), they have so far altered the custom that boys are now circumcised every year or so, like girls.

fires (*mat*, plural *mostinuek*), probably because the members of each subdivision associate round their own fires, and do not allow the members of the other subdivisions to join them.[1]

Ceremony of transferring the guardianship of the country from the men of one age-grade to another.

About every seven and a half years the guardianship of the country is solemnly transferred from the men of one age, now grown old, to the men of the age immediately succeeding them. The ceremony at which the transference takes place is one of the most important in the Nandi annals. The last was performed about 1904, the next will take place about 1911. All the adult male population, so far as possible, gather at a certain spot; but no married warrior may attend, nor may he or his wife leave their houses while the ceremony is being performed. The Chief Medicine Man (*Orkoiyot*) must be present; and the ceremony opens with the sacrifice of a white bullock, which is purchased by the young warriors for the occasion. After the meat has been eaten by the old men, each of the young men makes a small ring out of the hide, and puts it on one of the fingers of his right hand. A circle is then formed round the Chief Medicine Man, who stands near a stool, about which is heaped cow dung studded with the fruit of the *lapotuet* shrub (*Solanum campylanthum*). All the old men and the members of the age immediately preceding the one in power stand up, whilst the warriors who are going to receive the control of the country sit down. On a sign from the Chief Medicine Man the members of the preceding age strip themselves of their warrior's garments and don the fur robes of old men. The warriors of the age in power, that is, those who were circumcised about four years before, are then solemnly informed that the safety of the country and the welfare of the people are committed to their hands, and they are exhorted to guard the land of their fathers. After that the people disperse to their homes.[2]

§ 9. *Totemism in Kavirondo*

Kavirondo, the country and the people.

Kavirondo is a district of British East Africa at the north-eastern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza. It is a rolling

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 12

[2] A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 12 *sq.* As to the fur robes (*karosses*) of the old men, see *id.* pp. 28 *sq.*

grass country, breezy and healthy, at a height of from four thousand to five or six thousand feet above the sea, but much warmer and sunnier than the bleak highlands of Nandi, which bound it on the east. The contrast, too, is striking between the tiny cultivated plots of the Nandi and the miles and miles of cornland in Kavirondo. Where the land is not in tilth, the prairies are gorgeous with wild flowers, notably with sunflowers, which turn some of the hillsides into a blaze of yellow. The people, who have been described as "ebon statuary," are more flourishing and happy, better fed, and stronger than their eastern neighbours the Nandi. Men and women work naked in the fields. They live in clusters of straw huts which glister like gold in the sun and are surrounded by an immense floral hedge gay with the pink blossoms of the acanthus and the coral red of the aloes. Their staple food is grain, supplemented by sweet potatoes and bananas.[1]

Different stocks in the population of Kavirondo.

The population of Kavirondo comprises tribes of several different stocks, which may be distinguished as the Bantu Kavirondo, the Nilotic Kavirondo, the Masai, and the Eldorobo. Under the Bantu Kavirondo are included the Awa-Rimi, the Awa-Ware, and the Awa-Kisii; under the Nilotic Kavirondo are the Ja-Luo and the Elgumi or Wamia; while of the Masai stock the only representatives in the country are the Guasangishu, who have given up their nomadic habits and live in scattered settlements among the Kavirondo. The Eldorobo are an aboriginal tribe of wandering hunters, who roam the forests of the Mau plateau and are very rarely seen by Europeans. They live chiefly on the flesh of the Colobus monkey and other small mammals, which they shoot with poisoned arrows, and they also collect much wild honey.[2]

The natives of Kavirondo, both of the Bantu and of the Nilotic stock, are divided into totemic clans, which, in contrast with those of their neighbours the Nandi, are exogamous. To this difference in the social systems of

The natives of Kavirondo, both of the Bantu and of the

[1] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Survey* (London, 1902), p. 13; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 34, 44 *sqq.*

[2] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 7-11. As to the Kavirondo people, see also Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 722 *sqq.*

Nilotic stock, are divided into exogamous and totemic clans.

the Kavirondo and the Nandi a student of these races, Mr. C. W. Hobley, is disposed to attribute in great measure the superior vigour of the Kavirondo. "No Kavirondo," he says, "marries in his own clan, and the degeneracy due to inbreeding is obviated by this salutary custom."[1]

The totemic system both of the Kavirondo and of the Nandi has been investigated by Mr. C. W. Hobley, and it may be well to give the results of his enquiries in his own words, although in what concerns the Nandi his account has to be supplemented by the much fuller information collected by Mr. A. C. Hollis, which has been already laid before the reader.[2] Mr. Hobley writes as follows:—[3]

Mr. Hobley's account of totemism in Kavirondo.

"The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *muziro*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *muziro* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

"Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

"In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

Supposed consequences of eating the totem (*muziro*).

"The Bantu group use the word *muziro* to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred

[1] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 13.

[2] See above, pp. 433 *sqq.*

[3] C. W. Hobley, "British East Africa, Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903), pp. 346-349.

to can be averted by making a medicine *dawa*, extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

Totems (*kwero*) of the Nilotic Ja-Luo.

"Among the Nilotic Ja-Luo the totems are called *kwero*, and there is a long list of *kwero* animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch. Upon no occasion is the rule of the *kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this *index expurgatorius* are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any *kwero* animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gemi tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gemi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them *ogwang*. The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the *kwero* law.

"EXAMPLES OF THE TOTEMS OF THE BANTU FAMILY

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisesi clan of Awa Wanga	*Imbongo*, bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Ikulu*.
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	*Liusi*, pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Makuyi*, a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November; it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	*Isunu*, reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	*Imbongo* or *Ngawe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	*Mbiakalo*, white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

"THE TOTEMS (*KWERO*) OF THE NILOTIC GROUP

	Name in Tho-Loo.		Name in Tho-Loo.
Crocodile	*Nyang*	Nile monitor (lizard)	*Ngnech*
Hyæna	*Ndiek*	Python	*Nyelo*
Leopard	*Okwach*	Mongoose	*Gori gori*
Baboon	*Bīm*	Rock hyrax	*Kumnēr*
Monkey	*Ongner* (*Cercopithecus sp.*)	Tortoise	*Upuku*
Wild cat	*Ogwang*	Colobus monkey	*Kuru*
Jackal	*Buwem*	Wart hog	*Imbirri*
Vulture	*Achut-th*	Frog	*Ogwan*
Crow	*Agako*	Crested crane	*Iwang*
Kite	*Otenga*	Ground hornbill	*Arumtich*

"The following are in addition *kwero* or 'tabu' to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gemi). The women's *kwero* are not serious ones, *i.e.* a breach of the law is not followed by death.

"THE TOTEMS OF THE NANDI GROUP

	Nandi name.		Nandi name.
Hyæna	*Magetiet*	Water tortoise	*Chebkukuchet*
Jackal	*Leliot*	Chameleon	*Nyeretiat*
Kite	*Chebineret*	Crested crane	*Kungonyot*
Buzzard	*Chebkukusiot*	Elephant	*Beliot*

"The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

Belief of the Kadimo in their descent from the python.

"I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred, and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

Sacred snakes among the Wanyamwezi.

"Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans, and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor.

Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.[1]

Totems of the Koromjo.

"The totems of the Koromjo people who live north of Mount Elgon are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyæna, and the cheetah; they believe they will die if they eat any of these. If, however, by any mischance, the meat of a *muziro* animal be eaten, a medicine called *Eyarri*, if taken in time, will save the life of the person. It is made from a tree with very dark leaves called *Emuthi*; the patient is violently purged and, eventually, recovers."

Right to marry a wife's sisters.

Among the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo a man has the right to marry all the younger sisters of his wife as they come of age; they cannot be given in marriage to any one else till he has declined their hands.[2]

§ 10. *Exogamy among the Bageshu*

The Bageshu, a Bantu people of Mount Elgon.

The Bageshu are a large Bantu tribe or nation, estimated to number not less than a million, who inhabit chiefly the eastern and south-eastern slopes of the lofty Mount Elgon, on the eastern boundary of the Uganda Protectorate. They are a primitive race of cannibals standing low down in the human scale. Their country might be called a land without graves; for like the Nandi they fling out their dead towards evening to be devoured by the wild beasts. But the old women steal forth under cover of darkness and carve out the prime pieces of the corpses to furnish a meal, while they leave only the refuse to the brutes. These savages were visited in their native homes by the Rev. John Roscoe in the summer of 1908, and it is on his notes that the present account of the people and their customs is based.[3]

The country of the Bageshu, a land of mountains and waterfalls.

The Bageshu say that they formerly dwelt high up on Mount Elgon, inhabiting the caves which abound there, and that they have gradually worked their way down to the

[1] Compare above, vol. i. p. 20.

[2] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 17; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 747.

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 181-195.

lower slopes, which they now occupy, each clan taking in fresh land year by year, but always descending in a straight line so as not to encroach on the domain of their neighbours. The sides of the great mountain are terraced and afford ample room for good gardens and villages; and copious streams of excellent water flowing from the summit provide for the needs of the people and irrigate the plantations. Many of these streams, tumbling over the precipitous sides of the mountains, form beautiful waterfalls which dash themselves in clouds of iridescent spray on the rocks hundreds of feet below. The superstitious natives regard these foaming, thundering cascades as the abode of spirits, and they catch the falling water in vessels to carry it home and sprinkle it, as a charm for health and strength, on the heads of their children. In the mountains, too, there are many natural caves which for ages have served the people as strongholds to which they flee in time of danger. Some of them used to be kept always stored with provisions, so that at the least alarm the villagers could retreat to them, driving their bleating flocks and lowing herds before them up steep and narrow paths which often formed the solitary approach to these sequestered fastnesses. There the sheep and cattle were kept in the caverns by day to be driven out to pasture in the darkness of night.[1] The breed of cattle which the Bageshu keep is well adapted to life in these highlands, for it is small and nimble, and can browse and scramble like the goats themselves on the sides of the mountains. The cows are herded by boys and girls, and both sexes are free to milk them. But the Bageshu live mainly by agriculture. They work chiefly at their plantations of plantains in the valleys and moist hollows of the hills. These furnish their staple food, but they also raise crops of millet, maize, sweet potatoes, peas, and a variety of dwarf beans.[2]

The caves used by the Bageshu as retreats in time of danger.

Agriculture of the Bageshu.

The Bageshu are divided into a number of exogamous

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 181 *sq.*, 189. As to the great caves on Mount Elgon, see Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1885), pp. 509 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 52 *sqq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 192 *sq.*

clans, each of which occupies its own lands and holds aloof from its next neighbours, resenting as an act of hostility and ground for war any encroachment upon its territory. However, the members of neighbouring clans meet on occasions of festivities, and each clan seeks its wives from an adjacent clan. The names of twenty-nine clans were ascertained by Mr. Roscoe. No man may marry a woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; all the women of his mother's clan are regarded as his near relations; his mother's sisters he calls his mothers. The marriage between a young couple is arranged by their parents; it is a purely financial transaction; the affection of the parties chiefly concerned has nothing to do with it. Polygamy is commonly practised; a man may marry the sisters of his first wife, if he chooses to do so.[1] A father names his child after one of his ancestors, and the ghost of the eponymous ancestor is believed to take charge of the child and to become its guardian spirit. When a wife has been unfaithful, she prays the ancestral ghost of the child's real father to protect it against the ancestral ghost of its nominal father, who may naturally be supposed to owe the bastard a grudge. If a child pukes and pines after receiving its name, the medicine-man will sometimes advise the parents to change the infant's name and give it a new one, in order thereby to place their offspring under the patronage of a more efficient guardian spirit.[2]

Exogamous clans of the Bageshu. Rules of marriage.

Children named after ancestors, whose ghosts became their guardian spirits.

Boys and girls are both circumcised at the age of puberty; it is then that the lads are initiated into the mysteries of the clan. Their severed foreskins are collected and buried under the chief's house. At the same time both sexes have the front lower teeth extracted. When their wounds are healed, the boys and girls bathe in a sacred pool, which is supposed to be guarded by snakes. A festival of dancing and beer-drinking follows. It lasts for several

Circumcision.

Extraction of teeth.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 182 *sq.* The names of the Bageshu clans which Mr. Roscoe obtained are as follows: 1. Babesi, 2. Banyuwaka, 3. Bankoki, 4. Baholasi, 5. Bahuku, 6. Baduda, 7. Basukuye, 8. Baliyenda, 9. Baluke, 10. Balage, 11. Bakike, 12. Bapete, 13. Bakikaye, 14. Babeva, 15. Bakumunya, 16. Basihu, 17. Bamasiki, 18. Bakonde, 19. Bayobe, 20. Basane, 21. Balusekya, 22. Balukulu, 23. Bamoni, 24. Batunduye, 25. Babangobe, 26. Batisu, 27. Bambobi, 28. Bakumana, 29. Bafumbe.

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 184.

Sexual orgy after circumcision.

days, and during its continuance "there is the fullest license given to both sexes; men and women have promiscuous intercourse without any restraint."[1] We have seen that similar scenes of debauchery attend the practice of circumcision in Fiji and among the Wagogo.[2] The exact meaning of such orgies is not clear.

Totems not discovered among the Bageshu.

Mr. Roscoe's enquiries failed to elicit the existence of totems among the Bageshu; but he adds: "There was every indication of the system, the limited knowledge of the language, however, made it impossible to get at them."[3] It is to be hoped that future enquiries among this interesting people will supply the blank in our record.

§ 11. *Totemism among the Bakene*

The Bakene, a Bantu people of Busoga, inhabiting the papyrus swamps of the Mpologoma River.

The Bakene are a Bantu tribe of Busoga, the country which bounds Uganda on the east. The tribe was visited in the summer of 1908 by the Rev. J. Roscoe, to whom we owe an account of the people.[4] They live chiefly on the Mpologoma River, but they extend to Lake Kioga and are said to be found also on Lake Salisbury. The Mpologoma River rises in Mount Elgon and flows for some miles in a southerly direction; it then winds westward and rapidly widens out until it empties itself into Lake Kioga. The current is choked and the water dammed up by the enormous growth of papyrus, so that the river expands into a series of broads or lagoons, which in some places are fully six miles wide. It thus forms a complete barrier between the Bantu tribes on the one bank and the Nilotic races on the other as far as Lake Kioga, and the barrier is continued by the Nile to Lake Albert Nyanza. The Mpologoma River is the true home of the Bakene; the tall papyrus beds of its swamps provide a perfect shelter for their floating houses, and its fish furnish them with an abundant supply of food. They build their huts on the roots of the

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 185-187.

[2] See above, pp. 145 *sqq.*, 403.

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 182.

[4] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 116-121.

papyrus at a safe distance from the shore and are careful to hide them away in the recesses of the marsh. Tortuous water-ways fringed by tall papyrus plants, which tower like green walls on either side of the winding channel, lead to their secluded dwellings, and as the traveller glides along them in a canoe, with no sound to break the silence but the monotonous splash of the paddle and the ripple of the water at the bow, he might almost fancy himself transported to Venice, were it not that forests of reeds have taken the place of marble palaces, and a sky of deeper than Italian blue broods overhead. It is pleasant to come upon such an African Venice in the early morning when the sun is up and to see the people, men, women, and children, busy at their various occupations, some baiting their fish-traps, others fishing in deep water, women plunged up to their waists in the swamp emptying holes of the small fry that have been caught in them overnight, and children paddling in tiny canoes from tuft to tuft of papyrus, or watching a crocodile as he floats lazily basking in the sunshine. On some of the clumps of papyrus miniature huts may be observed; in these the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell, and there offerings of food and clothes are deposited that the ghosts may not come and haunt the living.[1]

An African Venice.

Miniature huts for the dead.

In their customs, language, and appearance the Bakene closely resemble the Basoga of the north-east, and they have a tradition that their forefathers came from that quarter. Both sexes extract the two lower front teeth, and the women pierce the under lip, but they do not disfigure themselves in any other way.[2] They subsist chiefly on fish, which they catch with rods, lines, traps, and by spearing them in shallow water. They eat the fish both fresh and dried, and they barter them for clothing and for other food. Their houses, built on the floating roots of papyrus, usually open directly on the water, so that the people step from their door into their canoe. Men, women, and even small children are all expert paddlers. The canoes are dug out of solid logs, and are propelled by long heavy paddles, which, like the gondoliers of Venice, the canoemen generally ply standing up. The

The Bakene resemble the Basoga. They are a fisher-folk.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 116 *sq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 116 *sq.*

water-ways are kept open by constant use and by cutting back the rank growth of the reeds. The side canals, as we may call them, are private ways; each of them is for the use of the family whose hut stands at the end of it. The entrance to one of these side canals is often arched over, and charms hang from the arch to protect the inmates of the house from harm.[1]

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bakene.

The Bakene are divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans. The Bakoma clan has for its totem the husk of the small millet (*bulo*); the Baholwa clan has for its totem the guinea-fowl; the Bagota clan has for its totem the *kyachuli*, a small animal of the cat tribe; the Babira clan has for its totem the *ng'onge*, an otter; and the Bahaugo have for their totem the *mondo*, a civet cat. Besides these clans there are two others, the Bagule and the Bahobando, the totems of which Mr. Roscoe was not able to ascertain. Each clan has its head man or chief; he is elected by the clan and holds office for life, unless he forfeits it by vicious conduct or is incapacitated by illness.[2]

Rules of marriage.

The people seem to be debarred from marrying into the clan of their father as well as into the clan of their mother. At least this appears to be implied by Mr. Roscoe's statement that "polygamy is practised by the tribe, and they are also exogamists. The children all regard their father's relations as their own special clan, and their mother's sisters are all mothers to them, so that the relationship always debars them from marrying into their mother's clan."[3] The custom of children regarding their mother's sisters as their mothers is a clear mark of the classificatory system of relationship. It is a woman's brother, not her father, who has the right to give or to refuse her hand in marriage; and it is he who conducts her to her new home. For a man may not marry till he has built a new house for his wife. Thither the bride, veiled from head to foot in a bark-cloth, is conveyed in a canoe, attended by her friends in their canoes, the whole convoy singing to the measured dip of the paddles in the water. They time the voyage, be

Indication of the classificatory system.

The bridal convoy.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 116 *sq.*, 119 *sq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 120.

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 117.

it long or short, so as to reach the bride's new home when the sun is setting behind the papyrus swamp and all the water-ways are ruddy with his dying light. The bridal party stays overnight with the young couple, and next morning they receive presents from the bridegroom and paddle home.[1]

Children guarded by an ancestral ghost. The birth of twins.

A child is named after one of its father's ancestors, whose ghost is supposed to look after it. Twins are thought to be a gift of the gods, and the happy father announces their birth by beating a drum. The sound is taken up and repeated by his neighbours, so the good news goes rumbling down the water-ways for a long distance. The father's sister's son hastens to the house, closes the front door, and makes a temporary opening at the back of the hut. He takes the leading part in the dancing ceremonies which follow. The after-birth of the twins is put into two new cooking-pots and dried; then it is taken ashore and left in the grass near one of the gardens.[2]

§ 12. *Totemism among the Basoga*

Busoga, its physical features and climate.

Immediately to the east of Uganda and divided from it by the ample stream of the new-born Nile, is the district of Busoga, bounded on the south by the broad waters of the Victoria Nyanza. In physical features and in the character of the people Busoga strongly resembles Uganda. The country has been described as a dam which shores up the northern end of the great lake and slopes away from it gradually to the northward. Grand tropical forests, gay with the bright blossoms of many flowering trees and enlivened by parrots and other birds of brilliant plumage, occupy much of the land, and on plunging into their depths the traveller from the east coast feels that he has reached at last the Africa of his dreams. In the clearings of the woods flourish luxuriant plantations of bananas. But the climate is unhealthy, and there are few running streams; for the brooks, choked with rank vegetation, soon degenerate into

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 117 *sq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 118 *sq.*

LIBRARY

swamps in the sunless glades of the forest or into marshes in the open.[1] The inhabitants of the country, the Basoga, are closely akin to their neighbours the Baganda in race, appearance, customs, and language. They live in thatched beehive huts, keep cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, and till the ground. Their favourite food is the banana, but they also cultivate and use sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, beans, eleusine, and sorghum. Tobacco and cotton are grown. The country has never, like Uganda, been united under a single ruler; the people have always been broken up into separate communities under more or less powerful chiefs.[2]

The Basoga, their way of life.

Totemic clans of the Basoga.

The Basoga were investigated in the summer of 1908 by the Rev. John Roscoe, who found that they are divided into a large number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the paternal line. I am indebted to his kindness for the following information on the subject.

Three tribes in Busoga.

There are three distinct tribes in Busoga. First, in the north-west of the country is the tribe commonly called Gabula's, after an important chief of that name; they used to look to the Banyoro as their feudal lords. Second, in the north-east of the country is the tribe called Zibondo's, after a chief of that name; they used to look to the Nilotic Bateso as their feudal lords. Third, in the east of the country is a tribe which may be called Luba's, after a former chief; they have always looked to the Baganda as their feudal lords.

Paternal descent of the totems.

Respect for the mother's totem.

Descent of the totem among the Basoga is in the male line; that is, children belong to the totemic clan of their father, not of their mother. But, as happens in other Bantu tribes, children respect their mother's totem during their minority, and neither they nor their children may marry into her clan.

The following is a list of the Basoga clans and totems, so far as they have been ascertained by Mr. Roscoe:—

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), i. 66-68.

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 713-715.

CLANS OF NORTH-WEST BUSOGA (GABULA'S TRIBE)

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Mpongo	bushbuck (*mpongo*)	31. Sendasi	bushbuck (*mpongo*)
2. Baigaga	chaff from millet (*bulo*)	32. Mutedeba	...
3. Bahoya	...	33. Bango	a bird called *nsosoli* or *sosolya*
4. Kwanga	hippopotamus (*njovu*)	34. Toli	bushbuck (*mpongo*)
5. Soswa	jackal (*mpisi*)	35. Bere	...
6. Baisongo	serval (*mondo*)	36. Mayanja	...
7. Mulondo	grey monkey (*nkima*)	37. Kisuwi	leopard (*mpala*)
8. Lemu	leopard (*mpala*)	38. Basuswi	jackal (*mpisi*)
9. Wiro	certain women who may not come near men at any time	39. Mwebya	a grass called *buyanja*, which the clan may not cut or touch
10. Mulimi	goats of a particular colour	40. Semagoba	hippopotamus (*nvubu*)
11. Ruba	Oribi gazelle (*kasiri*)	41. Wenzu	a little salt? (*kole*)
12. Mutwa	female bushbuck (*mpongo*)	42. Busigisigi	a dove (*emba*)
13. Mpazira	yams (*ngobi*)	43. Baego	civet cat (*enfumbe*)
14. Mwanga	...	44. Sekiju	the lungfish (*nakibala*)
15. Mugonya	mushrooms (*butiko*)	45. Bakose	chaff or husks from the semsem
16. Kinminya	jackal (*mpisi*)	46. Umbwe	white ants (*enswa*)
17. Kitengya	wild pig (*mbizi*)	47. Basoko	bushbuck (*mpongo*)
18. Mukose	chaff from the small millet (*bulo*)	48. Bambade	chaff of all kinds (*musisi*)
19. Mulemya	...	49. Eboka	crow (*kovwa*)
20. Segaga	chaff from the small millet (*bulo*)	50. Sango	guinea-fowl (*nkofu*)
21. Semoyo	bushbuck (*mpongo*)	51. Kaima	reedbuck (*njaza*)
22. Mulandya	...	52. Gulu	the mouth of an old water-pot. The clan may not touch it nor have it in their presence
23. Bamyakatamya	waterbuck (*njobi*)		
24. Kadodo	frog (*kikere*)		
25. Nsanga	birds (*kanyonyi*)	53. Kiemba	posts made from a tree called *nsambya*. The clan may not use such posts in building their houses or fences
26. Nyanzi	...		
27. Muluta	Colobus monkey		
28. Muyombo	a bird called *kasusimu*		
29. Musere	rivers which are full or overflowing (*miga ejude*). The clan may not draw water from them nor attempt to cross them	54. Kaibare	dog (*embwa*)
		55. Kigoma	the clan may not look at the full moon
		56. Lubanga	...
30. Mugwano	...	57. Sabwiri	lungfish (*nabibalu*)

CLANS OF NORTH-EAST BUSOGA (ZIBONDO'S TRIBE)

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Balondo .	grey monkey (*nkima*)	12. Banangwe	goats which are prematurely born (*akabuzi akasolwa*)
2. Basekwe .	1*st totem* mushroom (*butiko*); 2*nd totem tabulantya*	13. Bakoyo .	lungfish (*mamba*)
3. Senkwunga	1*st totem* elephant (*njovu*); 2*nd totem* antelope (*kongone*)	14. Semugaya	water lizard (*mbululu*)
		15. Bagaya .	birds (*nyonyi*)
		16. Mwasi .	an antelope (*njazi*)
4. Baise or Ngobe	bushbuck (*mpongo*)	17. Basekula.	wild pig (*mbizi*)
		18. Kitamwa	guinea-fowl (*nkofu*)
5. Semwayo .	birds (*akasense*)	19. Mwangu .	bushbuck (*mpongo*)
6. Basubo	two birds known as *kanyali* and *kasaki*	20. Nono . .	cooked plantains (*nfuku*)
7. Baise or Magamba	a root of the arum lily (*siriyamiri*)	21. Senyulya	a bird called *kasenki*
		22. Tambi .	...
8. Gaga . .	husks of the small millet (*bulo*)	23. Mabiro .	dry slices of vegetable marrow (*bikukuju*)
9. Semsolya .	otter (*ngongo*)	24. Katuma .	flea (*nkukunyi*)
10. Bakika .	buffalo (*mbogo*)	25. Mulinda .	swallow (*katai*)
11. Njeru .	...	26. Nyana .	small calves (*nyana*)

From the preceding tables it appears that only two (the first and the last) of all these clans take their names from their totems; in all the other recorded cases the name of the clan differs from the name of the totem. Further, several clans bearing different names have nevertheless the same totem. Thus in Gabula's tribe no less than six clans have for their totem the bushbuck; and the one which takes its name (Mpongo) from the animal is the principal clan of the country. This suggests that the various Bushbuck clans may be subdivisions of one large original Bushbuck clan, all of which, when they branched off from the parent stock, took new and different names for the sake of distinction, while at the same time they all retained the old bushbuck totem.

The various Bushbuck clans may be subdivisions of one.

In regard to the marriage of cousins it is a rule with the Basoga that a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but that his son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children. In other words, first cousins, the children of a brother and sister, are forbidden to marry each other, but second cousins may marry each other, provided that they are the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, and that the father of one of them was a son

First cousins forbidden, but second cousins allowed, to marry each other.

of that brother, and that the mother of one of them was a daughter of that sister.

Among the Basoga it was customary for a wife to induce her sister or sisters to come and live with her and become wives of her husband. When a man died, his brother might marry the widow or widows, provided he were chosen heir to the deceased; or if the brother were not heir, he might still receive from the heir one of the widows to wife. But except in these cases a man had no right to marry the widows of his deceased brother.

Custom of marrying several sisters.

A husband avoided his wife's mother and only spoke to her when she was in another room and out of sight. He respected his wife's father but did not avoid him.[1]

Avoidance of wife's mother.

The Basoga abhor incest even in cattle. If a bull covers his mother-cow or his sister-cow, the two culprits are sent by night to a fetish tree and tethered to it, there to meditate on the heinousness of their offence till the morning, when the chief appropriates them to his own use.[2]

Abhorrence of incest even in cattle.

§ 13. *Totemism among the Bateso*

The Bateso, as they call themselves, are a tribe of Nilotic negroes, whose territory borders on Northern Busoga. They are commonly known as the Bakedi or Naked People on account of their absence of clothing, which is common to both sexes. This nakedness of theirs excites the disgust of the Baganda, who are prudish in matters of dress.[3] The Nilotic negroes, of whom the Bateso are a branch, extend along the north bank of the Nile and round the eastern side of the Victoria Nyanza. Some of the tribes claim kinship with the Nandi and Masai. They seem to observe fewer religious ceremonies than the Bantu peoples and have no name for the Creator, but speak of the rain-maker as the supreme being. They often employ Bantu medicine-men and fetishes when they migrate into Bantu countries.[4]

The Bateso a tribe of Nilotic negroes.

[1] For the information as to the marriage customs, as well as the totems, of the Basoga I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. John Roscoe.

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 719.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 772. See below, pp. 464, 467.

[4] From the notes of the Rev. John Roscoe, who visited the Bateso in the summer of 1908 and has kindly furnished me with the following notice of the tribe and its clans. As to the Nilotic negroes, see Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 756 *sqq.*

The Bateso are both agricultural and pastoral.

The Bateso are an agricultural people, who regard millet as their staple food, though they also grow many other cereals and vegetables, such as maize, semsem, sweet potatoes, marrows, dwarf beans, and peas. They also keep flocks of goats, and most of them have cattle besides. Both men and women work in the fields, and the young men herd the cattle. Goats and cows are often herded together. A village will contain from four to forty families. The huts are circular in shape and constructed of stout branches interwoven with creepers. The interstices of the walls are stopped with mud, which is smoothed on the inside so as to present an even surface, while the outside is left rough. An upright pole in the centre supports the conical roof, which is carefully thatched. Each wife has a hut of her own, and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to pay for. Often he builds houses for them in villages some little distance apart.

Their round huts.

Polygamy.

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bateso.

The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the male line. Children therefore belong to their father's clan and may not marry into it, but they are also forbidden to marry into their mother's clan. The following is a list of the Bateso clans with their totems, so far as these were ascertained by the Rev. John Roscoe :—

BATESO CLANS

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Katikoko .	sheep (*ndiga*)	8. Bararaka	bones of the Oribi antelope
2. Pasama .	sugar-cane (*tiroko*)		
3. Maditoko .	bones from cooked meat	9. Igorya .	Oribi antelope
4. Erараka .	they may not look at the Oribi antelope	10. Pokoro .	they may not shave a baby's head
5. Kuribwoko	mushrooms	11. Katikoko	a tree called the *edodoro*
6. Koroko .	Oribi antelope		
7. Iraka . .	Oribi antelope	12. Madokoya	Oribi antelope

Frequency of the Oribi antelope totem.

In this list the number of different clans which have the Oribi antelope for their totem is remarkable. Here again, as in the case of the Bushbuck clans of the Basoga,[1] we may suspect that the multiplication of the same totem in different clans has arisen through the subdivision of one original clan which possessed the common totem.

[1] See above, p. 460.

As a rule parents agree to the future marriage of their children while these are both small. When the children grow up, the boy's father gives the dowry and the engagement is formally settled. The dowry varies from two to twenty cows, with a number of goats, which may be as many as fifty. The children generally live in different parts of the country and seldom see each other before marriage. A man might marry several sisters, and they might agree to live together, but such was not the usual practice. When a man dies, his eldest son as a rule succeeds him and inherits the property. The widows belong to the heir, and should the clan select as heir a brother of the deceased, he marries the childless widows as a matter of course. With regard to cousin marriages the rule of the Bateso seems to agree with that of the Basoga; that is, first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other; but second cousins are allowed to marry each other, provided that they are the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, and that the father of the one was a son of that brother, and that the mother of the other was a daughter of that sister. In other words, a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.

Marriage customs of the Bateso.

Right to marry several sisters.

First cousins forbidden, but second cousins allowed, to marry each other.

§ 14. *Totemism among the Baganda*

The great tribe or rather nation of the Baganda are a Bantu people, whose country, named after them Uganda, stretches along the north and north-western shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Though Uganda lies on the equator, it enjoys a mild and equable climate in consequence of its great elevation, between five and six thousand feet, above the level of the sea. The nights are often refreshingly cool, and in the day the heat is seldom oppressive. Vegetation hardly withers at any time, for, lying within the belt of perpetual rain, the land is kept evergreen by showers even in the dry season. In spite of the great moisture of the atmosphere, Uganda was on the whole fairly healthy till the fatal epidemic of sleep-sickness broke out and made havoc with the native population. The rich soil, constantly

Uganda, its climate and scenery.

watered by the rain, is luxuriantly fertile. On the whole the scenery is uniform, consisting for the most part of rolling green downs intersected by deep swampy valleys, where sluggish rivers ooze through dense thickets of reeds and papyrus, while the hill-sides on either bank are clothed with magnificent tropical forests and a rank undergrowth of ferns. In these beautiful woods the trees are festooned with creepers; troops of monkeys swing from bough to bough and rend the air with their discordant shrieks; flocks of grey parrots fly screaming about; delicate little honey-birds, their plumage glowing like rubies or emeralds in the sunshine, hover over the gay flowers on the edge of the forest; and in the open glades countless butterflies, of all the hues of the rainbow, flit through the air. As the traveller recedes from the lake northwards, the valleys widen, the hills lessen, then die away into a great plain covered with jungle or thinly wooded and cleft at long intervals by huge drains choked with rushes, the home of elephants, rhinoceroses, antelopes, and wild boars.[1]

The Baganda the highest type of the Bantu race. Their dress.

In intelligence, material culture, and polity the Baganda represent the highest level attained by any pure Bantu race. Unlike most Africans, they clothe themselves from head to foot; the native laws as to dress were very strict, and it was death for a man or woman to be found in the public roads without proper clothing.[2]

Cultivation of the banana.

Their staple food is the banana, of which many varieties are cultivated. The natives say that there are more than a hundred sorts. Some are boiled green, others eaten ripe, others made into beer; and every variety has its special name. The tree flourishes everywhere; every village and every hut is surrounded by banana groves, which are very neatly kept. With its great brilliantly green leaves, glossy black stems, and huge purple spathes a banana plantation presents a feast of colour to the eye. If you climb a hill in any densely populated district you will see these verdant groves stretching away

[1] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 143 *sqq.*; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 170 *sq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 85 *sqq.* Opinions differ as to the healthiness of Uganda. Stuhlmann says that it is very healthy; Sir Harry Johnston says (*op. cit.* ii. 646) that it is not healthy either for Europeans or natives.

[2] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 151 *sq.*

mile after mile on every side and reaching far up the hill-slopes to the horizon. Next to the banana, the sweet potato is the main article of food and is the chief vegetable cultivated by the Baganda, though they also grow yams, beans, pumpkins, sugar-cane, maize, and millet. The cultivation of the ground is chiefly carried on by the women; house-building and war are, or used to be, the occupations of the men. It is thought that a barren wife prevents her husband's plantations from bearing fruit, but that a prolific wife causes the trees to bear plentifully.[1] The Baganda keep cattle, sheep, and goats, and drink the milk of their cows, but most of the herds are tended for them by Bahima herdsmen.[2] The manufactures of the Baganda include pottery, bark cloths, baskets, mats, metal-work, wood-work, leather-making, and dyeing. In all branches of industry they display a fine artistic sense. Their pottery is beautifully finished and tastefully decorated; their baskets are so skilfully woven that they are water-tight. In metal-work the blacksmiths of Uganda are far superior to their neighbours; they obtain the iron ore in the country. But the handicraft in which the Baganda most excel is perhaps the dressing of skins, which they make as soft and pliant as kid-leather and dye them with patterns in black and orange.[3] They are a musical race and possess a tolerable variety of musical instruments, including harps, drums, flutes, horns, and a sort of harmonium called *amalinda*; this last consists of a number of flat pieces of hard resonant wood which are laid side by side and struck with drumsticks so as to give out melodious notes. The harp of Uganda is interesting because its shape agrees exactly with that of the ancient Egyptian harp depicted on the monuments.[4]

The arts and manufactures of the Baganda.

[1] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 145, 158 *sq.*, 171 *sq.*; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 179; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 96 *sqq.*, ii. 673 *sq.*; Rev. J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 38, 52 *sq.*, 56 *sqq.*

[2] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 163 *sq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 669 *sq.*; Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), p. 79.

[3] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 176-181; F. Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* pp. 176 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 661 *sqq.*

[4] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 154 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 664-666.

The houses of the Baganda.

In house-building the Baganda excel their neighbours, the houses of the upper classes being neat, clean, and roomy. The establishments of the great chiefs or earls are very large, sometimes covering several acres and comprising many huts. The whole is surrounded by a high fence of grass supported by trees, generally fig-trees, which send out a crown of leaves and afford a grateful shade. Within the enclosure the ground is divided by fences into courts or gardens, each with its house or houses, and each shaded by bananas and fig-trees. The houses in the inner courts are occupied by the chief and his harem; those in the outer courts are tenanted by slaves. All chiefs of high rank have such establishments in the country as well as a town house in the capital. The town residences of the prime minister (*Katikiro*) and another high minister (the *Kimbugwe* or keeper of the king's placenta) occupy enclosures each of about half a mile square in the capital, and each contains from one hundred to two hundred huts for wives and retainers. The fences of an earl's residence which adjoin a public road are beautifully worked; the height of the fence and the size of the reed-rib which runs along top and bottom indicate the rank of the owner. The huts of the peasants are much simpler; they are circular or dome-shaped, and being thickly thatched with fine long grass down to the ground resemble gigantic beehives. An Uganda town is a garden-city embowered in fine trees and rich vegetation and intersected by broad well-kept avenues, which sometimes stretch away in a straight line for a mile or more together.[1]

The native roads of the Baganda.

A feature of the country which strikes the European traveller, and which, like so much else, evinces the superiority of the Baganda to the surrounding nations, is the wonderful network of native roads, which connect the principal villages with each other and with the capital. These roads often lead straight as an arrow over hill and dale, through forests and across swamps, and even in thinly-peopled districts they are kept remarkably clean and free

[1] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 172 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 104-106, ii. 649 *sqq.*; Rev. J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), p. 65.

from weeds. Across the larger swamps are carried causeways built on piles and forming hard roads, which rise some six feet above the surface of the marsh, with tunnels at intervals through the piles to allow the slowly oozing water of these choked and sluggish rivers to find its way.[1]

Character of the Baganda.

The Baganda are also honourably distinguished by personal cleanliness and a care for the sanitation of their houses and villages which is very rare in native Africa.[2] A proof of their intelligence is their aptitude for arithmetic. They have native names for all multiples of ten up to twenty millions.[3] Yet with all their refinement in the arts of life, their scrupulous, almost prudish regard for decency,[4] and their vegetable diet, the Baganda are by no means weaklings or effeminate. They are so strong that they will race a bicycle for miles without an effort,[5] and their valour made them in former times the terror of the surrounding nations, not only on land but on the water. Every man who could handle a spear and a shield was a soldier, and armies were mustered with astonishing rapidity. They had a large fleet of war-canoes, splendidly built and sometimes manned by a crew of forty men. It was a fine sight to see two or three hundred of these graceful vessels threading their way among the wooded islands of the great lake, the regular dip of their paddles in the water keeping time to the measured beat of the drums.[6]

Their military prowess.

The native government of Uganda an absolute monarchy.

The native government of Uganda was an absolute monarchy: the king held in his hands the power of life and death; he owned the whole of the land, and could dispose of it at his pleasure. The only exception to this last rule

[1] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 146 *sq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 657 *sq.*

[2] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 184; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 646 *sq.*

[3] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 226; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 695.

[4] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 647 *sq.*, 685. In the old days courtiers were fined if they exposed their legs in the king's presence. "The chiefs and people became fastidiously prudish on the subject of clothing, and regarded a nude man as an object of horror. They preferred in their language not to call a spade a spade, but to substitute for any plain noun dealing with sex or sexual intercourse the politest and vaguest of paraphrases" (*ib.* p. 685).

[5] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 673.

[6] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 193, 201-203.

was that land which had served as the burying-ground of a clan for three generations belonged to it in perpetuity and not even the king could take it away.[1] The king must always be of the blood royal, but whereas commoners trace their descent through their paternal clan, the kings trace their pedigree through the maternal clan. When the king dies, his successor is chosen from among his sons by the prime minister (*Katikiro*) and another great nobleman (*Kasuju*), the guardian of the princes; but curiously enough they may never elect the eldest son, who holds the office of *Kiwewa* or father of all the young princes. Generally the king before his death tells the prime minister which of his sons he wishes to succeed him, and if his choice is a good one, his wishes are followed; otherwise the electors do not hesitate to set them aside.[2] After his election the king appoints the *Katikiro* (prime minister and chief justice), and also ten earls (*Basazas*) to rule the ten earldoms (*sazas*) into which the whole country is divided. In each earldom there are chiefs (*Bami*), who are also appointed by the king in consultation with the earl; but after their appointment the chiefs are responsible not to the king but to the earl. All taxes and all duties exacted from labourers engaged in public works pass through the earl's hands to the prime minister. The earl is responsible for all the people in his earldom; he tries all cases within his dominions, and if an appeal from his verdict is made, he attends when the case is tried in a higher court. He and the chiefs under him are bound to see that the roads and bridges leading from the capital to their country residences are kept in repair. Earls and chiefs have large tracts of land in their gift, and members of their respective clan gather

Election of the king.

The prime minister, the earls, and the chiefs.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 50 *sq.*, 62, 66. The native system of government in Uganda has been carefully investigated by Mr. Roscoe, who has kindly placed at my disposal much unpublished information collected by him. I shall draw upon it in what follows.

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 129, and xxxii. (1902), pp. 27, 44, 62. Some of the details in the text are derived from Mr. Roscoe's unpublished manuscripts. According to Messrs. Wilson and Felkin, the king is chosen by three hereditary *bakungu* or chiefs of the highest rank (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 193 *sq.*, 200).

about them in the hope of obtaining either offices or banana plantations. Each earldom has annually to contribute, in addition to a tax on every hut, a certain amount of labour for the execution of public works, such as building houses and fences for the king, making roads, and bridging swamps.[1]

The Queen Mother (*Namasole*), her power and privileges.

Two very important personages in the polity of the Baganda are the Queen Mother or Dowager Queen (*Namasole*) and the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*). If the king's mother is alive when he comes to the throne, she naturally assumes the office of Queen Mother; but if she is dead, another woman of her clan is elected to the dignity. The office carries many privileges with it, and estates in each earldom are attached to it. She appoints chiefs to manage her estates and bestows on them the same titles which the king confers on his ministers. She has absolute power over her chiefs and followers; she holds her own court, tries all her own cases, and is called a king. But after she has come into office, she only visits her son once, when she appoints his three principal wives. After that the king may never see his mother again, for were he to see her, they think that some evil, probably death, would surely ensue. Yet he may consult her and she may advise him through a third party. A running stream must always flow between her residence and his.

The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*), her power and privileges.

The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) has also her own establishment with lands and officers attached to it just like the king; she rules her own people and is called a king. Neither she nor the Queen Mother pays taxes, nor do they contribute labourers for public works. In old times the Queen Sister was also the king's wife, indeed the only one of his wives to whom he was formally married. Yet she might not bear him a child. After his death she takes charge of his tomb (*mulalo*) and removes her household to the hill where the tomb is situated. There she rules all the earls and chiefs of the deceased king, her brother, and has land enough to give to each of them gardens which enable them to live in comfort. The royal tomb (*mulalo*) is the abode of the king's ghost. It is a

She guards the royal tomb (*mulalo*), where the ghost of the late king is believed to dwell.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 63 *sqq*.

large house which the king always builds in his lifetime within the royal enclosure. The new king deserts the enclosure of his predecessor and constructs a new one in another place. But the late king's tomb is kept in repair by the State. The enclosure and the interior of the tomb are looked after by the king's widows who had children by him or who were specially chosen for the duty. If any one of these widows dies or leaves the tomb for any reason, her clan must supply another woman as a substitute, who is reckoned among the wives of the deceased king. In a chamber at the back of the tomb are kept the jaw-bone and the placenta of the departed monarch, and to these his ghost is supposed to be attached. The jaw-bone in particular is called "the king." When the dead king wishes to hold his court, or it is desired to consult him about anything, the jaw-bone and the placenta are brought out from the inner chamber and placed on a dais or throne, which is covered with lion and leopard skins and railed off by a row of spears and shields. Communications with the departed ruler are held by means of his high priest (*mandwa*), who acts as his prophet or medium. This power the priest acquires by drinking beer out of the dead king's skull; after that the king's spirit enters into the priest, whenever his late Majesty desires to communicate with his successor or with the people. On such occasions the priest goes to the throne and, speaking to the spirit in the inner room, tells him the business he has come about. He then smokes one or two pipes and begins to rave, which is a sign that he is possessed by the king's spirit. In this condition, imitating the king's voice, he declares the king's will. After this communication has been made, the spirit returns to the inner room, and the priest goes away. The possession of the priest by the king's spirit is only occasional, not permanent. Within the house, or rather mausoleum, dwell the wives who bore children to the late king; his other wives have separate houses within the enclosure. Outside of the enclosure the Queen Sister has her residence, and with her are several of the late king's chiefs, who have been pensioned off and hold pieces of land, but bear the same titles as of old. The Queen Sister has authority

The jaw-bone and placenta of the late king are kept in his tomb.

Mode of consulting the spirit of the dead king. The high priest (*mandwa*) drinks beer from the dead king's skull, and being thus filled with the king's spirit he gives oracles.

over all the chiefs and widows who are associated with the royal tomb.[1]

Remarkable privilege of the Queen Mother and Queen Sister; they may have as many lovers as they please, but they may not marry them nor bear children to them under pain of death.

Both the Queen Mother and the Queen Sister enjoyed a remarkable privilege. They were allowed to practise polyandry, cohabiting with as many men as they pleased, but not marrying them or bearing them children; indeed death was the penalty if they had offspring. Hence they resorted to abortion. Yet so loose were their relations with the other sex that according to a common saying all Uganda was their husband. They were fickle, living with a man for a few days and then inviting another to take his place. All the other princesses were equally forbidden to marry, but they were not equally privileged, for though one of them might occasionally be given in marriage to a great chief as a mark of special favour, the rest were condemned to perpetual virginity, because they were regarded as the king's wives, and if they were detected in an intrigue, the punishment was death. Yet most of them led a life of debauchery. We read that "they often use every blandishment, and even force, to secure some young peasant, the unhappy object of their affection; but, should he be

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), pp. 128-130; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 43-46, 67. I have also drawn on Mr. Roscoe's manuscript materials for a few details as to the Queen Mother and the Queen Sister, particularly for the statement that they both bear the title of king in the king's lifetime. Similarly Mr. R. P. Ashe says that in Uganda "there are three persons who bear the royal title of Kabaka, namely the king, the queen-mother, and the queen-sister" (*Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 87). After the king's death the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) seems to take the title of *Nalinya*. With regard to the worship of the dead kings of Uganda compare C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 208: "The former kings of the country appear also to be regarded as demi-gods, and their graves are kept with religious care, and houses are erected over them, which are under the constant supervision of one of the principal chiefs of the country, and where human sacrifices are also occasionally offered." Mr. R. P. Ashe has recorded the belief "that the soul of a departed king can come back and enter into certain persons who are said to *samira*—'be possessed of'—the spirit of such and such a departed king. The word *samira*, translated 'possessed of,' is not, however, passive, but has more the force of the Greek middle. The active form of the word would be *sama*. That the person who *samiras* has control over the spirit seems to be the prevalent idea, and Mutesa begged that after his death no one should *samira* him. A person who *samiras*, works himself up into a state of ecstasy or madness until the afflatus has subsided" (R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 316).

discovered with them, he must meet the awful fate of death by fire, the common capital punishment in Buganda."[1] We are reminded of the lovers of Semiramis.[2]

Totemism in Uganda. The Baganda are divided into many totemic and exogamous clans.

On the whole, Uganda has been justly described as "one of the best organised and most civilised of African kingdoms at the present day."[3] It is therefore all the more remarkable to find that a nation which has made so considerable advances in culture should nevertheless retain a totemic system of the most regular orthodox pattern.[4] For the Baganda are divided into a large number of totemic clans, the members of which observe the two fundamental canons of normal totemism, since they abstain both from injuring their totem and from marrying a woman of the same clan. Each clan is called a *kika* (plural *bika*); it traces its origin to one man, and has a principal totem and a secondary totem. The principal totem, by which the clan

[1] R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 87 *sq.*; Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 122; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 36, 67.

[2] *The Golden Bough*,[2] iii. 162 *sq.*

[3] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 636.

[4] For the following account of the totemic system of the Baganda I am indebted almost entirely to the researches of my friend the Rev. John Roscoe of the Church Missionary Society, who has drawn his information direct from the best native sources, questioning men of each clan as to their customs and traditions. In his researches he has had the active co-operation of the native Prime Minister (*Katikiro*), who gave him all facilities for prosecuting his enquiries. As Mr. Roscoe is further intimately acquainted with the native language, and has for many years enjoyed the confidence of the people, his writings on the subject of their customs and beliefs possess the highest authority. He has collected a large mass of information which still remains unpublished. I have gladly availed myself of his generous permission to make free use of the manuscript materials which he has placed in my hands. For his published accounts of Baganda totemism, on which as well as on his unpublished papers I have drawn in the text, see Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), pp. 118 *sq.*, 120, 121; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 27-29, 35, 50, 51, 53. For earlier accounts of totemism among the Baganda see R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 85, 285; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 190; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 443; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 691 *sq.* Mr. Ashe was the first to put the totemic system of the Baganda on record. He clearly stated the two principles that no one may eat his totem animal or marry a woman of his totem clan. Among the clans which he mentions are those of the Grasshopper (*Ensenane*), Sheep (*Endiga*), and Crocodile (*Engonya*). He gives the native name for a clan as *kyika*, plural *ebyika*.

is always known, is called *muziro*; the secondary totem is called *kabiro*. Both totems are sacred to members of the clan, who may neither kill nor destroy them. Other people, however, may kill or destroy them for a reasonable purpose without hurting the feelings of members of the clan. Except in the case of the royal family, children always take their father's totem and belong to his clan. A wife adopts her husband's totem, but retains her own and teaches her children to regard both sets of totems as sacred. When the children grow up and leave their home they may do as they please about their mother's totem; they are not bound to observe it. Yet it is, or used to be, customary for them to adopt their mother's totem also, so that a man's children would usually have their mother's totem as well as his. But the mother's totem did not descend to the second generation; children took the totem of their father and generally also the totem of their mother, but not the totem of their grandmother. Each clan has special names for its children, so that members of a clan always know from a child's name whether it belongs to them or not. It is customary to have a second name for common use and to keep the childhood name secret, for it is contrary to usage for a person to mention the clan to which he belongs. If there is a question of importance to be solved, he will, indeed, readily tell his clan name, and even his childhood name. But if there is no special reason for giving it, he will refuse to answer the question and will refer the enquirer to a third person for the information. They think that any one who kills or eats his totemic animal or plant will die, or, if not, that he will fall sick or suffer from an eruption of sores all over his body. The usual explanation they give of their totems is that their forefathers fell ill after partaking of them, and that they accordingly enjoined their children not to kill or eat the animal or plant which had disagreed with them.

Each clan has its principal totem (*muziro*) and its secondary totem (*kabiro*).

Children take their father's totem and belong to his clan.

Each clan has special names for its children.

Ill effects of killing or eating the totem.

All the women of a man's clan are regarded as his sisters; hence he may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with them. Any infraction of this rule used to be punishable by death. It was thought that if a man secretly broke the rule, either he or his children would fall ill, so that his guilt would transpire and punishment

A man may neither marry into his own clan nor into his mother's clan.

follow. Further, no man may marry into his mother's clan, since all the women of that clan are regarded as his mother's sisters and are called his great mothers or his little mothers (*bakulu* or *banyina bato*) according to their age. But it is the correct thing for a man to take his second wife from his father's mother's clan. This wife always bears the title of *Nasaza*; it is she who shaves her husband's head and pares his nails and sees to it that the clippings of the hair and the parings of the nails do not fall into the hands of an ill-wisher, who might do her husband a mischief by working magic with these severed portions of his person. However, the rule of exogamy, which applies to all the other Baganda clans, does not apply to the Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan. But that clan is the largest of all and is, moreover, divided into two sections, each with a different secondary totem and each residing in a different district. One section dwelling by the lake has another fish called *muguya* for its secondary totem; the other section, dwelling inland, has the frog for its secondary totem. We are not told, but seem left to infer, that the rule of exogamy may only be broken by members of different sections of the clan, not by members of the same section; in other words, that a Lung-fish man may only marry a Lung-fish woman if her secondary totem is different from his; that is, if he is a *Muguya*-fish man, she must be a Frog woman; if he is a Frog man, she must be a *Muguya*-fish woman.

The Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan is an exception to the rule of exogamy.

Each clan has its family estates (*masiga*). Each clan has its family estates, which are as a rule situated on some hill with the gardens running down its slopes into the valleys. The principal estates, situated in different parts of the country, are called *Masiga* and represent the chief branches of the clan. Generally they were the estates belonging to the sons of the father of the clan, but a few were those of the grandsons. Great-grandsons were seldom counted as heads of the branches of a clan. Upon each of the estates there is a chief who is responsible for the conduct of the members of his branch of the clan.

The Father or head of the clan. If he has the oversight of the whole clan he is called its Father. The Father of the clan has naturally the best and most important estate. Many of the clans have their family gods (*lubare*), or they may have charge of one of the

national gods. In such cases the chief of the clan or of the branch of the clan on whose estate the temple stands becomes the priest and has charge of the temple. The temples are generally built on the tops of hills, and are surrounded by some good land for the use of the god.

Hereditary burial-grounds (*butaka*) of the clans.

Besides these old family estates the clan has others called *butaka*, where three or four generations of the clan have been buried. It behoved a chief to be ever on the alert to prevent members of a clan from burying their dead in good gardens, which they wished to secure for their children; because even the king would scruple to turn out any man who had succeeded in burying three generations in the place. If people were discovered burying their dead in a garden, they were ordered to take the body away to the family estate. The burial place of a clan is regularly on the top or side of a hill and is enclosed by a fruitful garden of bananas. When three successive generations, father, son, and grandson, have been interred in such a garden, it becomes a *butaka* or freehold burial ground, where other members of the clan may bury their dead. Some members of the clan must reside in it to tend the graves and keep others from using it. They are given the land around the graves as a remuneration for their watchful care.

Each clan has its special beat of drum.

Each clan has its special beat of the drum.

In Uganda the drum is an indispensable instrument. It peals forth the news of birth and of death, of joy and of sorrow, of peace and of war. To its measured cadence the feet of the weary wayfarer keep time; burdened porters press forward more cheerily for its notes; and chiefs are known afar off by the roll and rumble of their drums.

Social obligations of the clans-people.

For sympathy and help in time of trouble a man always turns to the members of his totemic clan. When one of them has been murdered, his relations and his clan take up the matter and seek the murderer to punish him; failing to find him they hold one of his clan as a hostage.

Tradition as to the origin of the totemic clans.

With regard to the origin of their totemic clans the Baganda have a tradition, which runs thus. In the reign of Kintu, the first king, the whole nation lived by the chase alone. When game became somewhat scarce, King Kintu, with the general consent of his people, made it a law that

certain species of animals should be tabooed to certain families, in order that these animals might have a better chance of multiplying than if everybody hunted them indiscriminately. The test adopted in order to determinate which animals were to be tabooed was one of health or digestion. If a family found that the flesh of a certain animal disagreed with it, the members of that family abstained in future from partaking of that animal. In that way, according to tradition, originated the totems of the clans.[1] The theory that the totemic taboos are based on a sort of Act for the Preservation of Game can hardly be primitive. Like the somewhat similar view propounded by Mr. W. E. Roth as to the origin of totemism in Queensland,[2] it has all the appearance of an inference drawn in later times by persons of a rationalising turn of mind, who have long outgrown the crude superstitions which lie at the root of totemism. Moreover, as might be expected, the traditions of the Baganda are not consistent with each other on the subject. For according to other accounts, when Kintu came to the country, he found several of the clans there before him, or they came to him from neighbouring countries. From the traditions we may gather that Kintu was a powerful ruler who invaded and conquered the land, and by his statecraft incorporated the clans into one nation under his government. If asked from whom he is descended, any Mugandu[3] will readily answer "From Kintu"; if he is questioned more closely, he will give an account of the father or founder of his clan, where he came from, and when he first joined either Kintu or one of the early kings.

List of the clans of the Baganda with their totems.

The clans of the Baganda take their names from their principal totems (*muziro*). The following is a list of the clans with their principal and secondary totems, so far as they have been ascertained.[4]

[1] This tradition forms part of Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers. He sent it to me from Uganda on the 29th November, 1908.

[2] See vol. i. p. 137.

[3] The singular form of Baganda.

[4] The fullest list hitherto published of the Baganda clans and totems is that given by Mr. J. Roscoe in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 27 *sq.*; compare the list given by him in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 118. A list of twenty-nine totemic clans is given by Sir Harry Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 691 *sq.*). The table in the text is based chiefly on Mr. Roscoe's manuscripts, especially on

BAGANDA CLANS AND TOTEMS

Principal Totem (*muziro*), which gives its name to the clan.	English Equivalent.	Secondary Totem (*kabiro*).	English Equivalent.
1. *Ngo*	leopard	*kasimba*	genet
2. *Mpologoma*	lion	*mpungu*	eagle
3. *Ngeye*	Colobus monkey	*munyungu*	small monkey
4. *Ngonge*	otter [1]	*kasimba*	genet
5. *Nsenene*	grasshopper (small green locust)	*nabangogo* (or *nabanggogoma*)	a small insect which lives in the plantain
6. *Fumbe*	civet cat	*kikerekere*	frog
7. *Njovu*	elephant	*nvubu*	hippopotamus
8. *Mamba*	lung-fish [2]	*muguya*	a small fish
9. *Mamba*	lung-fish [2]	*katuba* or, according to many, *kikerekere*	a fish a frog
10. *Lugave*	manis or pangolin (scaly ant-eater)	*butilo*	mushroom
11. *Endiga*	sheep	*mpologoma*	lion
12. (*a*) *Mbogo*	buffalo	*ntamu*	a new cooking-pot
13. *Nkima*	small grey monkey [3]	*byenda*	entrails of animals
14. (*a*) *Mpewo*	Oribi antelope	*kayezi*	grey rat
15. (*b*) *Katinvuma*	a small seed of a shrub, used as beads		all kinds of beads
16. (*a*) *Nyoni*	birds [4]	*kunguvu*	a special kind of bird
17. (*a*) *Musu*	a large rat [5]	*muyoze*	a small rat
18. (*a*) *Kobe*	yam	*kama*	another kind of yam
19. (*a*) *Mpindi*	beans [6]	*kindira*	a wild bean
20. (*a*) (*b*) *Ngabi*	bushbuck [7]	*jerengese*	a kind of grass
21. (*b*) *Mbwa*	dog		iron bell for dogs
22. (*a*) (*b*) *Kibe*	jackal	*mpiri*	puff-adder
23. (*a*) *Nvubu*	hippopotamus	*nfudu*	tortoise

a list of principal and secondary totems which he sent me on 22nd December 1908. In his published accounts Mr. Roscoe does not notice the secondary totems.

[1] Mr. L. Decle calls the animal a beaver (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 443). Mr. Roscoe agrees with F. Stuhlmann and Sir Harry Johnston in calling it an otter, which is no doubt correct.

[2] The *Protopterus*, according to Sir Harry Johnston and Mr. F. Stuhlmann.

[3] *Cercopithecus petaurista* or *rufuviridis*, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

[4] The widow-bird (*Vidua*, *Penthetria*, *Chera*, etc.), according to Sir Harry Johnston.

[5] Ground-rat, an octodont rodent (*Thryonomis swinderenianus*), according to Sir Harry Johnston. Mr. Stuhlmann calls it *Analacodes*.

[6] Haricot beans, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

[7] *Tragelaphus*, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

Principal Totem (*muziro*), which gives its name to the clan.	English Equivalent.	Secondary Totem (*kabiro*).	English Equivalent.
24. (*a*) *Ntalaganya*	*Cephalophus* antelope	*malere*	tree fungus
25. (*a*) *Njaza*	reedbuck		
26. *Kasimba*	genet [1]		
27. *Byenda*	entrails of animals	*maugwe*	lungs of animals
28. *Nte ezalibwa nga teriko mukiro* [2]	tailless cow	*ngali*	crested crane
29. (*a*) *Ente ya lubombwe*	spotted cow		
30. (*a*) *Nganga*	hornbill		
31. (*a*) (*b*) *Ma'zi*	rainwater from roofs		
32. (*a*) (*b*) *Namun'gona*	crow	*mutima*	hearts of animals
33. (*a*) *Kinyomo*	red ant		
34. (*a*) *Kitete*	kind of grass		
35. (*a*) *Ngali*	crested crane		
36. *Butiko*	mushroom	*usonko* and *usanga*	snail and small ivory discs
37. *Mutima*	heart	*maugwe*	lungs
38. *Lukindo* [3]	wild date palm		
39. *Nombe* [4]	ox (*Buddu* only)		
40. *Gonya* (*Engonya*) [5]	crocodile		
41. *Mpewo*	wind [6]		
42. *Bugeme* [7]	beer from wild date palm		
43. *Nkeje* [7]	small fish like sprat		
44. *Kiwugulu* [7]	owl?		
45. *Kanyonyi akabira munte* [7]	small bird which cries among cows		

[1] Serval cat, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

[2] Elsewhere Mr. Roscoe gives the native name of this clan as *ente etalina mukiro*. The clan is usually called the Bagabo clan.

[3] Mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston, but not by Mr. Roscoe.

[4] Mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston, but not by Mr. Roscoe. Sir Harry Johnston adds: "It is remarkable to find this old Bantu word for 'ox' surviving in the totem name. In ordinary parlance in Luganda and Urunyoro it has long since been dropped in favour of *enté*" (*The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 692 note).

[5] This clan is mentioned by R. P. Ashe (*Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 85). Mr. F. Stulhmann (*Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 190 note*), and Mr. L. Decle (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 443). It is mentioned neither by Mr. Roscoe nor by Sir Harry Johnston. According to Mr. Decle, the Crocodile clan is found in the Sese Islands of the Victoria Nyanza.

[6] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Nantaba, the Female Fetich of the King of Uganda," *Man*, viii. (1908), p. 132, and below, p. 486. The Wind clan is not mentioned by Mr. Roscoe in his lists of the clans, because his informant having died he was unable to confirm the statement and the *Katikiro* threw doubt on it.

[7] Not mentioned by Mr. Roscoe in his latest (manuscript) list.

In the foregoing table the clans marked (*a*) were never allowed to present a prince as heir to the throne. The king might indeed marry girls from these clans and have children by them, but none of these children might ever succeed to the crown. In order to evade this disqualification the members of these clans gave their daughters to members of other clans, who adopted them; and the children of such women, being reckoned to their adopted clans, were eligible to the throne. The clans marked (*b*) in the table joined other clans, either because their own clans were despised, or because they desired that their daughters, by adoption into these clans, might have children who might succeed to the kingdom. Though they thus associated with other clans and had the right to use their totem names, yet they were never regarded by these associated clans as blood relations; hence they were free to marry members of their adopted clans. Thus the *Katinvuma* (small seed) clan joined the Mushroom clan. The Bushbuck clan joined the Monkey clan. The Dog clan joined the Civet Cat clan. The Jackal clan joined the Otter clan. The Rainwater clan joined the Lion clan. The Crow clan joined the Otter clan.

Some clans were not allowed to give an heir to the throne.

Some clans joined others.

We will now take up a number of the Baganda clans separately and give some account of their customs, duties, privileges, and superstitions. The following details were taken down from the lips of members of the clans by the Rev. John Roscoe, whose indefatigable zeal has rescued them, with so much more, from the oblivion that must otherwise almost certainly have overtaken them. I am indebted to his friendship and kindness for permission to incorporate in this book these vanishing relics of a savage past.[1]

Mr. Roscoe's information as to particular clans of the Baganda.

The Leopard (*Ngo*) clan has for its secondary totem the genet (*kasimba*). Members of this clan are not allowed to eat any meat which has been torn by an animal or even scratched by one. If one of their cows has been torn by a wild beast, they may not let it mix with the herd, even though its wounds are healed; they must sell the cow. The

The Leopard clan.

[1] In his manuscript notes on the clans Mr. Roscoe generally gives a list of the principal landed estates of each clan. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce this part of his information.

Leopard clan is a royal one, but of its many branches there is only one of which the members are deemed eligible to the throne. The clanspeople are not bound to do any work for the king. Their only public duty is to keep up the estate called Magonga, where Kintu first lived, and where there is a temple to him. They claim also to possess the original plantain which was brought into the country at Kintu's first coming. It is a sacred plant.

The Lion clan.

The Lion (*Mpologoma*) clan has for its secondary totem the eagle (*mpungu*). It is a royal clan and claims descent from Sabaganda, a son of Kintu. To explain their totems they say that Kintu killed a lion and an eagle and had their skins made into royal rugs. Since then the beast and the bird have been deemed sacred, and their skins, together with a leopard's skin, form the royal rug on which the kings sit or stand at state ceremonies. The clan has charge of a small drum called *nalubare* which is always kept and used in the shrine of Kintu on the hill Magonga in the Busuju district. On another hill in one of their estates (Nsanganzira, in the Busiro district) there is a shrine of the great national god Mukasa, where each king, as he went to Nankere to observe the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life,[1] used to change his clothes and leave the discarded garments to be kept in the holy place. No member of the Lion clan is eligible for the throne. The king might marry women of the clan, but if they bore him sons, the infants were strangled at birth; only daughters of these royal wives were suffered to live. The Lion clan had a deity called Luwada on their estate of that name. He was served by a priest, a member of the clan; and from time to time the god took bodily possession of the priest and made his wishes known through him.

The Colobus monkey clan.

The Colobus Monkey (*Ngeye*) clan has for its secondary totem a small black monkey (*munyungu*) with longish hair. The clan is reckoned one of the oldest in the country. They say that Kintu found it settled there when he first came to Uganda, and that they furnished him with his

[1] As to these ceremonies see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, (London, 1907), p. 405, where I have described them on the authority of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

first wife Nambi. They trace their origin to a man named Kyesimba Kasuju. Judged by the number of offices which it holds about the king, the Colobus Monkey clan is an important one. They supply the king's butler, the potter who makes the royal cooking pots, and also the man who has charge of the royal drinking-water. This last bears the title of Kalinda and used always to be put to death when the king died, in order that his ghost might wait on the king's ghost in the other world. Another member of the Colobus Monkey clan has charge of all the king's goats; and another is always sent by the new king to announce his accession to the god Mukasa, taking with him for the deity an offering of nine slaves, nine women, nine white cows, nine white goats, nine white fowls, nine loads of cowry shells, and nine loads of bark cloths. During his journey this envoy to the god may not eat with any one; he crosses the lake in a special canoe, and when he enters the temple he wears two bark cloths, as though he were a prince.

The sacred envoy.

The Otter (*Ngonge*) clan has for its secondary totem the genet (*kasimba*). The forefather of the clan, by name Mwanga-kisolo, is said to have been prime minister to Kintu, who killed him in a fit of rage.[1] Their chief duty in the king's service is to make his bark cloths. They also supplied the king with a wife whose special duty it was to make his bed. When the king died, she had to go to his tomb there to wait on the royal ghost till death relieved her of her duties. The clan also furnished the king with a butler, whose chief duty was to look after the royal tobacco. After being knocked on the head by his royal master, the founder of the Otter clan, Mwanga-kisolo, was raised to the rank of deity, and in that capacity helped his clansmen by making their women fruitful and their cattle prolific. In gratitude for his help mothers brought him offerings of beer, cattle, and firewood. His temple stood on the hill Nseke. The priest was always a member of the Otter clan, but the inspired medium or prophet who spoke the god's will might be chosen by the deity from any clan.

The Otter clan.

Makers of the king's bark-cloths.

A god of fertility.

The Grasshopper or Green Locust (*Nsenene*) clan has for

[1] See the legend given more in detail by the Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 25 *sq.*

The Grasshopper clan.

its secondary totem an insect called *nabangogoma*, which lives in the upper part of the plantain stem. They were originally a cattle-keeping clan and lived in Busongola, which formed part of Bunyoro. Their forefather was Kiroboza. In consequence of a quarrel the clan split in two, one part remaining in Bunyoro and the other migrating to Uganda. On their Bujubi estate in Busuju the Grasshopper clan has a fetish which is supposed to protect the clanspeople from plague. It is kept in a small shrine enclosed by a fence. An old Munyoro woman used to keep the shrine in order and free from weeds.

Ceremony performed by women of the Grasshopper clan when they catch grasshoppers for their husbands to eat.

The particular grasshopper or green locust (*nsenene*) which gives its name to a clan is eaten by the Baganda, who regard it as a great delicacy. At certain times of the year the insect is found in large numbers and the people go out to capture it. Any married woman of the Grasshopper clan may then catch and cook the grasshoppers for her husband to eat, though she may not herself partake of them. Her husband "immediately after eating them must have intercourse with his wife, in order to cause the locusts to increase and avert any ill consequences to her children, which might otherwise arise from her catching her totem: this is an annual ceremony when the locusts first appear."[1] When any king had twins born to him, it was the duty of the head of the Grasshopper clan to relieve him of the burdensome ceremonies and taboos entailed by the birth of twins and to undertake them himself vicariously for his Majesty.[2] Further, it is the business of this clan to look after the men who decorate the navel-strings of the kings and give them over to the chief or minister Kimbugwe.[3]

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 53. Mr. Roscoe has sent me some fuller notes in manuscript on the Grasshopper or Green Locust clan. In these notes, which I have used in the text, Mr. Roscoe writes thus with regard to the ceremony in question: "There is a restriction attached to the first meal of the season; when a woman has prepared some of the grasshoppers for her husband, he must either jump over her or have sexual connection with her, otherwise sickness will enter his family. On account of this taboo the clan has always been held in great respect in the country."

[2] As to the ceremonies and taboos entailed by the birth of twins, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 32-35.

[3] As to the elaborate care taken of the king's navel-string, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907), p. 165: "In the case of princes the cord [navel-string] is carefully

Moreover, when one of the king's wives has lost several children at birth or in infancy, and she has been delivered of another, she is sent to the head of the Grasshopper clan to be guarded until the child is weaned. This clan always supplied the king with one wife, who took the title of Nakimera, in memory of the wife who gave birth to Kimera, one of the early kings.

The Civet Cat clan.

The Civet Cat (*Fumbe*) clan has for its secondary totem the frog (*kikerekere*). The members of the clan can give no explanation of the origin of their totems. They claim to have been settled in Uganda long before the coming of Kintu and to have been at that time the most important of all the clans. They trace their origin to a king of Uganda named Ntege, who was deposed by the conqueror Kintu but was allowed to retain a few estates and the title of king. When Kintu died, his son Cwa received a wife named Naku from Ntege, and since then every king has married a wife of the Civet Cat clan, who regularly takes the name of Naku as her title. On the principal estate of the clan there is a temple to Naku, which was once of great importance. At this shrine the kings used to perform some of the ceremonies for the prolongation of their life. Other ceremonies for this purpose were observed on another estate of the Civet Cat clan (the estate of Baka), when the king returned from Nankere. On the hill of Baka stood a temple to the god of

preserved, and the fortunate prince who becomes king has the cord decorated and made into a twin (*mulongo*) as described above. This is handed to the Kimbugwe's care, who is one of the most important chiefs in the country. Each month, directly after the new moon appears, the Kimbugwe has to bring the 'twin' and carry it wrapped in barkcloths to the king, who holds it for a moment or two and then hands it back to the Kimbugwe. It is carried in state to the Kimbugwe's enclosure, drums are beaten in the procession, and the twin is honoured as a king. When it is returned to its house it is not put inside, but is placed by the door and guarded all night; next morning Kimbugwe comes and rubs butter on it and restores it to its usual place inside the temple or hut." Along with the navel-string is preserved the placenta, which the Baganda regard as a double or twin (*mulongo*) of every person who is born. Apparently the navel-string is viewed as the thing to which the ghost of the placenta, which is the person's double, attaches itself. The Baganda think that the placenta of a prince has power to kill the offspring of royalty if it is not treated with honour. Hence kings always keep their placenta and have it decorated and treated as a person. The Kimbugwe, who has charge of it, is the second minister in Uganda, next to the prime minister (*Katikiro*), with whom he takes his seat in all councils of state. See Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Man*, vii. (1907), pp. 164 *sq.*; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 33, 63, 76.

that name, who was one of the first deities of the country. The priest was always a member of the Civet Cat clan, but the god was free to choose his inspired medium from any other clan. On the same estate there was a temple to Wanga, a deity who was imported from the Sese Islands in Lake Victoria Nyanza. This Wanga once restored light to the world by lifting the sun and moon out of a pit into which they had fallen in the reign of King Juko. When any person appealed from the king's decision to the poison ordeal, it was the duty of the Civet Cat clan to supply the man who administered the potion.

The Elephant clan.

The Elephant (*Njovu*) clan has for its secondary totem the hippopotamus. They claim to be descended from Sesanga, who came to Uganda with Kintu as his herdsman and settled down at Sesanga in Busuju. For many years the clan continued to supply the kings of Uganda with their chief herdsmen, and as herdsmen they had to perform certain rites at the coronation of a king. The new monarch came to inspect them and to be initiated by them into the business of a herdsman. They presented him with a flute on which King Kimera is said to have played when he herded the kine. The new king played a few notes on the flute and gave it back to the herdsmen. Next they handed the king a milk-pot and placed on his shoulders a calf-skin, such as herdsmen wear when they are tending the cattle. Thus attired the king had to herd cows for a time. Then the flute, the milk-pot, and the calf's skin were delivered back to the chief herdsman and put away in the hut where they were kept, not to be used again in the king's lifetime. The island of Bulungugi was one of the estates of the Elephant clan. It had to supply the king's table with a particular kind of fish called *nsonzi*, which is much relished by the Baganda. It was also the duty of the Elephant clan to furnish the royal household with a particular kind of bark-cloth; and after a king's death the chief herdsman had to drink the bowl of liquid butter in which the dead monarch's jawbone had been placed. If the butter disagreed with him, he was put to death as an impostor, who had wormed his way unlawfully into the Elephant clan. No true born Elephant-man, they thought,

Ceremonies at the coronation of a king.

could suffer in his stomach for drinking the melted butter in which the king's jawbone had been steeped. The Elephant clan had also charge of two drums, one of which was beaten when the king went out to hunt. One of their chiefs always helped to decorate the king's navel-string, which, as we have seen,[1] was regularly preserved and treated with great ceremony. Another member of the clan had charge of the king's war apron, a leopard's skin beautifully dressed.

The Lung-fish clan, with its two branches.

The Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan is the largest of all the Baganda clans, and, as we saw,[2] it is divided into two sections, which have different secondary totems. One section has for its secondary totem the small fish called *muguya*. The other section has for its secondary totem the *katuba*, a fish which lives in the swamps. But others say that the secondary totem of this section is the frog (*kikerekere*); and that is why members of this section are called Frogs (*Bakerekere*). These two sections of the Lung-fish clan intermarry with each other, just as if they had not the same primary totem; and they are the only clan of the Baganda who are thus free to marry among themselves. The lung-fish is a favourite food of the Baganda, but no member of the Lung-fish clan may kill or eat it.[3] Both sections of the clan trace their descent from one man, and each claims to be the more important of the two. But the *Muguya* branch has the clearest records of its forefathers. They say that they came to Uganda from a place called Bumogera to the north of the great lake. Their forefather was one Mubiru. All through their history they have been connected with canoes and fishing, and the reason why some of them quitted their old country and settled in Uganda in the reign of Kintu was a dispute about a canoe. They became the king's principal canoe-builders, and one of them was made chief over the royal canoes.

The frog-like man.

The Frog branch of the Lung-fish clan trace their descent from a man Nankere, who was compared to a frog on account of the number of children he spawned and also because of his dirty habits. The only duty the Frogs had in respect of the king was to find a substitute for him

[1] Above, p. 482 n. 3. [2] Above, p. 474.
[3] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 692.

when he went through the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life. The Frog-man (Nankere) was never allowed to attend the king's receptions or even to see his Majesty except when the king came to perform these important ceremonies. Yet every new king sent the Frog-man a leopard's skin for his use, as if the Frog-man were of the blood royal ; for leopard skins are reserved for royalty.

The Manis or Pangolin (Spiny Ant-eater) clan.

The Manis or Pangolin (*Lugave*) clan has for its secondary totem a fungus which grows on tree trunks (*butiko wa malere*). The animal which they have for their primary totem is perhaps more familiarly known as the spiny ant-eater. The clan is one of the oldest in the country. They say they were there when Kintu came to it. Their forefather was Mukibe Sekiwunga, to whom Kintu gave the hill of Kapaka in Busiro. The clan has two temples with their priests and mediums; one is a temple of Wanga, the other is a temple of Wamala. The chief steward of the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) is always taken from this clan. Further, a chief of the Spiny Ant-Eater clan had always to bring to a new king at his coronation the curious fetish called *Nantaba*, which seems to have been a spirit of the wind captured at the cutting down of a special sort of tree (*lusambye*) and imprisoned in a gourd. A member of the Wind clan had always to be present at this capture of the spirit of the wind. The captive spirit in her gourd (for she was deemed feminine) was afterwards kept in a hut and held in high esteem ; but whenever the wind blew high, a drum was beaten in the hut to let the prisoner know that, roar as she might, she could not escape. She was thought to help the king's wives to become mothers ; so on sunny days the gourd used to be brought out and set in the sun in the middle of the courtyard, and the king's wives would come and sit round it, looking wistfully at the wonderful gourd and hoping to receive into their wombs its quickening virtue. But when the king died, the gourd was thrown away, and the spirit of the wind was caught afresh in a new gourd for the new king.[1] It was at this ceremony of

Capture and imprisonment of the spirit of the wind.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Nantaba, the Female Fetich of the King of Uganda," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 132 *sq.*

catching and imprisoning the wind that a chief of the Spiny Ant-Eater clan was bound to assist. Further members of this clan take charge of two of the king's drums and also of his royal rug, on which he stands or sits at state ceremonies. It consists of four skins stitched together, the skin of a lion, the skin of a leopard, the skin of a hyæna, and the skin of an eagle.

The Sheep clan.

The Sheep (*Endiga*) clan has for its secondary totem the lion (*mpologoma*). The clan was in Uganda before Kintu came to it. They trace their descent from a man Mbale who lived at Mbale in Mawokoto. A chief of the Sheep clan was entrusted with one of the king's principal fetishes called *Mbajwe*, who had his priest, his inspired medium, and his place where human victims were sacrificed to him. The clan had also charge of the war-god Kibuka and his temple.[1] The mortal remains of that great and powerful deity, consisting of his jawbone, his genital organs, and a piece of his navel-string, are now preserved in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.

The war-god Kibuka.

The Buffalo clan.

The Buffalo (*Mbogo*) clan took for a second totem a new cooking pot; hence they were never allowed to use a cooking pot to cook their food until some one else had used it once or twice. They say that their forefather was a man called Nabuguyu, who came to Uganda from Bunyoro in the early days of the kings but after the time of Kintu. This clan has always had the honour of being the bearers of the kings of Uganda. Wherever the king went he was carried astride on the shoulders of men of the Buffalo clan, who relieved each other when they were tired of their royal burden, one bearer shooting the king from his shoulders to the shoulders of another man without allowing his Majesty's feet to touch the ground; for the king never walks anywhere outside of his own enclosure. They went along at a great pace and covered long distances in a day when the king was on a journey. The bearers had a special hut in the royal enclosure, so that they were always at hand when the king wanted them. The clan also supplied bearers for the king's mother and sister, because these two women were regarded

The king's bearers.

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) pp. 161-166.

as queens and treated with the respect due to royalty.[1] Moreover, the Buffalo clan had charge of the bark-cloths on which the king sat while he was being carried; these they had to guard with great care lest they should be contaminated by the touch of people of other clans. No man might put his hand on the shoulder of a Buffalo man even in a friendly way, because that was the seat of the king. If any one thoughtlessly took such a liberty, the Buffalo man would promptly ask him, "Are you a prince?" and would have him fined for his presumption. Further, the Buffalo clan provided the king with one of his principal wives, who bore the title of Nanzigu. She always had her own little enclosure inside the royal one and was quite separate from the other wives. The king used to appoint a page to supply her with torches for her house. On their Muguya estate the clan had charge of a temple of Musoke, to which the king always sent offerings and received in return oracles from the god. In another of their estates there is a river where, oddly enough, the ghost of a leopard had his abode. Near the river was a temple, with its priest; and the ghost revealed its will by the mouth of an inspired man.

The Monkey clan.

The Monkey (*Nkima*) clan had for its secondary totem the entrails of animals (*byenda*). They trace their origin to a man named Bwoya, who came to Uganda with Kintu.

The office of Mugema or earl of Busiro.

To the Monkey clan belongs the high office of Mugema, or earl of Busiro,[2] who has the title of the King's Father and whose person is inviolable; any one who laid his hands familiarly on the earl might in the old days be put to death. At the coronation it is the Mugema who places the crown on the king's head, makes him swear to be loyal to the people, and charges the people to be loyal to the king. His chief duty, however, is to act as prime minister (*Katikiro*) to the dead kings. He has charge of all the royal tombs. Wherever a king is buried, the hill on which his temple stands becomes part of the domain of the Mugema or earl of Busiro. Indeed his earldom

[1] From the Rev. J. Roscoe's manuscripts. Compare *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 62. As to the Queen Mother and Queen Sister, see above, pp. 469 *sqq.*

[2] Compare Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 46.

took its name from the tombs; for Busiro means the place of the *masiro* or graves. It was the earl's duty to see that the bodies of the kings were properly embalmed, that their jawbones were extracted, and that a temple was prepared for the reception of the jawbone and the navel-string. Another of his duties was to supply each wife of the king at a certain stage of her pregnancy with a girl who always remained with her till the child was born. Some rules of etiquette were strictly observed by the Mugema. It was not thought proper for him to visit other chiefs or to eat in their houses. He might not enter the king's house or the houses of the king's wives. If he wished to talk to the king, he had to do so sitting outside the house by the door, while his Majesty answered from within. When a prince was asked who was his father, it was customary for him to answer "The Mugema," but never "The King." Moreover, if any of the king's wives were found to be unfaithful and were about to be put to death by the king's command, it was enough for them to say that they were with child by the Mugema (*tu lya Mugema*) to be allowed to live; indeed all the king's wives in their pregnancy made use of this expression. Yet the Mugema had charge of the place of execution where the paramours of princesses, wives who had been false to the king, and men who had married near relations were put to death.

Etiquette observed by the Mugema.

The king's children fathered on the Mugema.

The Antelope (*Mpewo*) clan has for its secondary totem a large grey rat (*kayozi*). Their forefather was Kaimye-butenga, who came to Uganda with Kintu and was afterwards raised to high office by King Cwa with the title of Kibare. Ever since then the Kibare, a member of the Antelope clan, has acted as viceroy during the king's absence from the capital. He has also charge of the king's state crown, which is adorned with a pair of antelope horns. The clan helps to make the rug on which the king sits on solemn occasions.

The Antelope clan.

The Seed clan takes its name from a small seed (*katinvuma*) which of old was worn as a bead in Uganda. The clan has for its secondary totem beads of all kinds. They explain the origin of their totem by saying that once a girl snatched some seeds from another girl, her playmate,

The Seed clan.

and swallowed them. To recover the stolen property the parents of the injured damsel resorted to the summary process of killing the little culprit, opening her stomach, and extracting the seeds. Since then the family of the dissected girl have foresworn the use of beads. That is why seeds and beads are their totem. They trace their descent from a man named Kyadondo, a son of Kintu, first king of Uganda. They furnish the bearers to carry the deities from place to place or to war. Representatives of the clan must assist at the building of any new temple to a god; and when the king has a new house built in the royal enclosure, the chief Segaluma, who is a member of the Seed clan, has to carry the fetishes into the house to bless it before the king or any of his wives may use it. For a few months after a king has come to the throne, this chief has to attend him constantly with a number of fetishes for the purpose of dispelling any harm which his enemies may try to do him by magic. For the same reason the chief sleeps at the king's door and presents his Majesty in the morning with a bowl of water with which the king washes his face and hands to remove, not the dirt, but anything uncanny which may have settled on him during the hours of slumber. The ablutions of savages have often no other motive. Cleanliness may be, according to the proverb, next to godliness in point of value; it is almost certainly later than godliness in the order of evolution. Men were pious and dirty long before they were impious and clean.[1]

Bearers of deities and fetishes.

The Bird clan.

The Bird (*Nyonyi*) clan has to respect all birds; members of the clan may not eat any. Yet with this comprehensive taboo they have taken as their special totem a particular kind of bird called *nyangi* and for their secondary totem another bird called *kunguvu*, which is a brown bird with long tail feathers. They claim descent from a man named Njuwe, who was in Uganda before Kintu came to it. They have charge of a fetish called Buganda, one of the most potent and dreaded of all the fetishes. Anybody who went

The fetish Buganda.

[1] On water as a means of warding off dangerous spirits, see my article, "Some Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) pp. 77 *sqq.*; I. Goldzieher, "Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) pp. 27 *sqq.*

near the door of a hut where the fetish stood was put to death. The sacred fire, which burned perpetually at the entrance to the royal enclosure and was only extinguished at the king's death, used to be guarded by a chief named Musoloza, a member of the Bird clan.[1] The clan had also the charge of a certain royal drum, which was beaten at intervals by day and by night to tell the people by its booming sound that the king was still alive. They also supplied every king with a wife and a head cook.

The perpetual sacred fire.

The royal signal drum.

The Rat (*Musu*) clan has for its secondary totem a small rat (*muyoze*). Both these species of rats are herbivorous and edible to other people, though not to members of the clan. The forefather of the clan was a man Miigo who came to Uganda with Kintu. King Mawanda appointed the clan to the offices of guardians of the royal privies and spies upon the army.

The Rat clan.

The Yam (*Kobe*) clan has for its secondary totem another kind of yam which they call *kama*. They say that their forefather Sedumi came into Uganda with the conqueror Kintu. To explain the origin of their totems they tell how their ancestor Sedumi, who came in with the conqueror, stole some yams and being detected was so ashamed that he hanged himself. Since then his descendants have abstained from eating yams. The clan had charge of the bow and arrows with which the human scapegoat (*kyonzire*) used to be shot for a new king at his accession to the throne. Further, it was the duty of the clan to make a kind of white bark-cloth for the king, also a special sort of anklets which the new king wore when he ceased mourning for his predecessor. They were made of a particular kind of wood from a tree which grew on one of the estates of the clan. These anklets were worn only one day and then kept by one of the king's wives who belonged to the Yam clan. Moreover, the clan had charge of the special hoe which was used to dig the shallow sort of grave under the trestle upon which the body of the king was laid for interment. And

The Yam clan.

The king's anklets.

[1] As to the perpetual fire at the king's gate see Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 51. The guardian of the fire is there called Kalinda. In the text I follow Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers.

when the king's jaw-bone was removed, members of the clan had to put it into an ant-hill, till the ants had gnawed away all the flesh from the bone. Further, a large royal shield called *kamanya* and a royal flute called *kanga* were committed to the keeping of the Yam clan. It was they who made the king's bedstead, and they helped to adorn his navel-string which, as we have seen,[1] was always religiously preserved. On their estate in Buziwa they had a shrine where the navel-strings of Kayonge and Male were kept. The chief who had charge of this shrine bore the title of Male, and he herded some sacred buffaloes of the king. On two of their estates the Yam clan had also temples of the two national gods Wanema and Nainda; and on another of them all the paddles for the temple of the great national god Mukasa were kept.[2] On yet another of their estates they had a clan deity named Kabala.

The king's navel-string.

The Bean clan.

The Bean (*Mpindi*) clan has for its secondary totem a wild bean (*kiindiru*). They trace their descent from a man named Wakaibu, whom they say Kintu found in Busiro when he came to Uganda. To explain the origin of their totem they say that once when a member of the clan was fleeing before his enemies his foot caught in a bean creeper, so that he fell to the ground and was speared to death by his foes before he could get up. His flowing blood formed the river Naki'za. From that day the bean has been the totem of the clan; no member of the clan will eat or even cultivate beans. One of them is said to have once partaken of the forbidden food and to have died on the spot. From early times the clanspeople have been among the makers of bark-cloth for the king; one of their ancestors is said to have learned the art in Bunyoro. But their chief service for the king was to take care of four of his large canoes and to man them with crews. They worship the spirit of the river Naki'za, which, as we have seen, is supposed to have been formed by the blood of their ancestor. The head of the clan is the priest. There is no temple, but at the ford there are two great piles of sticks and grass, one on either bank.

Worship of the river Naki'za.

[1] Above, p. 482 n. [3].

[2] As to these national gods see Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 74 *sq.*

At these heaps members of the clan offer goats, beer, bark-cloth and fowls, and kneeling down before the heap they pray the spirit of the river to help them. The priest takes charge of the offerings. If they are live animals, he guards them for the deity; if they are food or beer, he eats or drinks them himself. When people ford the river, they throw a handful of grass or a few sticks on one of the heaps before they plunge into the current; and when they emerge dripping from it on the further bank, they cast a few more sticks or blades of grass on the other heap as a thank-offering for a safe crossing. But if the river is in flood, the priest will let no member of the clan adventure himself into the angry swirling torrent under pain of death.

Ceremony at the ford.

The Bushbuck (*Ngabi*) clan has for its secondary totem a kind of grass (*jerengese*), on which bushbucks love to browse. This clan claims to be related to the kings of Uganda; for they say that they are descended from a woman Wanana, who was wife to Wunyi, king of Bunyoro, and that when Kalimera prince of Uganda was visiting his uncle Wunyi at the court of Bunyoro he had an intrigue with his uncle's wife, and that she bore him a son Kimera, who afterwards sat on the throne of Uganda. Yet, though they plumed themselves on their kinship with the royal house, no member, at least no male member, of the Bushbuck clan might enter the royal presence, because King Kimera is said to have been killed while he was hunting bushbuck. Both the animal and the clan are tabooed to the kings of Uganda. Nevertheless when the king sent out his catch-poles into the roads to seize all and sundry for the purpose of sacrificing them to the gods, any person who could prove that he or she was a member of the Bushbuck clan was at once released, while the rest were dragged away to be massacred.[1] Women of the Bushbuck clan might become wives of the king, but if one of them gave birth to a male child, he was strangled at birth. Hence women of the Bushbuck clan who were promoted to the royal harem claimed to belong to the Monkey (*Nkima*) clan. On the

The Bushbuck clan.

Privilege of the clan.

[1] As to these wholesale massacres see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 405 *sq.*, where the account is based on information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

The lion-god.

hill Masike the clan had a temple of the lion-god Yaiga; he is said to have been an ancestor of the clan and to have turned into a lion at his death.

The Dog clan.

The Dog (*Mbwa*) clan has for its second totem the iron bell which hunters fasten round the loins of their chief dog when they are hunting. They trace their pedigree back to a man Lusunde, who lived on their Kigwa estate in Busuju. On their Lusundu estate they had a temple to the national deity Musisi; the priesthood of the god was always held by the chief of the estate. Members of the Dog clan have charge of the tombs of the Queens. When the Queens are growing old and feeble, they go to a hill named Lusaka, where they say Queen Wanyana sat at her first coming to Uganda. From a tree in the garden where her tomb stands bark-cloth has always been made for the king. It is the duty of the Dog clan to make and put the fetish into the king's chief *mujaguzo* drum. After the king has gone through the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life, a member of the Dog clan takes charge of the dowager Queen.

The tombs of the Queens.

The Jackal clan.

The Jackal (*Kibe*) clan has for its secondary totem a horned puff-adder (*mpiri*). They say their forefather was a man named Muige, who crossed over in his canoe to Uganda from the island of Nyende in the reign of Kimera. The clan had three temples on their estates, all dedicated to the great national god Mukasa. The priests of all three temples were members of the Jackal clan, but the inspired mediums of the god might be drawn at his pleasure from any clan. The only work the Jackal clan did for the king was to keep in repair the canoe in which their father is said to have paddled to Uganda. It was one of the royal canoes and with its crew was always kept in readiness to put off at the king's command.

Temples of Mukasa.

The Hippopotamus clan.

The Hippopotamus (*Nvubu*) clan has for its secondary totem the tortoise (*nfudu*). They claim to be descended from Kaita, a son of Kintu. To explain the origin of their totems they tell a strange tale. They say that when Kaita was born his mother brought forth a tortoise instead of the afterbirth, and that this tortoise afterwards turned into a hippopotamus, so that the clanspeople are related to both their totemic animals, the tortoise and the hippopotamus.

Legend of a woman who gave birth to a tortoise.

All the estates of the Hippopotamus clan lie on or near the lake. They had to keep several large canoes always ready for the king's service, each with its crew to man it. They had to help to find drummers to beat the signal drum in the royal enclosure, whose deep notes rose above the hum of day and broke the stillness of night at regular intervals, proclaiming to his people that the king of Uganda was in life. Members of the clan made shields for the king and his retainers, and also bracelets and anklets for his wives. The Hippopotamus clan worshipped all the gods of the lake, to wit Mukasa, Musisi, and Wanema. They cared for the temple of Nangera, son of Musisi, in the island of Mbazi. To this deity they ascribed all their prosperity and good fortune, and to his temple in the island the chiefs of the clan repaired to make him thank-offerings for his favours.

The king's drummers.

The *Cephalophus* Antelope (*Ntalaganya*) clan has for its secondary totem a fungus (*malere*) which grows on the trunks of trees. Their forefather was named Bambaga, who is said to have attended Kintu when he first came to Uganda. The clan were hunters and had the charge of the king's dog named Mukoza. They tied a sacred bell called *Sirilwamagamba* round the dog's loins when they hunted with it, believing that the bell not only told them where the dog was, but also enabled the animal to put up the game and drive them into the net. They hunted all wild animals from the buffalo down to the smallest kind of edible rat, and they had to bring the king from time to time a portion of their bag. On their estate of Bugala the *Cephalophus* Antelope clan had a shrine where the king's fetish Lugala was kept. This fetish was a large gourd, and the chief of the estate, who always takes the title of Bambaga, had charge of it. Every new moon, on the fifth day after the crescent appeared in the sky, the fetish Lugala was carried in state to the capital and handed to the king, who took it for a few moments and then returned it to the keeper. This gourd had an iron crown, consisting of three heart-shaped hoes fastened to a ring by a prong. The crown was called *Kalamazi* and was always carried to battle and placed with other fetishes in a hut near the hut of the general in command.

The *Cephalophus* Antelope clan.

The fetish Lugala.

Sacred drum kept in a shrine, which served as a sanctuary for man and beast.

Further, in the Gomba district the *Cephalophus* Antelope clan had charge of a sacred drum named *Nakanguzi*, which had a fetish inside it. This drum was brought to court and beaten when the king had been mourning and wished to cease. At the sound of the drum the whole country knew that the court had gone out of mourning and that they must hasten to do the same. So they shaved their heads and laid aside all tokens of sorrow. Any person who delayed to do so was captured and put to death. The shrine where the drum was kept served as a sanctuary for man and beast. If a slave or a man condemned to death escaped to it, he was safe and free; he was the slave of the drum and might not be carried off. Should any animal, cow, goat, or sheep, stray thither, it might not be taken away or killed, and it was free to roam as it pleased in future; for it had become the property of the drum and was a sacred animal.

The Reedbuck clan.

The Reedbuck (*Njaza*) clan has for its secondary totem a kind of antelope (*njugulu*). This clan has always lived in the great wood called the Mabira forest. Their forefather

Hunters of elephants.

Lutimba was there when Kintu came to the country. From the earliest times they have been hunters of elephants, and when the monarchy was established they became hunters to the kings and paid them tribute in ivory from the elephants they killed. They also supply some workmen to build the houses in the royal enclosure. They had the care of the gods of the chase in the wild woodland country where they dwelt. The chief god to whom they appealed for help in hunting was Mpa-amaso, but they also worshipped Mbiru, Nahalanga (who is also called Dungu), Nabambu, and

Ceremonies performed by elephant hunters.

Nyenga. The night before they went out to hunt they placed their spears in the temple of one of the gods and offered beer and a goat to secure the blessing of the deity. And in the chase they wore a fetish called *zinga* on the upper right arm, believing that the fetish lent certainty to their aim and strength to their arm, and that it entangled the prey so that it could not escape. When they killed an elephant they drew out the nerve from the tusk and buried it in a sequestered spot, marking the place lest any one should unwittingly step over it. For they thought that the ghost of the elephant was in the nerve of his trunk, and

that if any man stepped over it he would die. Immediately after the coronation of a new king the Reedbuck clan brought him a tusk of ivory, which he had to jump over in order to cause the elephants to multiply in the land. Ceremony for the multiplication of elephants.

The Tailless Cow (*Ente etalina mukiro*) clan is usually called the Bagabo clan. It has for its secondary totem the crested crane. They cannot say why they have a tailless cow for their chief totem, but they tell a story to explain their secondary totem, the crested crane. They say that a girl of the clan had been newly married and was returning home with some companions. Being left alone in the road for a short time she began to eat some small fruits which the natives call *ntuntunu*. On their return her companions found the bride munching the fruit and jeered at her. At this she was so ashamed and angry that she fled from them to a flock of crested cranes and was never seen again. Her companions averred that no sooner had she reached the flock of birds than she turned into a crested crane herself; and from that time the clan took the crested crane for their secondary totem. They trace their descent from a man named Kitongole who came from Bunyoro. Their business has always been that of smiths, and the art of smelting and working iron has been handed down among them from father to son for generations. They smelt the iron from the ore and work it up as they require it. They are smiths to the king and pay tribute to him in hoes. Their chief deity was Wangi. His temple stood on the hill Mulema, and on the same estate of the clan was another temple to the god Lwerekera. Each god had his inspired medium or prophet, but a single priest attended to both temples. When one of the prophets died, the clan met in solemn conclave to discover whom of their number the deity would choose to be the vehicle of divine inspiration, and the chosen vessel at once gave the usual symptoms of inspiration. This was the only occasion on which the Tailless Cow clan met for any religious observance. At other times members of the clan repaired singly to one or other of the temples to enquire of the god or to make him offerings for favours received.

The Tailless Cow clan.

Legend of the woman who turned into a crested crane.

Hereditary smiths.

Inspired prophets.

The Crow (*Namu'ngona*) clan has for its secondary totem the hearts of animals. The clan is commonly called

The Crow clan.

Bandyala; its chief estates are in the Budu district. They claim to be the descendants of a man Kidiba, a son of Kintu; and they explain their totem the crow by saying that their forefather Kidiba cultivated land near a tall tree on the branches of which crows used to build their nests, so the people near it were called the people of the crows. The Crow clan is one of those which may not give birth to a prince; so to evade this disqualification they bestowed their daughters on men of the Otter clan, who presented them to the king as members of the Otter clan; hence the Crow clan claims to be related to the royal family.

Worship of the god Kagera by the Crow clan.

The Crow clan had a god (*lubare*) called Kagera. His temple was at Kasaka in Budu, and his chief business was to bestow offspring on women; but he also helped members of the clan in all kinds of sickness. Any woman of the clan who did not have children as soon as she wished, went to the temple, taking with her a present of a gourd of beer, a bark-cloth, a cowry shell, and a seed of the wild banana. The priest consulted the god for her, and having obtained the necessary instructions gave the woman an amulet to wear, some herbs mixed with water to drink, a cowry shell, and a seed of the wild banana, also a girdle made of a creeper to put on. With these things she went back to her husband and soon found herself with child. When the infant was born, the mother returned to the temple and made a thank-offering to the god. Sometimes the god Kagera and his divine partner Kasinya were invoked by the Crow clan to give them rain. In a season of drought the people would go to the temple with an offering of food and beer, and some of the withered fruits of the earth to shew to the god. The priest told the god what had been brought to him, shewed the withered fruits, and asked for rain for the people. The deity answered by the mouth of a woman named Kaisa. When the showers began to fall, the people beat their drums in honour of the god who had granted their prayer. Once a year the clan held a great festival at the temple, dancing and feasting for four days, the drums beating the whole time and fires burning brightly all night long.[1]

Rain-making ceremony performed by the Crow clan.

[1] From the Rev. J. Roscoe's manuscripts.

The Mushroom (*Butiko*) clan took for their secondary totem the snail (*nsonko*) and small ivory discs (*nsanga*). They say that their forefather was Manyagalya, who came to Uganda with Kintu; but it was his son Wagaba who formed the clan and forbade them to eat mushrooms, because when he had buried his father Manyagalya he found mushrooms growing on the grave next morning. Manyagalya is said to have brought the first plantains into Uganda, also the kind of fig-tree from which bark-cloth is made. Members of the clan have been makers of bark-cloth ever since. It was Manyagalya, too, who brought the seeds for their bottle-gourds, and presented the king with the first gourd. On their estate of Bukerere in Kyagwe stood the temple of Nende, the second god of war. The care of this deity was the most important duty the clan had to perform. The priest of the god was a member of the clan. They had also charge of a certain royal drum and a royal stool, both of which were made in the Wagaba garden of the clan. Moreover they were gate-keepers to the king and made all the reed gates for the royal enclosure. When they had made the new gate for the royal enclosure after the accession of a king, they took toll of the cattle and tribute that entered the gate for the first time. They had also to supply the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*), the prime minister, and the second minister (*Kimbugwe*) with gate-keepers. Moreover, the Mushroom clan had charge of the king's gourd *namvuma*, from which his forefather first drank. Every new moon this drinking-cup was brought to the king, who took it into his hands and then passed it back to the keeper. One of the king's wives, called Najuko, is always taken from the Mushroom clan. When a king on his accession occupies his new enclosure, this wife must dig the first sod in it for making the gardens.

The Mushroom clan.

Bark-cloth makers.

The king's gate-keepers.

The king's drinking-cup.

The Heart (*Mutima*) clan has for its secondary totem the lungs (*maugwe*) of animals. Though they may eat the flesh of any animal, they are strictly forbidden to touch the heart and lungs. They have kept exclusively to the south of Uganda; all their estates are in the Budu district. Their forefather is said to have been a man Namugera, who lived and died on an island near Sese. His sons

The Heart clan.

came to Uganda and accepted service under King Wunyi, who gave them their Budu estates. The clan is noted for its skill in weaving fine baskets. They had to bring a tribute of fish caught in the river Mujuzi to the king every six months. On the hills Bale and Lwamunyeni the clan has two small temples to the national god Mukasa with priests and mediums.

Basket-weavers.

Worship of the python by the Heart clan.

The Heart clan had also charge of a temple where the python was worshipped under the titles of Selwanga and Magobwe, which were also names of men.[1] The temple stood in a forest on the bank of the Mujuzi River. The estate is called Bulonge; it forms part of Budu, a district in the south of Uganda, bordering on the western shore of the Victoria Nyanza. The temple was a large conical hut built of poles and thatched with grass. On the floor was spread a layer of sweet-smelling grass, and upon it was the sacred place of the python, a log and a stool covered with bark-cloth. A round hole in the side of the hut allowed the serpent to crawl out and in. The guardian of the python was a woman called Nazimbe, who might never marry. She daily fed the serpent with milk out of a large wooden bowl, the reptile lying with its head over the stool and drinking freely. The milk was drawn from certain sacred cows, which were kept for the sole use of the python. White clay was mixed with the milk which the serpent drank; and the creature was also given fowls and small goats.

The feeding of the sacred serpent with milk.

The python's inspired medium (*Mandwa*).

Within the hut, opposite the serpent's place, stood a bedstead, on which the python's inspired medium (*Mandwa*) and his assistant slept. It was the medium's duty to bring the milk from the sacred cows for the python, and from time to time he took fowls or goats and tied them on the bank of the river, and the python went down and devoured them. These offerings were made whenever the medium wished to go afishing, because the python was believed to have power over the river and all the fish in it. After a good catch the medium would call all the people of the

[1] The following curious and valuable description of the worship of the python, like the rest of the information as to the Baganda clans which is embodied in the text, is derived from the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has generously placed at my disposal.

estate together to partake of a sacred meal of the fish caught; he prepared the fish and they provided the cooked vegetables and beer. From time to time the medium went over to the Island of Sese to get cows from the god Mukasa with which to provide milk for the python. The reason why he applied to Mukasa was that the god's wife was a female python named Nalwanga, sister of the male python Selwanga; hence according to the custom of the country Mukasa was bound to make presents to his wife's brother from time to time. The cows always came decorated with creepers about their bodies to shew that they were sacred. They were kept close by the temple and milked daily for the python.

The sacred python called the Giver of Children.

The chief business of the python was to bestow offspring on people. Newly married men and husbands of barren wives resorted to the temple for the purpose of obtaining children with the help and blessing of the serpent. Other requests were also brought to him, but he was called above all the Giver of Children. The king himself used to send the chief of the district (*Pokino*) to the python to ask his blessing, that he might have offspring.

Worship of the python at the new moon.

The time for the worship of the python was at the new moon. For several days before the moon appeared the people made preparations, because no work might be done on the estate for seven days. As soon as the crescent was seen, the drums beat and the people gathered for the worship, bringing their offerings for the god, which were chiefly beer, cowry shells, and a few goats and fowls. The hereditary priest, who was always chief of the estate, came with a following of lesser chiefs. Having received the offerings from the people and informed the python of the requests which were made to him, the priest dressed the medium in the sacred garb that he might be ready for the python to take possession of him. This garb consisted of two bark-cloths thrown over the shoulders, two white goat-skins worn as aprons, a leopard skin wrapt round the chest, and a crown of goatskin, decked with beads and wild banana seeds, on the head. Thus attired, and holding two fly whisks in his hand, the medium received from the priest a cup of beer and some of the milk mixed with white

The python gave oracles through a human medium, who was inspired by the serpent.

clay from the python's bowl. These he quaffed, and then, the spirit of the python coming upon him, he fell on his face and wriggled like a serpent on his belly, uttering strange sounds and speaking in an unknown tongue. When the fit of inspiration was over, and the medium, exhausted by the strain, had fallen into a deep sleep, an interpreter explained the inspired but mysterious utterances to the fortunate persons whose prayers had been granted. He told them what human means it was necessary to adopt in order to ensure the divine blessing, what medical treatment the wife must undergo, and so forth. When the children promised by the python were born, the happy parents had to bring an offering of a goat or fowls to the temple, and if they failed to do so, their little ones were stricken with disease.

The totemic system of the Baganda seems to contain little that is primitive.

The preceding account of the totemic system of the Baganda, which we owe to the prolonged and accurate researches of the Rev. John Roscoe, suggests several observations. In the first place there appears to be little in the system that can be described as primitive or that throws light on the origin of totemism. The Baganda are a people who have made very considerable advances in culture, and though they retain the division into totemic clans for the regulation of marriage, and continue to respect their totemic animals and plants, they seem for the most part to have passed beyond the savage superstitions which probably lie at the root of totemism. In general they either cannot account at all for their totems or they account for them by jejune stories, the worthless product of a late and shallow rationalism. The fundamental notion of a physical kinship between a man and his totem seems to have almost disappeared. Yet in a few cases it survives. Thus the clan which has for its totems the hippopotamus and the tortoise tells how their ancestress gave birth to a tortoise, which afterwards turned into a hippopotamus, so that members of the clan are akin to both their totem animals.[1] This story smacks of true totemism. Again, the tradition of the Tailless Cow clan, that they took the crested crane for their secondary totem because a girl of the clan had been turned into a bird of that sort,[2] also reflects the old

[1] See above, p. 494.

[2] See above, p. 497.

totemic sense of the closeness between man and beast and the easy transition from one to the other. Slighter traces of the same train of thought may be detected in the story of the Mushroom clan, that they respect mushrooms because mushrooms grew on their founder's grave ;[1] and again in the tradition of the Frog branch of the Lung-fish clan, that their human ancestor resembled in certain respects a frog.[2] With these hints of genuine totemism before us we may guess that many more totemic clans of the Baganda formerly explained the origin of their totems by similar legends of a physical affinity between their human ancestors and their totemic animals or plants.

Absence of magical ceremonies for the multiplication or control of the totems.

Another feature in the totemism of the Baganda which bespeaks its high development or rather decay is the almost total absence from it of magical ceremonies for the multiplication or control of the totems. The only clear and indubitable exception is the ceremony performed by Grasshopper women for the multiplication of their edible totem the grasshopper.[3] As the Baganda clans are regularly forbidden to injure or eat their totems, it would seem that this ceremony can only be performed by Grasshopper women for the benefit of other people, who eat grasshoppers and regard them as a dainty. Thus the rite observed by women of the Grasshopper clan for the multiplication of grasshoppers is strictly analogous to the *intichiuma* or magical rites observed by totem clans in Central Australia for the multiplication of their totems. But this is the only case of such a magical rite performed by a totemic clan for the increase or control of the totem which Mr. Roscoe was able to discover among the Baganda, though he made searching enquiries on the subject. However, a hint of the same thing occurs in the rule that a member of the Wind clan must assist at the capture of the spirit of the wind.[4] We have also seen that the King of Uganda performed a magical ceremony for the multiplication of elephants with the

[1] See above, p. 499.

[2] See above, p. 485.

[3] See above, p. 482. Observe that the husband of the Grasshopper woman is of course not a member of the Grasshopper clan and is therefore free to eat grasshoppers; and the same privilege is enjoyed by his children, since they are of his clan and not of their mother's.

[4] See above, p. 486.

assistance of elephant-hunters;[1] but as these elephant-hunters belonged to the Reedbuck, not to the Elephant, clan, the ceremony is not strictly analogous to the Central Australian ceremonies of *intichiuma*.

The totemic system of the Baganda seems to have had very little influence on their religion.

Another observation suggested by Mr. Roscoe's account of Baganda totemism is that the system appears to have had extremely small influence on the religion of the people. There is little or no evidence that in Uganda, as in Samoa,[2] the old totemic superstitions were developing into a regular worship of the totemic animals and plants. Each totemic clan seems, indeed, to practise certain religious observances of its own; but, apart from the custom of not killing or injuring the totem, these observances have little or no reference to the totemic animals or plants. For the most part they are concerned either with the great national deities or with the once human but now deified ancestor of the clan. Even when we do find a totemic clan worshipping an animal with truly religious rites, that animal is not their totem. It is the Heart clan, not a Python clan, which worships the python. Thus the totemism of the Baganda should serve as a warning against the supposition that totemism almost necessarily develops, first, into a worship of sacred animals and plants, and afterwards into a worship of anthropomorphic deities with sacred animals and plants for their attributes. At the same time we are bound to remember that the system of the Baganda has all the appearance of being highly developed, and that it may have passed through one or more stages of this development before it came within the ken of European observers. It is possible that the ancestors to whom the clans trace their origin were once deemed to be animals or plants of the totemic species; or to be more exact, it may have been imagined that the ancestors were beings who partook both of the nature of men and of the nature of animals or plants, so that to the vague thought of those primitive philosophers it was impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the two. Such semi-human creatures, hovering on the line between man and beast or between man and plant, were according to Central Australian traditions the forefathers of the totemic clans.

[1] See above, p. 497.

[2] See above, pp. 151 *sqq.*

Some of the Baganda clans seem almost to have developed into hereditary professional castes.

One more observation suggested by the foregoing notice of the Baganda clans is that some of the clans seem almost to have developed into hereditary professional castes. Thus the members of one clan are elephant-hunters; the members of a second are smiths; the members of a third are makers of bark-cloth; and the members of a fourth are noted for their skill in basket-weaving. And this incipient tendency towards an industrial system based on a division of labour between families has apparently been fostered by the kings, who have assigned to most, if not all, of the clans certain special duties or functions to be performed by them for the royal family. Hence in Uganda, as probably in many other barbarous nations, the existence of an absolute monarchy has been favourable to the growth of the mechanical arts by creating a demand for many different kinds of skilled labour and by holding out ample rewards for proficiency in them.

Each of the totemic clans of the Baganda has its own physical type, which appears not to be affected by intermarriage with other clans.

A very singular feature of the Baganda clans is that in spite of the custom of exogamy, which necessitates a constant inflow of fresh female blood from outside into the clan, each clan nevertheless preserves a distinct physical type of its own, which is so clearly marked that an experienced observer can commonly tell a man's clan at sight without needing to ask him which he belongs to.[1] Thus, for example, members of the Grasshopper clan are distinguished by high pointed heads; members of the Lung-fish clan may be recognised by their broad noses; and members of the Oribi Antelope clan are conspicuous for the refined cast of their features, particularly their thin shapely noses and less protuberant lips. The royal family is likewise distinguished from others by the finer type of its features, which are thought to resemble those of the Bahima; yet the type differs from that of the Oribi Antelope clan. Exact measurements confirm and accentuate these corporeal distinctions, which cannot be ascribed to any artificial manipulations or mutilations of the body, since no such manipulations or mutilations are practised by the Baganda. Yet when a woman bearing all

[1] For this information as to the physical types of the Baganda clans I am indebted to the Rev. J. Roscoe. He has taken many exact measurements of many members of the various clans, and these measurements will be published in due course.

LIBRARY

the characteristic features of her clan is given in marriage to a man of another clan and has children by him, these children reproduce the physical type, not of their mother, but of their father; they resemble him, not her; the mother's bodily characteristics are, so to say, obliterated in her offspring. Why this should be so, why among the Baganda children should regularly be like their fathers and not like their mothers, is a question on which that branch of biological science which investigates the propagation of the species may yet throw light. If the popular opinion, shared by experienced breeders, that impressions made on mothers during their pregnancy are often permanently imprinted on their offspring, should prove to be correct, we could easily understand why women, taken in childhood from their mothers' families and brought up, as they usually are among the Baganda, in the families of their future husbands, should bear children who reproduce the physical type of the persons whom their mothers have had constantly before their eyes during the critical seasons of conception and pregnancy. And on the same principle we might perhaps expect to find conversely, that wherever it is the custom for husbands to take up their abode permanently in their wives' families, the children would tend to resemble their mothers rather than their fathers, since in that case the women during pregnancy would be surrounded by persons of their own physical type, not by persons of the physical type of their husbands. Yet this tendency would probably be far less decided than the other; since on the hypothesis in question the physical type of the father must always count for much, and the impression which it makes on the wife and mother, though it might be weakened, could hardly be wholly effaced by the impression made on her by persons of a different type. If there is any truth in these speculations, it may be anticipated that wherever a wife lives with her husband's family, the children will strongly resemble their father; and that wherever a husband lives with his wife's family, the children will tend, though in a far less degree, to resemble their mother. But to the question thus raised by the physical diversity of the Baganda clans we shall have occasion to recur in the sequel.

Suggested explanation of the permanence of the paternal type.

Like the tribes of Central and Northern Australia the

Baganda believe that women may be impregnated without commerce with the other sex; but unlike the Australian aborigines they hold that such impregnation is exceptional, not universal.[1] When a wife is found to be pregnant in circumstances which exclude the possibility that the child might have been begotten by her husband, she will sometimes plead that she got it through the flower of the banana falling on her back or shoulders, while she was at work in her garden. This account is at once accepted as a sufficient explanation of her pregnancy and her husband is satisfied; for the Baganda do not doubt that a woman may be impregnated by the flower of the banana. If a woman were for any reason debarred from having recourse to this plea, she might under the old régime be lawfully put to death by her husband, and such executions were not infrequent. Nothing could well illustrate more strikingly the firm faith of the Baganda in the possibility of conception without cohabitation than the readiness of a husband to accept such an excuse and on the strength of it to let the adultress go free, whom otherwise he might have punished with death. The notion that the flower of the banana may get with child any woman on whom it falls is perhaps connected with the custom, invariably observed by the Baganda, of burying an infant's placenta at the root of a banana tree. For as they deem the placenta a double or twin, as they call it, of the child, they might easily fancy that a spirit child is absorbed by the root of the tree and that, being drawn up by the sap, it breaks out in the sunshine into the great purple bloom of the banana, ready to drop on some passing woman and to be born again from her womb. The same custom may also explain the notion of the Baganda that a banana grove is the play-ground of ghosts. No wonder that a woman should become a mother on such haunted ground.

Belief of the Baganda that conception may take place without sexual intercourse. They think that a woman may be impregnated by the flower of the banana.

But in Uganda children may come, unfathered, into the world in less lovely ways than from the purple blossoms of a verdurous banana grove. Infants born feet foremost are killed and buried at cross-roads; and at cross-roads the

Suicides and children born feet foremost are buried

[1] For the evidence of this belief I am indebted to my friend the Rev. John Roscoe.

at cross-roads, and it is believed that their spirits can enter into passing women and be born again.

bodies of suicides are burned together with the fatal tree on which they hung or the house in which they took their lives. All women, whether married or unmarried, who pass these ill-omened spots, cast sticks or straws on the graves till great piles have accumulated over them. This they do to prevent the unquiet spirits from entering into them and being born again.[1]

These superstitions demonstrate the belief of the Baganda that women may and do conceive without the co-operation of a male. We have seen reason to think that notions of this sort lie at the root of totemism.

Marriage of first cousins forbidden, but marriage of second cousins allowed. Mutual avoidance of first cousins.

Marriage between first cousins is forbidden among the Baganda.[2] We are not told that there is any exception to this rule. But second cousins are free, at least in certain cases, to marry each other. Thus whereas first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other, the children of these cousins are at liberty to do so in the case where the father of one of them is the son of that brother, and the mother of the other is the daughter of that sister. In short, a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.[3] Not only may first cousins not marry each other but they may not even come near each other nor speak to each other, they may not enter the same house nor eat out of the same dish.[4] This custom of mutual avoidance no doubt springs from the prohibition of marriage and is intended to guard against incest.

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and between a woman and her husband's father, etc.

Further, among the Baganda, as among so many peoples who practise exogamy, a man may neither see his mother-in-law nor speak to her face to face. If he wishes to hold any communication with her, it must be done through a third person, or she may be in another room out of sight and talk to him through the wall or open door. A woman may speak to her father-in-law, but she may not take his hand or

[1] From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe. Compare his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 30.

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 688.

[3] From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

[4] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 695, confirmed and extended verbally by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

touch him or even hand him anything. Any breach of these customs is supposed to be punished by nervous debility with tremors in the hands and other parts of the body.[1] Further, a man had to avoid his sister's daughters; he might neither eat with them nor let them come near him. They were not allowed to enter his house if he was at home.[2]

The classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda.

The Baganda have the classificatory system of relationship.[3] Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father *kitange*, "my father," and he calls his father's brother, whether younger or older than his father, *kitange muto*, "my little father." But he has quite a different term (*kojawe*) for his mother's brothers. He calls his mother *mange*, "my mother," and he calls his mother's sister, whether older or younger than his mother, *mange muto*, "my little mother."[4] But he has quite a different term (*sengawo*) for his father's sisters. In his own generation he applies the term *muganda wange* to his brothers and the term *muganda* to his male first cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *mwanyina* to his sisters and to his female first cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But he has quite different terms for his other first cousins, the children either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. Thus he calls the sons and daughters of his father's sisters *kizibwewe*, and he applies the same term to the daughters of his mother's brothers. The sons of his mother's brothers he calls *kojawe*; but he may also call them *muganda*, "brothers." In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *mutabane* to his sons and to his brothers' sons. The term *muganda wange* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister. The term *mwanyina* is applied

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 124; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 39. Compare Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 688.

[2] From the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

[3] The following account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda is drawn from the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has kindly placed at my disposal.

[4] "The clan system also has a tendency to make relationship rather general than particular, and hence a child calls all its father's brothers 'father,' and all its mother's sisters 'mother'" (R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 286 *sq.*).

by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. It deserves to be noticed that the system of relationship of the Baganda is sufficiently advanced to distinguish between a wife and a wife's sisters, and conversely between a husband and a husband's brothers. Thus a man calls his wife *mukazi* or *muka*; but he calls his wife's sisters *mulamu*. A woman calls her husband *ba* or *baze*; but she calls her husband's brothers *mulamu*.

Two peculiarities of the classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda. First, a man calls his mother's brother's wife his wife and she calls him her husband.

Two peculiarities in the classificatory system of the Baganda deserve particular notice. In the first place a man calls his mother's brother's wife his wife (*mukazi*), and she calls him (her husband's sister's son) her "husband" (*baze*). This seems to imply that among the Baganda in former times, as among the Barongo at present,[1] a nephew exercised marital rights over the wife of his maternal uncle (his mother's brother), or in other words, that a woman was bound to submit to the embraces of her husband's nephew (his sister's son) whenever the nephew chose to require it of her. The implication is strongly confirmed by the observation that among the Baganda as among the Barongo the nephew still inherits the wife (or one of the wives) of his deceased maternal uncle; that is, on his uncle's death he marries the woman (his uncle's wife) whom even in his uncle's lifetime he had called his wife, and the widow on her side marries the man (her husband's nephew) whom even in her husband's lifetime she had called her husband. Similarly among the Republican Pawnees of North America a man called his mother's brother's wife "my wife" (*Tâ-te-luk-tuk-ŭ*), and consistently with this nomenclature he called the woman's child "my child" (*pe-row*).[2] We can now understand why in several Indian tribes of North America, such as the Minnetarees and the Choctaws, a man calls his first cousins, the children of his mother's brother "my son" and "my daughter"; and why conversely in these tribes a man calls his first cousins, the children of his father's sister "my father" and "my mother."[3] These terms so applied are perfectly intelligible

[1] See above, p. 387.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), p. 331 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvii.).

[3] See below, vol. ii. pp. 149, 175 *sq.*

on the hypothesis that in former times a man of these tribes, like a Barongo man at present, regularly exercised marital rights over the wife of his maternal uncle (his mother's brother), for in that case the woman's children might be in very truth his sons and daughters. Similarly, in the Mota form of the classificatory system a man is called the father (*tamai*) of his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers,[1] which suggests that he has, or once had, marital rights over their mother, the wife of his maternal uncle, in other words, that a man is bound to place his wife at the disposal of his nephew, the son of his sister, whenever the nephew chooses to exact the privilege. This accords very well with the extraordinary rights which in Fiji the sister's son (*vasu*) enjoyed against his maternal uncle, his mother's brother.

The second peculiarity in the classificatory system of the Baganda which deserves attention is this. A man calls his wife's brother's daughter his wife, and she calls him her husband. This is explicable on the hypothesis that the two enjoy, or formerly enjoyed, the right of having sexual intercourse with each other. That right would in turn explain the names which among certain tribes of North American Indians first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, apply to each other. Thus among the Miamis and Shawnees a man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my mother," and she calls him "my son."[2] This would be intelligible if the man's father had a right of access to his wife's brother's daughter, for in that case his son might be quite right in calling that woman "my mother," since she might really have given birth to him.

The second peculiarity of the Baganda form of the classificatory system is that a man calls his wife's brother's daughter his wife and she calls him her husband.

Thus these particular Melanesian and North American terms for cousins are readily explained by the peculiarities of the Baganda system to which I have just called attention: we have only to assume that among the Baganda the terms "husband" and "wife" mean what they imply, and we at once understand why in Melanesia and North America two

These two peculiarities explain certain Melanesian and North American terms for cousins.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 37-39.

[2] See below, vol. iii. pp. 70 *sq.*, 74. Compare the terms for cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, in the Omaha and Creek forms of the classificatory system (*ibid.* pp. 115-117, 165-167).

persons, who seem to be first cousins, may quite correctly call each other "mother" and "son" respectively.

The peculiarities of the Baganda system point to certain extended marital rights.

It should be observed that whereas the first of the peculiarities of the Baganda system points to the exercise of marital rights by a man over a woman in the generation above him, namely, his mother's brother's wife, the second peculiarity points to the exercise of marital rights by a man over a woman in the generation below him, namely, his wife's brother's daughter. It is remarkable that, if we may judge by their terms of relationship, both these privileges should have been accorded to men by the Baganda.

Relics of mother-kin among the Baganda.

The first of the peculiarities of the Baganda system to which I have called attention may be considered a relic of mother-kin; for it seems hardly possible to explain otherwise the custom which allows a man to call his mother's brother's wife "my wife" and to marry her on the decease of his maternal uncle. Such a custom points plainly to that position of privilege enjoyed by a man in respect of his maternal uncle which was perfectly natural when he was his uncle's heir under the system of mother-kin, but which becomes strange and anomalous under a system of father-kin, such as now obtains in Uganda, under which a man's heirs are not his sister's sons, but his own sons. Another relic of the privileges formerly granted to the sister's son under a system of mother-kin survives among the Baganda at funerals; for it is then the duty of the sister's son, and of him alone, to conclude the obsequies by solemnly burning the house-pole of his deceased maternal uncle.[1] But among the Baganda, as among other peoples who have followed the custom of mother-kin, the advantage is by no means altogether on the side of the nephew as against his maternal uncle; on the contrary we are told that in former times "a man always looked upon his sister's children and treated them as slaves."[2] This despotic power possessed by a man over his sister's children is a natural consequence of the system of mother-kin, which places a woman's brother, not her husband, at the head of her family and thereby permits him to exercise the same authority over her children which

[1] From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

[2] From the papers of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

under the system of father-kin would be exerted by their father. In the history of institutions the authority of the maternal uncle, the mother's brother, as a rule precedes that of the father: *avunculi potestas* is commonly older than *patria potestas*.

Maternal descent in the royal family of Uganda.

To the traces of mother-kin among the Baganda may perhaps be added the rule according to which kings and princes belong to the clan and take the totem of their mother, while commoners on the other hand always belong to the clan and take the totem of their father. But, as we shall see presently, there is reason to think that this royal custom of heredity, so different from the custom of their subjects, is rather an importation from an alien race than evidence of the ancient practice of the Baganda themselves.

§ 15. *Totemism among the Banyoro*

The Banyoro and their country.

The Banyoro are a Bantu people inhabiting Unyoro, the country which lies to the north-west of Uganda and borders on Lake Albert. Down the centre of this region runs a line of bold heights, sometimes rising into pinnacles and crags of striking aspect. Here the country is open, grassy, and rocky, but along the western foot of the ridge stretches a belt of tropical forest, where chimpanzees live and large-tusked elephants abound.[1] The Banyoro shew an admixture of Hamitic and Nilotic blood with the Bantu stock. Their figures are tall and shapely and their faces would be pleasing but for the practice of extracting the four lower incisor teeth. They keep cattle, sheep, and goats, but their staple food is now the sweet potato and the eleusine grain.[2]

Totemism of the Banyoro.

They have a totemic system, which has been briefly described as follows by Sir Harry Johnston: "The Banyoro are divided into many clans, which would appear to have totems as sacred symbols or ancestral emblems like the similar clans in Uganda. This institution, however, like so many other customs connected with the Banyoro, has lately been much defaced and obscured by the appalling depopulation of the country consequent on civil wars and foreign

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 139 *sqq.*

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 581, 586.

LIBRARY OF THE

invasions. The animals or plants chosen as totems are much the same as in Uganda, varying, however, with the existence or non-existence of the symbols in the flora and fauna of Unyoro. There is probably a greater preponderance of antelopes as totems compared with what occurs in Uganda. It is unlawful by custom for a Munyoro to kill or eat the totem of his clan. Thus, if the hartebeest should be the totem of a clan or family, members of this clan must not kill or eat the hartebeest. I have never been able to ascertain either from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be actually descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other negro races."[1]

Two groups of totems among the Banyoro, the one pastoral, the other agricultural.

Full details as to the totemic system of the Banyoro were obtained by the Rev. John Roscoe during a visit which he paid to their country in June 1909. He found that their totems fall on the whole into two groups, the one pastoral, the other agricultural, corresponding to the twofold division of the people into herdsmen and husbandmen. These two classes are socially distinct. The herdsmen are descendants of a nomadic race who have settled down in permanent abodes, while their large herds are still driven from place to place for pasturage, according to the requirements of the seasons and the state of the grass. They despise the husbandmen as an inferior race and speak of them as peasants and slaves. Few cattle are kept by these farmers and the few they have are grudged them by the herdsmen, who think that a mixed diet of milk and vegetables, such as farmers who breed cattle naturally permit themselves, must be detrimental to the milch kine, the contact of milk with vegetables in the stomachs of the people being supposed to affect sympathetically the milk in the udders of the cows. If a man should partake of vegetable food, he may not drink milk for twenty-four hours afterwards ; but if the vegetable which he has eaten should be sweet potatoes, the abstinence from milk must be prolonged for three days. Such periods of abstinence are

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 587 *sq.*

doubtless intended to guard against the contact of milk with vegetables in the belly of the eater. We have seen that among the Masai, another great pastoral tribe of Africa, warriors in like manner scrupulously avoid a mixed diet of milk and vegetables, and no doubt for the same reason, since these Masai warriors are also most careful not to mix milk with flesh or blood in their stomachs, lest the contact of the two should sympathetically injure the cows and thereby diminish their supply of milk.[1] However, amongst the Banyoro there is a class of people intermediate between the herdsmen and the farmers; they consist of husbandmen who have been admitted by marriage into some of the pastoral clans, and whose mixed totems accordingly reflect a blending of the two distinct modes of life.

The Banyoro clans are exogamous with descent in the male line.

All the Banyoro clans are exogamous with descent in the male line; that is, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and the children always belong to the clan of their father, not to that of their mother. So strict is the rule of exogamy that formerly breaches of it were capital crimes: a man who married a woman of his own clan was put to death. However, to this rule the practice of the royal family, as we shall see, presented a singular exception.

List of Banyoro clans, totems, and taboos.

In the following list of Banyoro clans with their totems and taboos, which we owe to the researches of the Rev. J. Roscoe, the distinction between the three classes, the herdsmen, the husbandmen, and the mixture of the two, is indicated by grouping the clans of these divisions separately:—

[1] See above, p. 414.

[TABLE

CLANS OF THE BANYORO

I. *Pastoral Clans*

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
1. Babito	bushbuck (*ngabi*)	rain water from the roofs of houses (*maleghya*)	This is the clan of the royal family and princes.
2. Balisa	cows which have red marks on a black or red ground (*timba*)	rain water from the roofs of houses (*maleghya*)	No member of this clan may drink the milk or eat the flesh of cows thus marked with red.
3. Bafumambogo	grasshopper (*nsenene*)	(1) a kind of cow with peculiar red marks (*bambo*); (2) the buffalo	The clan may not drink the milk of cows thus marked, nor eat the flesh of cows, buffaloes, or grasshoppers.
4. Basonga	grasshopper		
5. Balanze	a nursing mother	grasshopper	No woman who is nursing a child may enter into the kraal or house of any member of the clan.
6. Basita	milch cow which has been with the bull	dew upon the grass	Members of the clan may neither drink the milk of cows that have been to the bull nor touch the dewy grass.
7. Basingo	cows with humps	cows in calf (*murara*)	Members of the clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of humped cows and cows which die in calf.
8. Baginu	Red and white cows (*mpula*)	rain water from the roofs of houses	Members of the clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of red and white cows, nor use the rain water which has dripped from roofs.
9. Baisanza	a woman who enters a house and solicits a man and is afterwards found to be with child (*butweke*)		Such a woman may never enter the kraals of such a clan again, nor may any member of the clan hold any intercourse with her.
10. Basengya	the tongues of animals (*tulimi*)		
11. Babyasi	milch cows with calf for a second time (*ekuluzi*)		The clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of such cows.
12. Banyakwa	cows with straight horns (*ngabi*)		The clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of straight-horned cows.
13. Bacwezi	cows which have drunk salt water	cows which have been with the bull	Members of the clan may not drink the milk of cows which have drunk salt water until the second day after the animals have partaken of the brine; and they may not drink the milk of cows which have been to the bull for five days afterwards.

CLANS OF THE BANYORO—*continued*

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
14. Baitira	cows of a particular colour (*mbazi*)	a nursing mother whose child is a girl	

II. *Mixed Clans*

15. Bakwonga	bushbuck (*ngabi*)		
16. Baswa	bushbuck (*ngabi*)	rainwater of the roofs of houses	
17. Mbazi	cows of a particular colour (*mbazi*)	a nursing mother	A nursing mother may not enter the houses nor the kraals of this clan.
18. Baboro	the hearts of animals	empty baskets (*kaibo kasa*)	
19. Bayangwe	a kind of monkey (*enkende*)	another kind of monkey (*nkobe*)	
20. Bagwiju	a house which has been burnt down		No member of the clan may approach such a house or take anything from it.
21. Batongo	the stomachs of animals (*amara*)		
22. Basengya	bushbuck (*ngabi*)	rain water from the roofs of houses	
23. Banywagi	bushbuck (*ngabi*)		
24. Baduku	a worn-out drum-skin on the top of a drum (*kabambiro*)		
25. Bahenga	a species of bird (*kagondo*)		
26. Banyakwa	bushbuck (*ngabi*)		
27. Bane	a fungus growing on trees (*katozi*)		
28. Baisanza	a small edible animal (*epo*), possibly a kind of antelope		
29. Bakimbiri	a nursing mother (*isereka*)		A nursing mother may not enter the house of any member of this clan.
30. Bakwonga	bushbuck (*ngabi*)		
31. Bakwonga (subsection of the preceding)	a trickling stream (*ekirira*)		Members of the clan may not cross a trickling stream.
32. Bapima	bushbuck (*ngabi*)		
33. Bagombe	hippopotamus (*kiroko*)		
34. Baisanza	grasshopper (*nsenene*)		
35. Banyampaka	a water bird (*kagondo*)		

CLANS OF THE BANYORO—*continued*

III. *Agricultural Clans*

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
36. Basambo	an empty basket	a pointed instrument of wood or iron	No one may bring an empty basket into the presence of members of the clan, nor present any pointed instrument to them without first wrapping it up.
37. Banyoza	a kind of bird (*nyoza*)	an empty basket	
38. Bayaga	birds in general	small millet (*bulo*)	Members of the clan may not destroy or eat birds. If at harvest, any reaped millet has been forgotten in the field, members of the clan may not transport it to the store-house on the following day. On account of this second totem the clan is called *Aboruka omabibi*.
39. Batwa	milch kine (*bukama*)	stalks of grass or straws	Members of the clan may not milk cows nor put stalks of grass or straws in their mouths (*nsugu*), when they are walking, as other people commonly do.
40. Bakimbira	potter's clay (*bumba*)	millet (*bulo*) which has been overlooked after it has been reaped and left in the field all night	
41. Bakimbira	a nursing mother (*isereka*)		
42. Baraha	wagtail (*akanyangonge*)		
43. Bagimu	yams (*ngobe*)		
44. Baregeya	birds called *ndegeya*		
45. Bahembo	an empty basket (*kaibo kasa*)		
46. Basengya	a wooden porridge spoon		No member of the clan may touch a wooden porridge spoon.

Some of the Banyoro clans have the same name but different

In this list it will be observed that some clans have the same name but different totems, while others conversely have the same totem but different names. Each and all of these clans are distinct; members of any one of them are free to marry members of any other. For example, a Baisanza

man may marry a Baisanza woman, provided that his totem is the animal called *epo* and hers the grasshopper (*nsenene*); or again, a Bakwonga man may marry a Bakwonga woman, provided that his totem is the bushbuck and hers a trickling stream. Conversely a man of the bushbuck totem may marry a woman of the bushbuck totem, provided that, for example, he is of the Babito clan and she of the Bakwonga clan; or again, a man of the grasshopper totem may marry a woman of the grasshopper totem, provided that he is of the Bafumambogo clan and she of the Basonga clan. Thus the two badges of exogamy are as usual the totem and the name of the clan, but where the badges overlap, either of them has power to override the other; men and women of the same totem may marry each other, if only their clan names differ; men and women of the same clan name may marry each other, if only their totems differ.

totems; others have different names but the same totem.

We naturally ask, How is it that clans of the same name come to have different totems? How is it that clans of different names come to have the same totem? The answers to these questions can only be conjectural, since no positive information on the subject seems to be forthcoming. We may suppose, for example, that these anomalies have both arisen by subdivision; that is, that a clan bearing the same name and possessing the same totem may have subdivided into several sections, each of which became a new clan and in order to distinguish itself from its mother clan and sister clans either took a new name, while it retained the old totem, or conversely took a new totem, while it retained the old name. The frequent occurrence of the bushbuck totem, for instance, suggests that a large original clan of Bushbucks may have split up into a number of minor clans, each of which adopted for distinction a new name while it clung with pride to the old bushbuck totem. We have seen similar grounds for conjecturing that a like subdivision of a Bushbuck clan has taken place among the Basoga.[1]

These anomalies may have arisen through the subdivision of a clan into sections, each of which took for the sake of distinction either a new name or a new totem.

Like the Baganda, the Banyoro clans have regularly a secondary or subsidiary as well as a primary totem. The most probable explanation of this duplication of totems

Subsidiar totems of the Banyoro.

[1] See above, p. 460.

seems to be that the subsidiary totem was the totem of an ancestress of the clan, the wife perhaps of the founder, and that out of regard for her feelings her descendants continued ever afterwards to respect her totem in addition to the one which they inherited from their fathers. Though this explanation of subsidiary totems was not definitely put forward by the natives whom Mr. Roscoe questioned on the subject, it is the conclusion to which the most reasonable and probable of their answers, taken together, appeared to point; and it is strongly confirmed by a custom common to the Baganda and the Banyoro, both of whom regularly respect their mother's totem as well as their father's up to the time of their marriage and very often to the end of their lives.[1] We have seen that the natives of the Western Islands of Torres Straits account for their subsidiary totems in a precisely similar way.[2]

Peculiarities of some of the Banyoro totems. Split totems.

Some of the Banyoro totems are remarkable. In the first place there are several of what I have called split totems, such as the tongues, the hearts, and the stomachs of animals. Then the varieties of cows which form several totems deserve to be noted, such as red and white cows, cows with red blotches, cows with humps, and cows with straight horns. To a pastoral people the custom of thus constituting a variety of totems by differentiating between their cattle is natural enough; we shall meet with it again among the pastoral Bahima.[3] But some of the pastoral totems of the Banyoro are singular, if not unique, in this that they are temporary, not permanent like all or almost all the totems which we have hitherto met with in our survey of totemism. Such temporary totems are cows that have been to the bull and cows that have drunk salt water; for the taboos which make these animals into totems are not permanent; one of them lasts only five days and the other lasts only one or two days. Almost the only other temporary totemic taboos, so far as I remember, which have been recorded elsewhere are the prohibitions laid on some clans in India to look upon or touch either animals with their eyes shut or animals with their eyes open;[4] for clearly

Temporary totems.

[1] As to the Baganda practice see above, p. 473.

[2] See above, p. 15.

[3] See below, pp. 536 *sq.*

[4] See above, pp. 279, 290, 295, 297, 314.

these taboos cease to operate either when the animals open or when they shut their eyes. Amongst the Banyoro another temporary totem is that of a nursing mother; for here again it follows that when the woman ceases to nurse a child, the embargo laid on her is removed; she ceases to be a totem and is now free to enter the houses of members of the totemic clan, where during the period of lactation she might not set foot. With this temporary human totem we may compare the Central Australian totem of laughing boys.[1] For as a woman is not always nursing, so a boy is not always laughing; hence when she ceases to nurse and he to laugh, they both cease to be totems, the one for the Banyoro in the heart of Africa, the other for the Warramunga and Tjingilli in the heart of Australia. What taboo the totem laughing boys carries with it we do not know; on analogy we may conjecture that the members of this clan are distinguished from their more light-minded fellows by the unmoved gravity of their deportment, and that social etiquette requires them to avert their eyes and stop their ears whenever a youngster bursts into a guffaw. As to the totem nursing mothers among the Banyoro our information is precise: such women may not enter the houses or even the kraals of the clan of which they are the totem. The origin of this singular totem is obscure; but when we remember how many superstitious rules are observed by pastoral tribes in Africa from a fear of impairing the supply of milk from their cows,[2] we may guess that the same fear underlies the rule which excludes women during the period of lactation from the houses and kraals of certain clans. Perhaps the idea is that the milk in the woman's breasts would be so much milk abstracted from the udders of the cows. If that notion were general among the pastoral Banyoro, it would readily explain why a nursing mother occurs so often either as a primary or as a subsidiary totem of their clans.[3] It is possible that the same superstitious

Nursing mothers as a totem.

The taboo on nursing mothers perhaps springs from a fear that they might magically deprive the cows of their milk.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 773. See also above, vol. i. p. 253.

[2] See my paper "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 154 *sqq.*

[3] After proposing this explanation of the totem nursing mothers I questioned my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe on the point, and he informed me that the herdsmen do definitely

apprehension of injuring the cows, rather than any regard for the health of the people, may be the motive for forbidding some of the Banyoro to drink the milk of cows which have lately been to the bull or which have lately drunk salt water. In confirmation of this view it may be added that among the Banyoro menstruous women are forbidden to drink milk lest they should harm the cows; they have then to live on vegetables, or if a man is rich he may give his wife at such periods an old cow, whose milk she may drink without the risk of hurting a valuable animal by her dangerous contagion.

First cousins forbidden but second cousins allowed to marry each other.

Among the Banyoro first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other; but second cousins, the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, are allowed to marry each other, if the father of the one is a son of that brother, and if the mother of the other is a daughter of that sister. In other words, a man's children may not marry his sister's children; but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.

Marriage with a wife's sisters.

There are no restrictions on a man's marrying several sisters; he may marry two or more sisters at the same time. Moreover, if his wife dies, especially in childbed, he expects her parents to furnish him with one of her sisters to replace the dead wife. Further, if his wife proves childless, he may demand one of her sisters in marriage, and in that case the barren wife may either remain with him or return to her parents, as she pleases. A man has not a legal right to marry his dead brother's widow, but he may do so if the clan appoints him heir to the deceased. Formerly a man avoided his wife's mother and might not meet her or speak face to face with her, though he was allowed to carry on a conversation with her if he sat outside the house and she inside. He greatly respected his wife's father, but was free to see him and speak with him.

Avoidance of a wife's mother.

To the rule of exogamy observed by the totemic clans of

believe the entrance of a nursing mother into their houses or kraals to be in some way harmful to their cows; but in what the harm consists, he was not able to ascertain. So far as it goes, the statement of the herdsmen confirms the explanation which I had independently given of the totem.

the Banyoro there was one remarkable exception. Princes might cohabit with princesses and have children by them, though in such cases the couple necessarily belonged to the same totemic clan, namely, the Babito clan with its totem the bushbuck. However, this cohabitation was not marriage. "The rule," says Mr. Roscoe, "was for princes and princesses to live together promiscuously and not to regard each other as husband and wife, though the king might take a princess and keep her in his enclosure." He might even cohabit thus with his full sister and beget children by her. We have seen that among the Baganda the royal family was in like manner exempt from the rule of exogamy, the king regularly marrying his own sister, who was necessarily a member of his own totem clan, though he might not have a child by her.[1] Similarly we shall find that among the Bahima the princes were allowed to marry their own sisters.[2]

Exception to the rule of exogamy among the Banyoro. Princes may cohabit with princesses of their own totemic clan, and kings may cohabit with their sisters.

What is the reason for these remarkable anomalies? Why should the royal families of three great African tribes, the Baganda, the Banyoro, and the Bahima, observe a marriage custom which so flagrantly contravenes the practice of their subjects and which, if observed by any but the royal family, would excite their deepest horror and detestation? A possible answer is that in all three tribes the royal families are members of an alien race to which the rule of exogamy was unknown, and that when they established themselves as reigning dynasties in Uganda, Unyoro, and Ankole, they adhered to their ancestral practice of endogamous and consanguineous marriages, while they allowed their people to follow their ancient custom of exogamy. Thus as strangers and foreigners the king and the princes might be thought to be exempt from those laws which were binding on natives of the country; and hence they might with impunity continue to do what if done by anybody else would have been accounted a high crime and misdemeanour punishable with death. This explanation of the endogamy of these royal families is the one adopted by the experienced observer the Rev. John Roscoe, who holds that the ruling dynasties of the Baganda, Banyoro, and Bahima have all sprung from

The exception may be explained by the theory that the royal family of Unyoro are members of an alien race to which the rule of exogamy was unknown.

[1] See above, p. 469.

[2] See below, p. 538.

one common stock, and that stock the Galla. If he is right, the native rulers of these three important peoples are alien conquerors, who have adopted the language and to a great extent the habits of their Bantu subjects, though they still retain, or retained till lately, a form of marriage which flouts one of the most deeply implanted principles of the Bantu mind. However, in adapting themselves to their surroundings the kings of Uganda went a step further than the kings of Unyoro; for while they regularly married their sisters, they regularly abstained from begetting children by them. The most probable explanation of this abstention is that it was a concession made by politic monarchs to the strength of public opinion: their subjects winked at the shocking marriages of their kings, because they knew that these marriages would be barren. In Unyoro either the dynasty was less conciliatory or the people was less scrupulous; for there the kings were free not only to cohabit with, but also to beget children on the women of their own clan, even on their own full sisters. Yet in one important respect the princesses of Unyoro enjoyed less freedom than the Queen Sister of Uganda. For whereas the Queen Sister of Uganda might take any man, whether prince or peasant, to her bed, the princesses of Unyoro might have none but princes for their lovers; a commoner who presumed to intrigue with a princess was punishable with death.

The rule which forbade kings of Uganda to have children by their sisters may have been a concession to the public opinion of their subjects.

But even if we assume that the ancestors of these royal houses knew nothing of the rule of exogamy, we must still ask why the kings of Uganda were not only permitted but required to marry their sisters. A simple and highly probable explanation of the marriage of a king or chief with his sister was long ago suggested by J. F. McLennan.[1] Under a system of mother-kin a man's heirs are his sister's sons, and accordingly, where that system prevails, it is the king's sister's son, not his own son, who succeeds him on the throne. This custom is practised in

The reason why in some royal families kings marry their sisters is probably a wish to combine an old custom of mother-kin with a new practice of father-kin;

[1] *The Patriarchal Theory*, based on the papers of the late J. F. McLennan, edited and completed by D. McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95; "Another rule of chiefly succession which has been mentioned, that which gives the chieftainship to a sister's son, appears to have been nullified in some cases by means of an extraordinary but effective expedient — by the chief, that is, marrying his own sister."

many lands and is particularly common in Africa.[1] But when, through a growing certainty of paternity or from other causes, men became more attached to their own children than to the children of their sisters, it was natural that they should wish to transmit to them their property and power; and as no men had so much to transmit as kings, so no men had a stronger motive for substituting paternal for maternal descent. Thus situated they could hardly fail to perceive that there was a simple expedient which would enable them to institute a new custom of descent through men without abolishing the old custom of descent through women. According to immemorial tradition a king's heirs were his sister's sons; hence if he only married his sister, her sons would also be his; the system of maternal descent would be combined with paternal descent; time-honoured usage would be respected, while the natural instincts of a father would also be satisfied. We may conjecture that this was the ultimate origin of the numerous cases in which kings have habitually married their sisters, while commoners abstained from such marriages as incestuous.[2] Among the Hovas of Madagascar a slightly different device was adopted to accomplish the same end. The king generally married, not his sister, but her daughter, his niece, and the children whom he had by her were the heirs to the throne in virtue of a twofold right, since they inherited the blood royal from their mothers as well as from their fathers.[3] It is possible that a similar motive may explain the leave granted by some peoples to an uncle to marry his niece in the case in which the niece is his sister's daughter.[4]

for the offspring of such marriages unite both lines of descent, the paternal and the maternal, being at once the king's own children and the children of his sister.

[1] For examples in Africa see A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, 1887), i. 16 *sqq.*

[2] See my note on Pausanias, i. 7. 1 (vol. ii. p. 85).

[3] Le Baron d'Unienville, *Statistique de l'Ile Maurice* (Paris, 1838), iii. pp. 286 *sq.*

[4] For marriage with a niece, a sister's daughter, see above, pp. 271 *sq.* Such marriages are frequent in Mysore and probably in other parts of India also. The usual rule appears to be that a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, but not the daughter of his younger sister, unless there is no other suitable wife for him. Sometimes the marriage with the daughter of an elder sister is not only allowed but specially favoured. See H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 8, iii. 7, iv. 5 *sq.*, vii. 7, viii. 2, x. 5, xi. 4, xii. 5 (Bangalore, 1906-1907, Preliminary Issue). Among some Indians of Brazil a man's proper wife was his niece, the daughter of his sister. See below, vol. iii. p. 575.

Such a marriage would serve the same purpose as marriage with a sister and would be less shocking to traditional sentiment.

The life and death of the kings of Unyoro were regulated by exact rules.

In the old heathen days both the life and the death of the kings of Unyoro were regulated by many precise and curious rules, the discovery of which is not the least interesting result of Mr. Roscoe's enquiries in the country. As the present king is a Christian, many of the old customs have no doubt fallen into desuetude and might have passed away unrecorded if they had not been rescued from oblivion by the exertions of a scientific investigator. Though they do not appear to be directly connected with totemism, a brief account of them may be welcome to the reader as illustrative of that state of savagery, to us so strange and so remote, of which totemism is only one particular product.

The king might not eat vegetables, but must subsist on milk and beef.

The diet of the king of Unyoro, like the diet of the kings of ancient Egypt,[1] was strictly regulated by immemorial custom. He might never eat vegetable food, but must subsist on milk and beef. Mutton he might not touch. The beef he ate must be that of young animals not more than one year old, and it must be spitted and roasted before a wood fire. But he might not drink milk and eat beef at the same meal. He drank milk thrice a day, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night before he went to bed; after the draught of milk in the afternoon he went to sleep and in the evening he might eat beef. But he was free to quaff beer after partaking of meat. When he went to drink milk in the dairy, every man must leave the royal enclosure and all the women had to cover their heads till the king returned. No one might see him drink. One wife accompanied him to the dairy and handed him the milk pot, but she averted her face while he drained it.

The milking of the king's cows.

A sacred herd was kept for the king's use, and nine cows, neither more nor less, were daily brought to the royal enclosure to be milked for his majesty. They were always kine which had given birth to their first calves, and they were herded by men whose business it was to keep the

[1] The only flesh which the kings of Egypt might eat was veal and goose; and they might only drink a prescribed measure of wine. See Diodorus Siculus, i. 70. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 241.

animals from the bulls, so long as they were being milked for the king. Three milkmen were charged with the task of tending and milking the nine cows in the royal enclosure. They held office for a year, and during all that time they must strictly abstain from women; any act of incontinence on their part, it was believed, would be injurious both to the cows and to the king. When they were about to milk the cows they had to wash and smear their faces, arms, and chests with white clay before they addressed themselves to their office; and two wives of the king, who were also concerned with the solemn affair of the royal milk-drinking, had to cleanse or (as we should think) to dirty themselves in like manner. The boy who brought the nine cows from the pasture to the royal enclosure must be a member of a particular clan and under the age of puberty. When he came to puberty, he was dismissed from his post and given in marriage by the king's order. During his tenure of office he, like the king, never partook of vegetables or of mutton; he must live strictly chaste and might not go into long grass nor in any way scratch or wound himself so as to draw blood; for it was believed that the loss of his blood would be detrimental to the king. Nobody might touch him. As he came along the road driving the sacred cows before him, he cried out three or four times and at the cry the people fled from him, covering up their heads till he and the cows had passed by.[1] On reaching the royal enclosure he cried out again, and the three milkmen came and took charge of the cows. With the aid of one of the king's wives the milkmen milked the cows according to certain exact rules into a sacred pot, which neither they nor the woman might touch; a carrier was used to prevent them from defiling the holy vessel by their profane contact. Before the cows were milked their udders and teats were smeared with butter to cleanse them, and before the milkman milked any of the cows water was poured over his hands by the king's wife.

The three royal milkmen.

The royal cowboy.

The milk of the nine sacred cows was then carried in the sacred pot into the dairy, where it was kept for the king

How the king drank the milk.

[1] The information here given as to the sacred cows and the cowboy was obtained by Mr. Roscoe from the lips of a man who had served as the royal cowboy in his youth.

alone. Thrice a day he drank it sitting on a certain stool, while the wife who had handed him the pot reverently turned away. Any milk that remained over when the king had slaked his thirst must be drunk by the boy who had fetched the cows from the pasture. This custom probably furnishes the clue to the curious rules of life which had to be observed by the cowboy. By drinking the leavings of the royal milk he was doubtless supposed to stand to the king in a relation of such intimate sympathy that any injury to his person, particularly any loss of blood, would be instantaneously felt by the king as if it had been inflicted on his own body. That, too, we may conjecture, was the reason why the cowboy had to be under puberty and to observe strict chastity. Any act of incontinence on his part might be deemed harmful, perhaps fatal, to the king. Similarly, as we have seen, the three milkmen in the royal enclosure had to abstain from women during their term of office lest by indulging in sexual intercourse they should do harm to the cows and to the king. In like manner the most sacred dairyman of the Todas in India has to avoid women altogether;[1] and with the example of the Banyoro before us we may safely conclude that the reason for his chastity is a belief that his unchastity would be harmful to the buffalo cows.[2] In other parts of Africa the incontinence of their subjects, particularly of the young, is supposed under certain circumstances to entail the death of kings or other sacred personages. Thus in the Bantu kingdom of Humbé, on the banks of the Cunene River in the south of Angola, every breach of chastity committed by young people under the age of puberty used to be inexorably punished with death whenever it came to light, because the people believed that if the offence were not thus expiated their king would die within the year. Of late years the capital punishment has been commuted into a fine of ten head of cattle; and this mitigation of ancient severity has attracted crowds of youthful debauchees to Humbé from the neighbouring tribes,

Relation of magic sympathy between the cowboy and the king.

Belief that incontinence in their subjects may be fatal to kings and cows.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 236. See above, p. 254.

[2] I had reached this conclusion conjecturally before the Banyoro parallel was known. See my article "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 162.

among whom the same offence is still punished for the same reason with all the old rigour.[1] For a similar reason, apparently, during the sickness of a Caffre chief his tribe was bound to observe strict continence under pain of death.[2] And in the kingdom of Congo when the holy pontiff called Chitomé was going his rounds through the country, all his people had to live strictly chaste, and all persons found guilty of incontinence at such times were put to death without mercy, because his loving subjects deemed that universal chastity was then essential to the preservation of him whom they revered as the head of their religion and their common father.[3] The mode in which the crime is supposed to produce this disastrous result is not apparent; perhaps the expenditure of vital energy which it entails in the criminals is thought to exhaust the corresponding energy of the king.

All fires extinguished at the death of a king.

During the time a king of Unyoro lay dead all the fires in the country were extinguished, and when food had to be cooked, people kindled fire by the friction of sticks and put it out as soon as it had served its purpose. After the new king was crowned, the people obtained new fire for their houses from the new fire in the royal enclosure.

The king of Unyoro had to take his own life before his bodily vigour was impaired by the ravages of disease.

The kings of Unyoro had to take their own lives while they were still in the full possession of their faculties and before their bodily vigour was impaired by the ravages of disease. As soon as the king felt unwell and thought he was about to die, he called his principal chiefs and after discussing affairs of state with them in council he went to a private house, where only his chief wife was allowed to visit him. There he asked her for "the cup," the poisoned cup, which seems to have been kept always ready, and having received it at her hands he drained it and in a few moments was dead. This custom lasted down to within living memory. The father of the last king, Kaberega, who is now living an exile in the Seychelles, perished thus. If the king faltered or was too ill to ask

[1] Charles Wunenberger, "La Mission et le Royaume de Humbé sur les Bords du Cunène," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xx. (1888) p. 262.

[2] L. Alberti, *De Kaffers* (Amsterdam, 1810), p. 171.

[3] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique del' Éthiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 259 *sq.* The two latter instances have already been cited by me in *Psyche's Task* (London, 1909), pp. 49 *sq.*

for the cup, it was his wife's sad duty to administer the poison. His death was kept secret for a time, only the two principal chiefs being taken into confidence by the wife. The public announcement of the death was made by the chief milkman. Taking a pot of the sacred milk in his hands he mounted the house-top and cried, "Who will drink the milk?" With these words he dashed the pot on the roof; it rolled off and falling to the ground was broken in pieces. That was the signal for war to the death between the princes who aspired to the throne. They fought till only one was left alive; he was the king. Any prince who did not choose to enter the lists retired to the country and lived there till the internecine struggle was over. The conqueror buried his father and ascended the throne. He inherited the kingdom and all his predecessor's private property and most of his women. But the chief wife of the deceased king was clubbed to death in his open grave, and so was the boy whose duty had been to drive the sacred cows daily to be milked for his royal master. These two were buried with the departed monarch. Others of his wives were set apart to minister to him, the living to the dead, at his tomb. They remained under the authority of his successor.

The fight for the kingdom.

The rule which obliged the kings of Unyoro to kill themselves or be killed before their strength of mind and body began to fail through disease or age is only a particular example of a custom which appears to have prevailed widely among barbarous tribes in Africa and to some extent elsewhere. Apparently this curious practice rests on a belief that the welfare of the people is sympathetically bound up with the welfare of their king, and that to suffer him to fall into bodily or mental decay would be to involve the whole kingdom in ruin.[1]

The custom of putting a sick king to death seems to rest on a belief in a sympathetic bond between king and people.

§ 16. *Totemism among the Batoro*

The Batoro.

The Batoro are a Bantu people inhabiting the district of Toro to the west of Uganda and to the south of Unyoro. They are said to be really a section of the Banyoro with

[1] The evidence for the prevalence and meaning of the custom has been adduced by me in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 8 *sqq.*, etc.

perhaps less admixture of Hamitic blood. Tall men are common among them, but the ordinary Toro peasant is a rather degraded representative of the Bantu type.[1] The Batoro are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, the members of which observe the two fundamental laws of ordinary totemism by refusing to eat their totemic animals and to marry women of their own totemic clan. Apparently people are forbidden to kill as well as to eat their totemic animal. Descent is in the paternal line; in other words, children take their clan and totem from their father, not from their mother. Among the totems are the sheep, the dog, the *omusu* (an edible rodent of a size between a large rat and a small rabbit), the *empara* (an antelope, the same as the *impala* of South Africa), the *njaza* (a small antelope), the *ensenene* (edible grasshoppers), white ants (that is, termites), *emamba* (a large fish found in Lake Albert Edward), raindrops, and perhaps the *enjoga* (hyrax), the *engabi* (a small antelope), and fowls. The totem of the royal family of Toro is the sheep. On his conversion to Christianity the king publicly ate mutton to shew that he respected his totem no longer. In this incomplete list of Batoro totems it seems clear that many totems are identical with those of the Baganda, such as the sheep, the dog, the rodent called *omusu* (Baganda *musu*), the antelope *njaza* (Baganda *njaza*, reedbuck), the grasshopper *ensenene* (Baganda *nsenene*), the fish *emamba* (Baganda *mamba*), the antelope *engabi* (Baganda *ngabi*, bushbuck), and raindrops. Nor is this agreement between the totems of the two peoples surprising; for in past years the Baganda used to raid the Batoro and kidnap their children, and the Batoro retaliated on the Baganda to the best of their ability. Many of the kidnapped children have grown up in their adopted country, and in the present peaceful times they are sometimes exchanged and so return to the land of their birth. The only way in which after an interval of years the relationships can be traced is by means of the totem. When a Mutoro [2] man or woman, brought up in Uganda, comes on a visit to Toro, where his or her kinsfolk may be supposed to live, the first question which

Totemism among the Batoro.

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 580.

[2] Mutoro is the singular of Batoro and means a native of Toro.

every one will ask him or her is, "What is your totem (*omuziro*)?" Before long he or she is claimed as a relation by some one, and the claim is always acknowledged. Men are loth to take the law of a member of their own totem clan even when they have sustained a serious injury at his hands. The word for totem, *omuziro* (plural *emiziro*) is connected with the common verb *oku-zira*, "to abstain from"; hence it means "that from which one abstains," "that which is unlawful." [1]

§ 17. *Totemism among the Bahima*

Ankole, the country of the Bahima.

The Bahima are a Bantu-speaking tribe of herdsmen, who inhabit Ankole, a region larger than Wales, which lies between Uganda on the east and the Lake Albert Nyanza and the Congo Free State on the west. The eastern part of the country consists of undulating downs mostly bare of trees but covered with short grass, which affords excellent pasture. Here the climate is temperate and salubrious; the nights and early mornings are cool or even cold. To an Englishman there is something homelike in the scenery, with its clear running streams, its brackens and daisies and brambles. In the dry season the grass withers and becomes like hay. It is then fired and burned down to the roots. But soon it begins to sprout again, and large herds of cattle are driven to browse on the fresh green blades which cover the swelling downs. But the population of these breezy uplands is sparse. The western part of Ankole is very different. There the land is mountainous, well cultivated, and thickly populated: the rivers and swamps in the valleys are choked with papyrus, and the mists hang thick all night; while down by the lake-shore we meet with dense tropical forests, great heat, and swarms of mosquitoes. In the north-west the scenery is very beautiful. Here the great broken-down craters of extinct volcanoes are filled with clear still lakes, their placid waters overspread

[1] For this account of the totemism of the Batoro I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. E. Maddox, of the Church Missionary Society, who has resided for nine years as a missionary in Toro, and has translated the Bible into the language of the people.

with the blue lotus or mirroring the surrounding hills and mountains together with the fantastically rich vegetation of palms, forest trees, and flowering creepers, which clothe the banks with a mantle of perennial green.[1]

Origin of the Bahima.

The origin of the Bahima is uncertain. According to one theory they migrated from the east, perhaps from the Masai country. Others suppose that they came from Egypt. Some of their pots and musical instruments are said to bear a strong resemblance to Egyptian pottery and instruments.[2]

Physical appearance and character of the Bahima.

They are a fine tall race with spare, lithe figures, shapely heads, straight well-carved noses, high foreheads, and thin lips. The neck is long and graceful, which gives the head a light easy poise, very different from that of the negro with his squat neck. Their complexion, too, is far less dark than his; indeed it is sometimes a pale or reddish yellow. Their deportment is dignified. In appearance they differ absolutely from the negro type, and in character they are equally distinct from most Bantu-speaking peoples, their uniform apathy, listlessness, and unruffled calm contrasting strongly with the excitability, rapid utterance, and furious gesticulation of other African races. The Muhima (singular of Bahima) is never in a hurry. Pride is the keynote of his character; his ancestors conquered the country some generations ago and he inherits the tradition of the dominant race. All menial labour is done by his slaves, the Bahero or Bairo, who till the ground, build huts, and carry water for their lords and masters. The only occupation which the Muhima deems worthy of him is the tending of the cattle. He loves the huge-horned beasts, which, sometimes vicious with other people, are gentle and docile under his care. He pets them, talks to them, coaxes them, weeps over their ailments, and sometimes commits suicide when a favourite animal dies. Their cattle are of the Galla type, with straight back, no hump, and

The Bahima a race of herdsmen.

[1] Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 136 *sq.*; Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 94; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 122 *sqq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 96. Compare Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 610 *sq.*

enormous horns; the colour is fawn, dun, gray, or white, sometimes blotched with white or other tints.[1] The men always milk the cows. Women are forbidden to do so, but they churn the milk into butter, which the Bahima chiefly use as an unguent. The staple food of the Bahima is milk. They drink it fresh in the morning and at noon, but never allow it to stand after midday or to turn sour. They eschew fowls and fish. Both men and women may eat beef, but not, under ordinary circumstances, vegetables. A person who eats vegetables ought not to drink milk. They think that to eat certain vegetables, such as peas, beans, and potatoes, and to drink milk at the same time, would endanger the life both of the cow from which the milk came and of the calf which came from the cow. But a menstruous woman is forbidden to drink milk and is compelled to eat vegetables and to drink beer so long as her sickness lasts. This she does, not because vegetables and beer are believed to be good for her at such times, but because it is thought that milk in her stomach would be very bad for the cows. It is the cows, and not the woman, which are supposed to benefit by the diet. For a similar reason it is a rule with the Bahima never to boil milk; they imagine that to boil milk would cause the cows to fall ill and die. But beer may be drunk by the people without any harm to the cattle. And just as the Bahima are careful not to mix milk with vegetables in their stomachs from fear of hurting the cows, so they are careful not to mix milk with meat; hence the men drink milk without beef in the morning and afternoon and eat beef without milk at night. But they have no objection to mixing beer with meat in their stomachs; so at night they wash down the beef with beer. Their beer is made from plantains, and it is on plantains that the Bahima women subsist at their monthly periods when their perilous condition debars them from the use of milk. Hence the Bahima have need of plantains. But they would not dream of cultivating

Customs and superstitions as to drinking milk.

They avoid vegetables from fear of injuring the cows.

[1] Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) p. 141; Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 94 *sq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 610 *sqq.* The type of the Hima cattle and its distribution in Africa are described by Sir H. Johnston (*op. cit.* ii. 620 *sqq.*).

the vegetable with their own hands. That labour they leave to their slaves the Bahero or Bairo, not from pride but from superstition, because they believe that they would injure the cattle by thus tampering with vegetables. Besides beer they have a common intoxicating drink which is made from milk or honey.[1] The huts of the Bahima are of a primitive bee-hive pattern, built of sticks and grass and arranged in a circle.[2]

The kings of the Bahima.

The Bahima are governed by kings, whose principal wealth consists of their herds. Indeed the king is regarded as the owner of all cattle. Land is not valued by him or his people except as pasture; it is not carefully delimitated as in Uganda. When the king dies, his body is deposited in a sacred forest and is supposed to turn into a lion. His name after death may not be pronounced. If it was a common word, it is abolished from the language and a new one substituted. For example, the king is often called a lion, and in such a case the name for lion has to be changed at his decease. Before his death the king nominates his successor.[3]

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bahima.

The Bahima are divided into fourteen exogamous and totemic clans. The following list of the clans with their totems (*muziro*) was obtained by the Rev. J. Roscoe during a visit which he paid to the tribe in the summer of 1904:—[4]

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 100 *sq.*, 106, 111; Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 146 *sqq.*; R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda* (London, 1889), pp. 338 *sqq.* Some of the statements in the text are based on information verbally given me by the Rev. John Roscoe. A similar practice in regard to menstruous women is observed by the Banyoro. See above, p. 522. As to the prohibition to boil milk see my paper "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 151 *sqq.*

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 116 *sq.*; Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 148 *sq.*

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 96 *sqq.*, 101. As to the transmigration into lions, see above, p. 392.

[4] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 99 *sq.*

Clans.	Totems.
1. Abahinda[1] .	*Nkima*, a monkey.
2. Abasambo .	*Ngabe*, a cow.
3. Abagahiya .	*Ngobe*, a cow.
4. Abasingo .	*Kitale*, a cow with a black stripe from neck to tail.
5. Abasito .	*Kigabo*, a cow.
6. Abasaigi .	*Lulimi*, a cow's tongue.
7. Abami .	*Ente luuzimu*, a cow with black or white spots.
8. Abagai .	*Ngobe*, a cow with stripes upon it; they may not drink the milk from it or even touch it.
9. Abasingo .	A cow with markings running from head to tail.
10. Abasikatwa .	*Ente yalukungu*, a cow of a dark brown colour.
11. Abakimbiri .	A cow born feet first.
12. Abatalogo .	*Ebyenda*, entrails of cows.
13. Abatwa .	*Abalongo*, twins. When a woman gives birth to twins, they desert the kraal, place the mother and her twins with her parents, and build a new kraal; after the twins have cut their first teeth, the husband restores his wife to her home and has intercourse with her.
14. Abaitira .	*Mabere*, the human breast. When a woman gives birth to a female child, they bring a piece of cow dung, put upon it a little human milk, and throw the dung into the kraal to be trampled by the cows.

Preponderance of cows or parts of cows among the totems of the Bahima.

In this list of totems it will be observed that the majority are cows or parts of cows. This is natural enough in a tribe of herdsmen. Similarly among the pastoral Herero, Wahehe, Mweru, and Banyoro a large number of the totemic taboos of the clans refer to their cattle and sheep.[2]

Split totems appear to be especially common among pastoral tribes and to consist in parts of cattle and sheep or in

From the lists of totems and totemic taboos recorded among these tribes it seems to follow that the practice of splitting the totem, in other words, of adopting as a totem either a part of an animal or a more or less fortuitously marked variety of it, is especially common among pastoral tribes. Such totems are, for example, a cow's tongue, a cow's entrails, the small stomach of cattle, the leg of an ox, a sheep's head, the hearts and kidneys of animals, an unborn calf, a cow with a black stripe, a cow with a white back, speckled cattle, grey cattle, hornless cattle, humped cattle, a cow born feet first,

[1] Members of this clan are princes only.

[2] See above, pp. 358 *sqq.*, 405, 425, 516 *sq.*, 520.

cows that have drunk salt water, and cows that have been to the bull. The reason for thus splitting or particularising the totem, for cutting it down from a whole species of animals to a mere accidental variety or even to a small part of an animal, is perhaps not far to seek. For it may be observed that the animals which are thus carved up among the clans are commonly good to eat; usually they are the cattle of a pastoral people who live solely or chiefly by their flocks and herds. In such cases it is easy to see that to have cattle in general for a totem would involve very great hardship for the clan which was so imprudent as to adopt it. For if cattle were their totem, they would be debarred from eating the flesh of the beasts and from drinking their milk; and what was there left for them to fall back upon? Famine would stare the tribe in the face. Thus put to it, their wits sharpened by hunger, the more subtle-minded of the people hit upon an expedient which at once satisfied their consciences and filled their bellies. The ingenuity which can split a hair could easily split a totem. In fact they quieted their scruples by rigorously abstaining from a part, perhaps the least succulent part, of the whole animal, or from a variety, if possible a rare and accidental variety, of the species, so that they need never, or hardly ever, suffer the pangs of hunger for lack of a prime joint to stay their stomachs. Hence we may infer that split totems of this sort are commonly late and more or less artificial, the product of a lawyer-like turn of mind refining on the gross superstitions of primitive savagery. Yet even in regard to these apparently degenerate totems we must not forget that they may sometimes spring from what is probably the tap-root of totemism, the sick fancies of pregnant women. For if the conceptional theory of totemism is correct, it might very well happen that a woman, on feeling the first premonitions of maternity within her, should anxiously consider what food she had last been eating; and if, for example, she had dined on calf's head or leg of mutton, then calf's head or leg of mutton would be her baby's totem when it was born.

accidental varieties of these animals. Such split totems are probably as a rule late and artificial, being designed to evade the inconvenience of a too sweeping taboo on food.

Some of the Bahima clans are subdivided, but the subdivisions retain the old totem (*muziro*) common to them all in addition to the new one adopted by each. The

Subdivisions of Bahima clans.

Origin of the totems obscure.

Rev. John Roscoe, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Bahima totemism, could obtain no satisfactory information as to the origin of the totems. "The same feeble explanations given by the Baganda were offered, namely, that some of their ancestors partook of some portion of the animal and died from the effects, the descendants were then prohibited from eating that food, and it became the family totem."[1] The members of a clan are supposed to be closely related to each other, so that the same term is applied by one to another that would be applied to a brother, a sister, or a cousin.[2] No man may marry into his father's clan: all the women of that clan are reckoned his near relations, and are called his mothers, sisters, and so forth. These restrictions do not apply to princes; they may marry their sisters and have intercourse with their married sisters; only betrothed or unmarried princesses are forbidden to them. The rule of exogamy does not apply to the mother's clan, though it is not usual for a lad to marry into it.[3]

Marriage rules.

Princes may marry their sisters.

Fraternal polyandry among the Bahima.

The Bahima sometimes practise polyandry, several brothers marrying one wife and enjoying her in common. When a man is poor, when his herd does not yield milk enough to support a wife, or he cannot afford the number of cows required for a marriage dowry, he may ask one or more of his brothers to join him, and together they may raise the requisite tale of animals. A woman will readily agree to such an arrangement and become the wife of two or three brothers. They have the right to share her bed turn and turn about until she is with child, when the elder brother alone has the right of access to her. The children born under such circumstances belong to the elder brother. The custom of polyandry seems to be rare among the Bantu peoples. The only other people known to Mr. Roscoe who practise it are the Baziba to the south of Uganda.[4]

The Levirate.

When a man dies, his widows are taken by his surviving

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 99.

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *l.c.*

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

[4] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

brother, unless he happens to have two wives already. In that case the eldest son of the deceased takes charge of the widows, but they are regarded as the property of his paternal uncle, who pays them marital visits from time to time. Any children born to these widows are accounted the children of the deceased, not of their real father his brother.[1]

Loose sexual morality of the Bahima.

Women keep themselves veiled from all men, even from their fathers and brothers; yet sexual morality among the Bahima is very lax. Once a woman is married, all restrictions are at an end. She may welcome to her bed any of her husband's relatives or friends with impunity; and the children resulting from such intercourse belong to the husband. When a friend visits a man, hospitality requires that the host should abandon his wife to his guest in the early morning; and in her husband's absence a wife is bound to receive and grant her favours to a visitor. It is also customary to exchange wives; for instance, when a man and his wife visit a friend, the two men invariably exchange their wives during the visit.[2]

The custom of polyandry appears to be favoured by a pastoral life, perhaps because the absence or prohibition of a vegetable diet so far restricts the means of subsistence that many a man is unable to support a wife of his

It is remarkable that the rare custom of fraternal polyandry, together with great laxity in matters of sexual morality, should be found in two purely pastoral tribes widely separated from each other, the Bahima in Central Africa and the Todas in Southern India.[3] The coincidence suggests that there is something in the pastoral life which favours the growth of abnormal relations between the sexes. In this connection we are reminded of the form of group marriage which is practised by the Herero, another pastoral people,[4] and of the late marriages and free intercourse of the unmarried among yet another pastoral people, the Masai.[5] A probable explanation of the prevalence of polyandry in a pastoral tribe has been acutely suggested by the Rev. John Roscoe. He points out that some pastoral tribes of Africa, such as the Bahima and the pastoral Banyoro, who live chiefly on the milk of their herds, care-

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 103.

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

[3] As to the fraternal polyandry and loose sexual morality of the Todas, see above, pp. 256, 263-265.

[4] See above, pp. 366 *sq.*

[5] See above, pp. 414, 415 *sq.*

own and hence is driven to share her with others.

fully abstain from a vegetable diet lest the contact of vegetables with milk in their stomachs should injure the milch kine and thereby endanger their principal means of subsistence. Accordingly in these tribes a man who marries must have cows enough to enable him to support a wife and family, since he cannot hope to eke out a livelihood by tilling the ground. But a poor man cannot afford to keep so many cows; hence he is under a strong temptation to club together with other poor men, whether his brothers or not, and putting their cattle into a common stock to purchase and keep one wife in common between them. Thus the superstition which debars these people from a vegetable diet not only impoverishes them and retards economic progress by presenting a serious obstacle to the adoption of agriculture; it affects society in another and curious way by fostering a type of marriage which effectually checks the growth of population, and which can hardly fail to be injurious to the women and thereby to their offspring. Thus the baleful influence of superstition may reach far beyond those immediate and obvious consequences which directly flow from it; indirectly, like a foul exhalation from a marshy soil, it may poison unseen the whole life of a people.

§ 18. *Exogamy among the Gallas*

The Gallas.

To the south of Abyssinia dwell the Gallas or Oromos, as they call themselves, a numerous nation of the purest Ethiopian type, tall and slender in person, of a brown or reddish-brown complexion, with an elongated head, frizzly hair, oval face, and straight thin nose. The women are very handsome; they are much sought for as slaves and concubines, and fetch the highest prices.[1] Formerly the Gallas were, like the other tribes of this part of East Africa, a purely pastoral people, subsisting chiefly on the flesh, blood, and milk of their flocks and herds. Even now those of them who practise agriculture generally disdain to labour in the fields with their own hands and never allow their

[1] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 438 *sq.*; Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 270.

women to demean themselves by such toil. The work of tilling the ground is mostly left to slaves and hirelings. They will not eat the flesh of wild animals; fowls they reject as a species of vulture, and fish as a species of serpent.[1]

Exogamous classes among the Gallas.

"In regard to marriage," we are told, "they have a peculiar custom. They are divided into two tribes or classes, the Baretuma and the Harusi, and the men of each tribe have to select their wives from the other; the Baretumas marry the Harusi and *vice versa*. The marriage of their own tribespeople is considered highly improper, the relationship being too near. Herein the Gallas appear to advantage when compared with most other East Africans, who often marry over and over again into the same family; and perhaps this custom of the Gallas will account, in some measure, for their high physical development."[2] This important statement appears to have been overlooked by subsequent writers on the Gallas.[3] If it is correct, it establishes the existence among the Gallas of exogamy based on the division of the community into two intermarrying classes.

Sister-marriages.

Marriages between near relations are unusual among the Gallas; yet in many cases they permit marriage between brothers and sisters.[4] If the latter state-

[1] Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 211; Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 272. Compare J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860), p. 78.

[2] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, pp. 273 *sq.*

[3] For example no notice of it, so far as I have observed, is taken by the author of the most systematic treatise on the Galla and Somali peoples, Dr. Philipp Paulitschke, in his valuable work *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1893); *Die Geistige Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1896). Dr. Paulitschke speaks (*op. cit.*, *Die Materielle Cultur*, etc., p. 202) of two divisions of the Galla which are called respectively Luba (or Birmadu) and Wata, and which he appears to describe as endogamous, though his expression ("*Luba und Wata heiraten nur unter einander*") is ambiguous and susceptible, so far as I understand the niceties of the German language, of the contrary interpretation, namely, that the divisions are exogamous. To these two classes he adds two others, the smiths and the sorcerers, "the members of which only marry among each other," an expression equally ambiguous, but probably intended to convey that each of these professions is endogamous.

[4] Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 196: "*Die Ehen unter nahen Verwandten sind bei 'Afar und Somâl unerhört und verboten, bei*

ment is correct, it bears out the view of the Rev. J. Roscoe that the royal families of the Baganda, the Banyoro, and the Bahima all belong to the Galla stock; since in the royal houses of these three tribes brothers are, or were till lately, allowed to mate with their sisters.[1] A man has a right to marry the widow of his deceased brother; if he does not exercise his right, she may not marry any one else without his consent.[2] Descent is traced in the male line; children belong to their father's family. No trace of mother-kin has been detected either among the Gallas or among the Somalis.[3] The Galla system of relationship appears not to be classificatory. The term for father (*abba*) is quite different from the term for father's brother (*wasilla*) as well as from the term for mother's brother (*gâja*). The term for mother (*hada*) is different from the term for mother's sister (*hadada*). Similarly the Somali system of relationship is also not classificatory. The term for father (*âba*) is different from the term for father's brother (*adêra*) as well as from the term for mother's brother (*apti*). The term for mother (*hojo*) is different from the term for mother's sister (*habr-jêr*) as well as from the term for father's sister (*eddo*).[4] Evidence for totemism appears to be totally lacking among the Gallas and Somalis, which so far confirms the observation that wherever totemism exists it is associated with the classificatory system of relationship.[5] The aversion which the Gallas entertain to fowls and fish and their refusal to eat them [6] are not totemic; for they are common to the whole people and are shared besides by many other African tribes quite independently of totemism.

The Levirate.

Absence of the classificatory system of relationship among the Gallas and Somalis.

den Galla zwar auch ungebräuchlich, aber in manchen Fällen ist selbst die Schwesterehe erlaubt"; compare *ibid.* p. 202. The expression *Schwesterehe* is ambiguous; lest I should have misunderstood the author, I quote his statement in full.

[1] See above, pp. 469, 523, 538.

[2] Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 205.

[3] Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Geistige Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1896), p. 142.

[4] Ph. Paulitschke, *op. cit.* pp. 188 *sq.*

[5] This is not to be understood to imply the converse proposition, namely, that wherever the classificatory system of relation exists it is associated with totemism.

[6] See above, p. 541.

CHAPTER XIV

TOTEMISM IN WEST AFRICA

§ 1. *Totemism in Senegambia*

THE following accounts seem to shew that totemism prevails widely among the tribes of Senegambia, particularly among the Mandingoes; and its occurrence here is all the more remarkable because some of the tribes who practise it are professing Mohammedans. Thus Dr. Tautain, speaking of the Banmanas (Bammanas), writes as follows: "Here though I know neither its range nor its origin, I would call attention to the belief held by all the peoples of Senegambia, that every family has a relative among the animals. The flesh of this relative, if it is an edible animal, is forbidden; if it is a dangerous animal, the man can brave it with impunity and heal the injuries which it inflicts on others. A Wassooloonke, a kinsman of a kind of scorpion reputed to be very dangerous, told us that one of these animals could run all over his body without stinging him; a Laobe, a kinsman of a *triganocephalus*, related that if anybody chanced to be bitten by the serpent he prided himself on healing him by simple touches. The animal sparing the man, the man ought to spare the animal, and I have seen a Mandingo of Bambook, kinsman of a python, offer the whole of his month's pay to save one of these serpents, which another man wished to kill. We caused the serpent to be given to him; he undid the noose which was strangling it, and flung it into the Senegal to let it escape. If he had not prevented this murder, the whole of his family would have perished. The python used to come and visit every child

All the peoples of Senegambia believe that each family has a relative among the animals; the members of the family may not eat their animal kinsman, and it will not hurt them.

who was born in that family within eight days after birth; and my Mandingo acquaintance was resolved to kill all his children who did not receive such a visit. Before handing the serpent over to him they had hurt the animal a little by dragging it to right and left; and for eight days the Mallinké most carefully avoided stepping on the points traversed by the python, I suppose from fear of injuring it."[1]

Again, speaking of the Mandingoes of the Upper Senegal, Dr. Bellamy observes that "each race has an animal among its ancestors. Some have the hippopotamus, others the crocodile, etc."[2]

Dr. Rançon's evidence as to totemism in Senegambia.

Again, Dr. Rançon, another French explorer of the interior of Senegambia, relates an incident which shews, as he remarks, that though the Malinkés have been subjected to the influence of Islam they have not abandoned their old heathen superstitions. He was lodging at Dikhoy, a village near the Gambia River, inhabited by Malinké Keitas, and it chanced that his servant was playing with a small bird, a kind of pretty sparrow which he had caught that morning on the march. Seeing him do so, the chief of a neighbouring village begged Dr. Rançon to set the bird at liberty. "That," said he, "would give me great pleasure; for I am a relation of the bird. My family name (*diamou*) is Sidibe." The French traveller consented on condition that the chief would tell him how he came to be a relation of the bird. Accordingly the chief told him that once his grandfather, the first of the Sidibes, was out hunting elephants, and having lost his way in the forest was like to die of thirst, till one of these little birds, fluttering before him, led him to a stream of water. "From that time," said he, "the Sidibes have been relations of the bird, since but for it our father would certainly have died. Hence we are all forbidden to kill it, to eat its flesh, and to allow any one to hurt it in our presence." To this Dr. Rançon adds that

[1] M. le Docteur Tautain (Ex-médecin de la Mission Gallieni), "Notes sur les Croyances et Pratiques religieuses des Banmanas," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. (1885) pp. 396 *sq.* The Banmanas (Bammanas) and the Mallinkes (Malinkes) are branches of the Mandingo family. See below, p. 545. Dr. Tautain's information was collected during a residence at Segu on the Niger.

[2] Dr. Bellamy, "Notes Ethnographiques recueillies dans le Haut-Sénegal," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, v. (1886) p. 81.

"similar legends are handed down among all the families of the Soudan, and each family is allied to some animal or another. Thus the Keitas are relations of the hippopotamus, no doubt because their ancestor Soun-Dyatta, according to the tradition, was one day turned into a hippopotamus while he was bathing at Koulicoro, on the Niger; the N'Diaye are relations of the lion, and the Dialo of the partridge. Others again are allied to the scorpion, and others to the leopard." [1]

Captain Binger's evidence as to totemism among the Mandingoes.

Fuller details as to the totemic clans of the Mandingoes are furnished by Captain Binger. He tells us that the Mandingo (Mandé) stock is divided into many branches, each with its own family name and its fetish (*tenné*) or totem. Of these he enumerates four principal families or, as we may call them, totemic clans, namely:—

(1) The *Bammana* or Crocodile clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the crocodile (*bamba* or *bamma*). In the French Soudan this clan is commonly but incorrectly called Bambara, a word which means "infidel."

(2) The *Mali-nké* or Hippopotamus clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the hippopotamus (*mali*).

(3) The *Sama-nké* or Elephant clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the elephant (*sama*).

(4) The *Sa-mokho* or Serpent clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the serpent (*sa*).

These four great totemic clans are further grouped in tribes, each with its tribal name (*diamou*) and one or more fetishes (*tenné*) or totems. Some of these tribes have again split up, and their fractions have totems of their own by which they distinguish themselves from each other. Thus the Crocodile clan (Bammana) has divided into several branches, one of which has for its totems cracked calabashes and often the dog; another branch has for its totems the lion, the dog, and the milk of wild beasts; and a third branch, which comprises the family of the Smiths, has for its totems the condiment *bandougou*, a species of ape (*koban*), and the dog. Again, the Hippopotamus clan (Malinké) has divided into several branches, of which one has the palm rat and panther for its totems (*tenné*); another

The Crocodile clan and its sub-divisions.

The Hippo potamus clan and its sub divisions

[1] Dr. André Rançon, *Dans la Haute-Gambie, Voyage d'Exploration Scientifique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 443 445.

LIBR

has for its totem (*tenné*) the iguana; and a third has for its totems (*tenné*) the boa, the *trigonocephalus* serpent, and the field rat.[1]

Totemic clans among the Fofana.

Further, the Fofana, another Mandingo people, are also divided into totemic clans. These Fofana are not so much a tribe as a sort of caste, the members of which live mixed up with the other Mandingoes. They have no external mark of difference. Some of them are Mohammedans, some are heathen. They enjoy a high reputation for probity throughout the Soudan. Their subdivisions or clans have, like the other Mandingo clans, their fetishes (*tenné*) or totems, "the practices in regard to which are more or less respected." These subdivisions or clans are four in number, namely:

(1) The Fofana-Kagoro, whose totem (*tenné*) is the panther.

(2) The Fofana of Nouroukrou, whose totem (*tenné*) is the elephant.

(3) The Fofana of Nyamina, of Bakhounou, and of Worodougou, whose totems (*tenné*) are the lion, the panther, and a species of serpent.

(4) The Fofana Souransa, who have for their totem (*tenné*) the boa (*maninian*).[2]

From these accounts it appears that in spite of Mohammedan influence the Mandingoes retain a strong sense of their relationship to their totemic animals, which they will neither themselves injure nor suffer others to injure, if they can help it. Whether their totemic clans are exogamous is not mentioned by our authorities.

Totemic clans among the Fulahs of Gambia.

Again, the Fulahs of Gambia are divided into families or clans called *bulendas*, which appear to be totemic. Each clan abstains from eating animals of a certain species. They believe that to eat of the forbidden animal would make them blind, and that to touch or spill its blood would cause a severe disease of the skin. Thus the Kandis and Kahs, two branches of one clan (*bulenda*), may not eat

[1] Le Capitain Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée* (Paris, 1892), ii. 375-377. Compare J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 448 *sq.* I have to thank Mr. J. Deniker for referring me to Captain Binger's evidence of Mandingo totemism.

[2] Le Capitain Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, ii. 377.

partridges: the Baldehs, Bandens, and Bahs, three branches of another clan (*bulenda*), may not eat guinea-fowl; and so on with members of all the other clans. The head of a clan is always a man, and relationship is reckoned through males.[1]

§ 2. *Totemism on the Ivory Coast*

The Ivory Coast.

Viewed from the sea, the Ivory Coast has little to please the eye or attract the mariner. A long line of sands on which the great rollers break eternally in crawling, seething foam; beyond the sands a long narrow lagoon stretching parallel to the sea for miles on miles; and beyond the lagoon a low flat monotonous land relieved only by verdant groves of coco-nut palms, in which the native villages are embosomed:—these are the main features of this part of the African seaboard.[2] The French, who own this part of Africa, have extended the name of the Ivory Coast far into the interior, and among the inland population of this wide region totemism is found.

Totems (*tanas*) in Seguela.

Thus in the district of Seguela we are told that "every family possesses a *tana*. The *tana* is the fetish which belongs to it, and its chief virtue is to cause the death of those who, for any reason, eat that which, when the fetish is an animal, ought to be sacred to them. According to tradition, the choice of the *tana* was determined by the intervention, whether beneficent or otherwise, of the particular animal in the family, so that through the principle of gratitude the creature has become sacred. That is why so many families have for their *tana* the lion, the panther, the hippopotamus, etc. Vegetable *tanas* are rare. However, Diorole and the people of Tieina have rice for their *tana* in a country which produces much of it; and the natives content themselves with maize and a soup of bananas."[3]

[1] Extract from a Report to the British Colonial Office by Mr. W. B. Stanley. I have to thank Mr. N. W. Thomas for sending me the extract and the authorities of the Colonial Office for their permission to make use of it.

[2] Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa, its History, Condition, and Prospects* (London, 1856), pp. 140 *sq.*

[3] *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française: Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille: La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O., 1906), p. 254. The word *tana* or

The Siena or Senoofo and their country.

Further, totemism is practised by the Siena, Senoofo, or Sienamana, a people who inhabit a great area in that portion of the French Soudan which lies between the Upper Niger and the Ivory Coast. Northward and westward their country does not reach to the valley of the Niger properly so called, though it approaches it in the direction of Segu, a town situated on the great river. On the north the Siena territory borders on the district of Dienné, on the south-east it reaches the bend of the Black Volta River at Banda, while on the west it touches at one point the meridian which passes through Boogooni. The nature of the country is typical of the Soudan. It is a land where savannahs alternate with sparse woods, where brooks and rivers abound, their flood waters giving rise in the rainy season to vast marshes, which dry up with the growing heat of the sun from the month of January onwards. On the south the Siena do not encroach on the extreme northern limits of the great belt of tropical forests, which stretch away southward towards the Gulf of Guinea. Throughout this wide area the Siena form the great majority of the population, though dispersed among them dwell some alien peoples of the Mandingo stock, who have secured for themselves a dominant position either by force of arms or by their superior intelligence and civilisation. A certain number of Siena, especially members of the old native aristocracy, have aped the manners of the higher race in order to maintain their rank in the new order of society. These renegades have adopted the Mandingo language, the Mandingo costume, the Mandingo family names, and even the Mandingo religion, which is Mohammedanism. Many marriages have taken place between the aborigines and the newcomers, and the children born of such unions are sometimes tattooed with the mark of certain Siena tribes, which consists of three scars spread like a fan on each cheek. Hence some confusion has arisen in the minds of Europeans between the alien overlords and their native vassals; though in point of

The Siena and the Mandingoes.

tanan (of which *tenné* is only another spelling, see above, pp. 545 *sq.*) is a Mandingo verb meaning "not to eat" or "not to drink." See M. Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) p. 453.

fact, whether we consider their physical characteristics, their language, or their customs, the difference is profound between the Siena and the Mandingo. The Siena are in general tall and strong, though their muscles are not well developed. Their complexion varies from light to dark brown, but it is oftener dark than light. The hair is scanty ; only the old men as a rule have beards. In many places persons may be seen with a light complexion and red hair. The head is commonly flat on the top, and the neck long and slender. The nose is fairly long but broad, and the lips are thick. Being better husbandmen than fighters, the Siena have always been the prey of slave-hunters, and having been sold and resold they are now found in great numbers in almost all the provinces of West Africa.[1] Agriculture is their chief occupation. They are diligent tillers of the soil. Everywhere, except where Mandingo influence is predominant, you see vast fields, regularly laid out and well kept, stretching away on the level and rising up the sides of the hills and mountains. Every spot of ground, except where the bare rock protrudes, is under cultivation. Even attempts at drainage and irrigation are to be met with, which are abundantly rewarded by the fine crops of the rice-fields. Other crops raised are yams, manioc, millet, and maize. Work at the fields goes on from year's end to year's end, men, women, and children all bearing a hand according to their several aptitudes. To prevent the impoverishment of the soil the crops are changed from season to season in the same field ; and where the population is not too dense to admit of it the fields are suffered to lie fallow one year in three. But where the land does not suffice for this purpose, the natives do not hesitate to abandon their village and transport themselves and their belongings to a new village, perhaps ten or twelve miles away, in a region which is either wild or has been abandoned for many years. Indeed among some of

Physical appearance of the Siena.

The Siena are devoted to agriculture.

Shifting of the cultivation, when the land is exhausted.

[1] Maurice Delafosse (Côte d'Ivoire), "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* i. (1908) pp. 16-18, 26. The same writer had previously contributed a notice of this people to the volume entitled *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille, La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O., 1906), pp. 364, etc.

the Siena this shifting of cultivation has been carried to such a pitch that they may almost be regarded as nomads, for they often do not reside more than three years in the same place. Their migrations, rendered necessary by the nearly total absence of lime in the soil of this part of Africa, has not a little contributed to retard their civilisation by preventing the permanent establishment of large centres of population, which might in time have become cradles of culture. Yet large permanent villages, almost towns, do exist; but the families who dwell in them possess farms from five to twenty miles distant, on which some members of each family permanently reside. This dispersion of the population goes far to explain the political and social organisation of the Siena, who are split up into many tribes and subtribes as well as into totemic clans.[1]

Five totemic clans of the Siena.

The division of the Siena into totemic clans is independent of their division into tribes and subtribes. The number of the clans seems to be five. Each clan has its sacred animal or rather species of animal, and takes its name from the animal. The clan name is called *félé* in the Siena language; in the Mandingo language it is called *diamon* or more exactly *gyamḿ*. These five clan names are found indiscriminately among all the tribes and subtribes, though some names are commoner in certain tribes than in others. The five clan names (*félé*) of the Siena are as follows:—[2]

Leopard clan.

1. *Soroo*, *Sorouo*, or *Soro*, the name of the panther or leopard (*Felis pardus*). The Panther or Leopard clan seems to be considered the noblest.

Antelope clan.

2. *Yeo*, *Yio*, or *Yô*, the name of the red antelope with white stripes and spots (*Tragelaphus scriptus*). The Mandingoes call the animal *mina*.

Black Ape clan.

3. *Siluo* or *Siluê*, the name of the black ape (*Colobus polycomus*). This clan has for its totem not only the black ape but a small black bird.

Earth-squirrel clan.

4. *Sekongo* or *Sekonho*, the name of the earth squirrel[3] (*Xerus erythropus*). There are many members of this clan

[1] Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) pp. 242 *sq.*; as to the Siena tribes and subtribes, see *ibid.* pp. 22 *sqq.*

[2] Maurice Delafosse, *op. cit.* p. 451.

[3] "*Écureuil de terre.*"

in the castes of artisans and smith; but the clan is distributed among other classes of society also, for the division into castes is independent of the division into totem clans.

Wart Hog clan.

5. *Tuô* or *Tiô*, the name of the wart hog (*Phacochœrus Africanus*), or perhaps of the "red boar" (*Potamochoerus penicillatus*). The identification is uncertain.

Totemic taboos.

The members of each clan are forbidden to eat not only their totemic animal, whose name they bear, but also a variety of other foods, both animal and vegetable. Thus members of the Leopard clan are prohibited from eating not only leopards but also pythons and several species of birds. The Mandingoes who live among the Siena are also divided into totemic clans. One Mandingo clan, for example, has for its sacred animal or totem the hippopotamus; another clan has the crocodile. The Mandingo name for one of their totemic clans is *diamon*, corresponding to the Siena term *félé*. Some of the Siena have given up their own clan names and adopted the corresponding clan names of the Mandingoes, or have even dubbed themselves by Mandingo clan names which have nothing to correspond to them among the Siena.[1]

Explanation which the Siena give of their totems.

The explanation which the Siena give of the origin of their totemic clans is simply that the ancestor of each clan was helped in some way by an animal; and that out of gratitude for its help and in order to commemorate it he took the name of the animal and forbade his descendants to kill or eat creatures of that species.

Supposed effects of killing or eating the totemic animal.

The Siena believe that if a man kills his totemic animal, another member of his clan dies instantaneously. As each clan numbers thousands of people scattered over thousands of square miles, it is equally difficult to confirm and to refute this superstition. If a man eats the flesh of his totemic animal, a cancer will, sooner or later, eat away his own mouth. If he even by accident sets foot on the carcase, he will fall ill, unless he offers an expiatory sacrifice, according to prescribed rites, on the very spot where the sacrilege was committed. They say also that when a man dies, his soul passes into an

[1] Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) pp. 451, 452.

The souls of people at death are believed to transmigrate into their totemic animals, and afterwards to be reborn in human infants.

animal of the totemic species which happens to be born at that moment; and that when the animal in turn dies, the soul returns into the body of a newborn infant of the clan which bears the animal's name. "This belief," we are told, "sufficiently explains the horror which the Siena manifest at killing or eating the animal whose name their family bears; they would think that they were eating or killing one of their kinsfolk." [1]

Thus on the Siena view there is a constant interchange of souls between a clan and its totemic animals.

Thus on the Siena theory the link between a totemic clan and its totemic animal is very close indeed; since the animals of that species are thought to be animated by the souls of the dead clanspeople, and on the other hand the living clanspeople are supposed to be animated by the souls of the dead animals. There is thus imagined to be a constant interchange of souls, a sort of spiritual seesaw, between the human beings and the beasts. A different and perhaps inconsistent article of the Siena totemic creed is the notion that when an animal of the totemic species is killed a member of the corresponding totemic clan dies instantaneously. This belief seems to imply that a sympathetic bond exists between each man and an individual of his totemic species, so that to injure or kill the one is to injure or kill the other. To put it otherwise, we may perhaps say that every member of the clan has an external soul lodged in the body of one of the animals, so that when the beast perishes so does he. We shall presently see that this belief in external human souls lodged in the bodies of animals occurs on the coast of Guinea and in other parts of Africa.[2] It is interesting to find it on the Ivory Coast forming apparently an integral part of totemism and associated further with a theory both of transmigration and of reincarnation. Similarly among the tribes of Central Australia totemism goes hand in hand with a theory of reincarnation, though not of transmigration, and among these Australians too we find clear traces of a belief in external human souls lodged for safety outside of their bodies.[3] The independent occurrence of these various

Sympathetic bond between each individual and his or her totem.

[1] Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) p. 452.

[2] See below, pp. 593 *sqq.*

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 124 *sqq.*

elements in the totemic systems of tribes so widely separated suggests that their combination can hardly be fortuitous, and that accordingly any hypothesis which is adequately to explain totemism must take account of them all.

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship among the Neyaux.

It deserves to be noticed that another people of the Ivory Coast, the Neyaux, who are divided into many tribes or rather families, appear to possess the classificatory system of relationship. For among them, we are told, "the degrees of relationship are very ill defined. Long periphrases are necessary to determine them. Cousins, even very distant cousins, call each other brothers. The uncle is called father and the aunt mother, so that it is impossible to know which is which. When you shew a man one of his young nephews, he will say, 'He is my son.' He will often say the same thing even of a friend's son. However, one can always ascertain whether the person in question is his real son, for in that case he declares '*Na mlé a yo ko*,' 'He is the son of my flesh.'"[1]

In this passage the writer does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncles and aunts, nor between nephews the sons of a brother and nephews the sons of a sister. On the analogy of the use of the classificatory terms elsewhere we may conjecture that it is the paternal uncle, the father's brother, who is called father; that it is the maternal aunt, the mother's sister, who is called mother; and that it is the sons of his brother, not the sons of his sister, whom a man calls his sons.

§ 3. *Totemism on the Gold Coast*

The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast.

The system of totemism combined with exogamy appears to prevail among all the Tshi- or Twi-speaking tribes who inhabit the Gold Coast of West Africa. Of these tribes the best known are the Fantees on the coast and the powerful Ashantee nation in the interior. Less familiar to Europeans are the Ahantas on the coast, and the Wassaws, the Tshiforos or Tufels, the Assins, the Adansis, the Akims,

[1] *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française: Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille: La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O. 1906), pp. 558, 560.

LIBRARY

the Akwapims, and the Akwamus, all inland tribes. The Tshi-speaking peoples, whatever tribe they belong to, are all true negroes as distinguished from the negroids in the Mohammedan States to the north and the Bantu tribes of the Congo region to the south-east.[1] The greater part of the Gold Coast consists of low hills and ranges covered with dense, almost impenetrable forest. To the east and west of the Gold Coast the nature of the country changes, and instead of wooded hills there runs a long line of lagoons parallel to the sea and separated from it only by sand dunes.

They live in small villages scattered amidst the dense forest.

The Tshi-speaking tribes are essentially people of the forest, and appear never to have spread over the open country of the lagoons. They live in insignificant villages and hamlets, built in small clearings of the woods, between which communication is kept up by narrow footpaths through the jungle. Coomassie and Djuabin are the only purely native assemblages of houses worthy the name of towns. In such a country, where men live scattered in half-isolated communities, mere specks in a vast tract of tangled forest, ideas permeate but slowly, and in spite of an intercourse with Europeans which has lasted for more than four hundred years the social and moral condition of the Tshi-speaking tribes has changed but little since they were first discovered by the Portuguese mariners. Not least among the causes which have retarded progress must be reckoned the languor of a hot, enervating, unhealthy climate, which depresses the vital energies and renders every effort a burden.[2] So unfavourable to the best interests of man is a country where nevertheless prolific nature supplies his material wants with profusion, and the landscape often wears an aspect of soft beauty and richness, the low green hills receding, range beyond range, to the horizon, their verdurous sides and hollows interspersed with smiling fields and variegated with

Their isolation and the hot enervating climate have combined to retard their progress.

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), pp. 2 *sq.* The language is commonly called *Tshi*, but the word is pronounced *Tchwi* (Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 2). Messrs. Connolly and ffoulkes call the language *Twi*. See R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 131, 134; A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 394; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti* (Neuchatel, 1906), pp. 7 *sq.*

[2] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 1-8.

graceful palms and umbrella-trees, on which the eye rests with pleasure.[1]

Rude method of agriculture practised by the Fantees.

Yet the natives of these sweltering forests have advanced beyond the hunting stage and maintain themselves by the cultivation of the ground. But their agriculture is rude. The Fantee farmers do not occupy their lands permanently. They clear patches in the forest by burning down the trees, turn up the soil lightly with the hoe, and scatter the seed, which a few weeks' rain causes to spring up as if by magic. For three or at most five years they till the same plot, then abandon it to nature, which soon covers the fallow land with a rank tropical vegetation.

The forest fires.

Now, as in the days of Hanno, the ancient Carthaginian voyager, nothing is commoner in these regions than to see the column of smoke by day and of fire by night, which tells where the sable husbandmen are burning the forest to form their temporary fields.

Arts and crafts of the Fantees.

Among the crops which they raise are maize, cassava, yams, plantains, bananas, ground nuts, and palm oil.[2] The Fantees are also skilful canoe-builders and daring fishermen; they weave good native cloths, and make pottery of a simple kind. But the most honourable occupation with them is that of a goldsmith, and the delicacy of their filigree workmanship is surprising, when we consider the rudeness of their tools.[3]

The arts and industries of the Ashantees in the interior

[1] J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 146.

[2] R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 129, 147 *sq.*; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 27 *sqq.* The Carthaginian Hanno, who was one of the first navigators to explore the west coast of Africa, relates that at one place where they landed they could see nothing but forest by day and many fires at night. See *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, i. 11 *sqq.* Mungo Park observes that "the burning the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire; and the light reflected on the sky made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of smoke were seen in every direction; while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant" (*Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, London, 1807, pp. 387 *sq.*). There is reason to think that whole regions of Africa have been converted from forests into steppes by the custom of burning down the woods. See *The Geographical Journal*, xxxii. (1908) pp. 429 *sq.*

[3] R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 148 *sq.*

Arts and industries of the Ashantees.

are similar; they cultivate maize, sugar-cane, yams, plantains, bananas, ground-nuts, cotton, indigo, and coffee; they build houses with walls of clay, weave cotton cloths of beautiful patterns and substantial texture, which they dye a fine indigo blue; and like the Fantees they are expert goldsmiths. The soil of the country is impregnated with gold; the precious metal is procured both by digging and washing, and forms one of the principal exports. But the gold mines are very imperfectly worked, indeed some of them are not worked at all, because they are sacred to certain fetishes.[1] Like the Baganda of Central Africa, the Ashantees combine a system of totemism with a barbarous civilisation and a powerful, though not unlimited, monarchy.[2]

The soil impregnated with gold.

The totemic clans of the Tshi-speaking tribes.

The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast are divided into twelve principal exogamous and totemic clans or septs. The following is the list of the clans, with their taboos, as they have been recorded by the late Colonel Sir A. B. Ellis, one of our principal authorities on these tribes.[3]

The Leopard clan.

1. The *Tchwiden-fo* or Leopard clan, the name of which is derived from *ehtchwi*, "a leopard." The leopard is the real sacred animal of this clan, but members of it now abstain from the flesh of all feline animals. Should a member of the Leopard clan chance to touch a dead leopard, he must scatter shreds of white cloth on it and anoint the muzzle of the beast with palm-oil in token of respect and sorrow. If he happens to kill a leopard, he will say, "I have killed my brother," and will anoint its wounds. When a dead leopard is brought into a town, members of the Leopard clan smear themselves with chalk and bury the beast. If a member of

[1] J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 184-188; T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, New Edition (London, 1873), pp. 254 *sqq.*; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 27 *sqq.*, 85 *sqq.*

[2] As to the Ashantee monarchy, see J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 175 *sqq.*; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 274 *sqq.*; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 139 *sqq.*

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 206 *sq.* Compare T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 180-182; R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1896) pp. 132 *sq.*; C. H. Harper and others, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 178-188; A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 395 *sqq.*

the clan met a leopard on a journey, he would turn back.[1] Moreover, when a member of the Leopard clan dies, they scratch the picture of a leopard on the wall of the house and on the coffin, and the mourners make spots on their bodies with red, white, and black clay to represent a leopard. They also put spots on the neck of the corpse, for were this not done, the deceased would turn into a leopard. When the headman of the Leopard clan is dying, a leopard is heard crying in the forest.[2] To see or hear a leopard is unlucky; it portends the death of one of the Leopard clan. Sometimes members of the Leopard clan put out palm-oil mash in the forest and hang up a spotted cloth as an offering to the leopards.[3]

2. The *Unsŭnna-fo* or Bush-cat clan. The bush-cat or civet cat is the sacred animal of this clan, members of which are bound to abstain from the flesh of the animal and of other animals akin to it, such as the genet. According to Mr. C. H. Harper, who calls this clan the *Nsonnafo*, members of it "respect the bush cat, the crow, and a red snake, *nson*, 'the terror of the Nsonnafo.' They would not hang a crow on their farms to scare birds. If they were to kill a crow or bush cat they would get sores on their bodies. In the old days if they were to find a crow or a bush cat dead they would bury a piece of white cloth with the crow and a piece of speckled cloth with the bush cat. Whenever the red snake appears it means certain death to one of the family."[4] The Bush-cat clan.

3. The *Kwonna-fo* or Buffalo clan. Members of the Buffalo clan abstain from the flesh of the buffalo. The Buffalo clan.

4. The *Intchwa-fo* or Dog clan. The flesh of dogs is esteemed a delicacy by the natives, but members of the Dog The Dog clan.

[1] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 180 *sq.* Compare Mr. A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186, who tells us that, if a member of the Leopard clan has killed a leopard, women perform a funeral ceremony over the carcase, and the slayer has to observe a rite for the purpose of appeasing the soul of the dead beast. The rite in question is probably that of anointing the leopard's wounds, as described in the text.

[2] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 183.

[3] C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 184.

[4] C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 181.

clan may not partake of it. Members of the Dog clan are forbidden to keep dogs as well as to eat them. They also respect a small bird and a small snake, and used to hang the small bird on the neck of a dog.[1]

The Parrot clan.

5. The *Annono-fo* or Parrot clan. Members of this clan may not kill or eat parrots.[2]

The Plantain clan.

6. The *Abradzi-fo* or Plantain clan. In the interior of the country members of the Plantain clan still abstain from eating plantains, but in the south such an abstention is no longer usual. This infringement of the totemic taboo may very well, as Ellis suggested, be due to the pressure of hunger; for the plantain is the staple article of food among the natives, so that an embargo laid on it naturally entails some inconvenience and hardship.

The Corn-stalk clan.

7. The *Abrutu-fo* or Corn-stalk clan.

The Servant clan.

8. The *Appiadi-fo* or Servant clan.

The Red-earth clan.

9. The *Yoko-fo* or Red-earth clan. *Yoko* is the native name for the red ochrous earth with which the northern tribes stain the lower part of the walls of their rooms and piazzas.

The Palm-oil Grove clan.

10. The *Agona-fo* or Palm-oil Grove clan.

The Abbahdzi-fo clan.

11. The *Abbahdzi-fo*. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It may perhaps mean "Cannibal clan" and be compounded of *abbah*, "child," and *dzi*, "to eat."

The Dumina-fo clan.

12. *Dumina-fo*. Colonel Ellis was unable to ascertain the meaning of this name.[3]

To this list of clans, recorded by Colonel A. B. Ellis, we may add on Mr. C. H. Harper's authority

The Bat clan.

13. The *Asini* or Bat clan; and

The Vulture clan.

14. The *Setchiri* or Vulture clan.[4]

Tradition says that the whole of the Tshi-speaking tribes are descended from the first twelve of these clans, and in point of fact members of the clans are found in tribes the most widely separated from each other. Indeed, these twelve

[1] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 181.

[2] C. H. Harper, *l.c.*

[3] The above is Colonel Ellis's list of totemic clans (*The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 206 *sq.*), but it does not profess to be complete. For some variations and additions see C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 179 *sqq.*

[4] C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 180.

divisions are common to each one of the Tshi-speaking tribes. The first four clans, namely the Leopard, Bush-cat, Buffalo, and Dog clans, are said to be the oldest, and the rest are believed to be offshoots of them and inferior in dignity.[1] Members of each clan are very loyal to each other, whatever the tribe may be to which they belong. Thus, when a member of a clan dies, all the other people of the clan are liable to share the funeral expenses, although among the Fantees it is now customary for only the near relatives to defray them. Yet cases still occur in which it is the clan and not the family which bears the cost of burial. For example, if a Bush-cat man of Akwapem comes to Axim and dies there away from his family, the Bush-cat people of Axim will bury him and share the funeral expenses among themselves. Hence, when a stranger comes to a place, he always announces the totem clan to which he belongs, and he is thereupon received by the local members of his clan as if he had been born among them, though in fact he may belong to a tribe whose name is scarcely known in the district.[2] The clans have common burial-grounds and common lands, but they do not live in separate parts of the town. Every member has a right to a share in the clan lands, and in some cases the members help to pay each other's debts. When a captive enemy was about to be sacrificed and there happened to be a man of the same totemic clan among his captors, he would save the captive from death by exchanging another prisoner for him.[3]

The Leopard, Bush-cat, Buffalo, and Dog clans are said to be the oldest.

Social relations of the members of a totemic clan to each other.

The totemic animal is called Grandfather (*nana*), a title of respect which was also used in addressing the kings of Ashantee.[4] But we are told that though the members of a clan respect their totem they do not worship it as a god; for example, a Fantee of the Leopard clan does not hesitate to shoot a leopard if it devours his sheep, and a member of the Plantain clan does not mutter a prayer when he eats a

Respect shewn for the totemic animals.

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 207; T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 181 *sq.*

[2] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 396 *sq.*

[3] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 183 *sq.*

[4] C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 181.

plantain.[1] However, food is said to be offered to the totemic animal;[2] we have seen that members of the Leopard clan sometimes place palm-oil mash in the forest and hang up a spotted cloth as an offering to a leopard.[3] The totemic animal is not slain sacrificially.[4] According to Mr. A. van Hieu, there is a belief that the members of a totemic clan transmigrate at death into their totems; and further "each tribesman or clansman reveres all members of the totem species equally, the old folks, however, believe every member has his particular totem for his protection, and his fate is so bound up in it, that if it dies he must himself die also, though not at the same moment."[5] If this account is correct, it would seem that totemism is here, as apparently also on the Ivory Coast,[6] based upon the doctrines both of transmigration and of external human souls lodged in the bodies of animals. The doctrine of transmigration or of transformation seems to be held especially by the Leopard clan. They think that if any member of the clan eats a certain plant called *susua* he will turn into a leopard; also that a dead man of the Leopard clan will be transformed into a leopard and destroy the farms of the clanspeople or otherwise plague them, if they have incurred his displeasure by performing his funeral ceremonies negligently or failing to respect his wishes.[7]

Trans-migration or trans-formation of the clans-people into their totemic animals.

Apart from their totemic clans (*ebussia* or *abusua*) with their taboos, which they inherit from their mothers, the Tshi-speaking people are divided into a number of other divisions with taboos, which they inherit from their fathers. These divisions, descending in the paternal line, are called *ntoro*. The four principal *ntoro* are these:—

Divisions (*ntoro*) hereditary in the paternal line, with their taboos.

[1] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 398 *sq.*

[2] A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187.

[3] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 184. See above, p. 557.

[4] A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187. One person told Mr. C. H. Harper "that the totem animal or in its place a sheep is slain yearly" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 184). But the statement cannot be accepted without further confirmation, though it is borne out by a reported similar practice of the Bini. See below, pp. 588 *sq.*

[5] A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187.

[6] See above, pp. 551 *sq.*

[7] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 182.

1. *Bosumprah.* Members of this division are forbidden to eat white fowls, Afasia yams, and to drink palm wine on Wednesdays. It is thought that leopards will not hurt members of this division, and that when a leopard is killed a human member of the division dies. These beliefs shew that the Bosumprah division is especially associated with leopards, and they seem further to indicate that each human member of the division is supposed to have an external soul, or at all events a vital part of him, in the body of a leopard.

2. *Bosumoru.* Members of this division are forbidden to eat the flesh of dogs and hyaenas.

3. *Bosumchwi.* Members of this division are forbidden to eat tortoise and deer and to drink palm wine on Sundays.

4. *Nketia.* Members of this division are forbidden to drink palm wine on Tuesdays.

If a member of any of these paternal divisions (*ntoro*) eats the forbidden food or drinks palm wine on the forbidden days, it is believed that he will fall sick, and in such cases a fowl and eggs must be sacrificed to the man's soul (*okra*) to make him well again. The prohibitions are passed on by a man to his children, so that he himself is rid of them. The maternal totemic clans (*ebussia* or *abusua*) and the paternal divisions (*ntoro*) with their prohibitions exist side by side and independently of each other, the *ntoro* being especially connected with fetish. The natives say that "you take your father's fetish and your mother's family."[1] Thus these two sets of social groups, the maternal *ebussia* and the paternal *ntoro*, are exactly analogous to what I have called the maternal clans and the paternal clans, the *omaanda* and the *otuzo*, of the Herero; and the analogy serves to confirm the view, which has been doubted or denied,[2] that the maternal *omaanda* of the Herero are really totemic clans with totemic taboos like the *otuzo*. However, the exact nature of the kinship group denominated by *ntoro* is uncertain. It comprises, apparently, the near blood relations

Thus, like the Herero, the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast combine clans hereditary in the female line with taboos hereditary in the male line.

[1] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 184 *sq.* Mr. Harper calls the maternal clans *abusua*. Mr. ffoulkes calls them *ebussia* (*Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28, July 1908, p. 395).

[2] By Mr. E. Dannert. See above, p. 360.

of the father, especially his cousins.[1] Mr. Harper, to whom we are indebted for the information about these paternal divisions (*ntoro*), did not ascertain whether they have any influence on marriage, in other words, whether they are exogamous or not. If they are not exogamous, this would apparently add to their resemblance to the *otuzo* of the Herero, which in like manner are reported to impose no restrictions on the marriage of their members.[2] We shall find a little later on that a similar system of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father occurs also among some Bantu peoples of the Lower Congo.

The totemic clans of the Gold Coast are exogamous; a breach of the exogamous rule was formerly punished with death or slavery.

The totemic clans of the Gold Coast are exogamous; a man may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with a woman of the same totemic clan as himself. In old days transgressors of these rules used to be beheaded or sold into slavery. At the present time, if such a breach of morality were committed, the case would be investigated by the head of the clan or the chief of the town; the guilty parties would be divorced and the man fined; moreover a sheep would be killed and the male culprit would have to walk in its blood, apparently as a mode of purification. Were a chief to have anything to do with a woman of the same clan as himself, he would be deposed. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whom a man may marry, because the same clan is known by different names in different places. In case of doubt it is customary to consult an old man of the town. King Tachie of Accra, being appealed to in many matrimonial cases, is said to have given the matter up in despair and to have ruled that when people came from the forest and married people on the coast, an investigation of their clans was needless. And amongst the coast people, in point of fact, the exogamous laws of the clans are not strictly enforced, though there is a prejudice against marriage within the clan.[3] A man is free to marry a woman

[1] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 184 *sq.*

[2] See above, p. 360.

[3] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 182 *sq.* The statement that a man should neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan is confirmed by Mr.

of any totem clan except his own.[1] The Fantees attribute the institution of the clans to a wise seer of old, and they are said to consider the practice of exogamy as very beneficial for the improvement of the species.[2] On the other hand the children of parents who both belong to the same clan are thought not to live long.[3]

Children belong to the totemic clan of their mother.[4] In fact, "the custom, so prevalent among the lower races, of tracing descent through the mother and not through the father, also prevails among the Tshi-speaking tribes."[5] The Fantees apply the same name *ebussia* both to the totemic clan and to the family,[6] and "each family includes members on the mother's side only; thus the mother, and all her children, male and female, belong to her family; so do her mother and maternal uncles and aunts; but her father and all his relatives are nothing at all to her, nor are her husband nor any of his relatives; her daughters' children, male and female, are members of her family, but her son's children are not, as they belong to the family of the son's wife."[7] Every child bears the name of his mother's family as a cognomen in addition to the name given to him at birth by his father, while a person's first name is invariably taken from the day

Children belong to the totemic clan of their mother.

A. van Hieu and a negro informant (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 186, 188). Mr. A. ffoulkes tells us that marriages within the clan (sept) do sometimes occur but are not countenanced (*Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 399). Colonel A. B. Ellis does not mention the rule of exogamy.

[1] A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186. Mr. R. M. Connolly, in speaking of the exogamy of the clans, says that a Buffalo man may only marry a Bush-cat woman "and *vice versa*, and so with the others" ("Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 133). This implies that the men of any clan are restricted in the choice of their wives to the women of one other clan only; but probably the statement is not to be pressed to mean more than that a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. According to a negro informant "a man may not marry twice in each totem" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 188).

[2] R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 132.

[3] A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186.

[4] C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 183; A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 400, 401.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 297.

[6] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 395.

[7] A. ffoulkes, *op. cit.* p. 399.

of the week on which he was born. The eldest living ancestor in the maternal line is the head of the family, but when the head is a woman she generally delegates her authority to her eldest son or to the eldest male of the family, especially when the family is a royal one. Women have, however, been known to occupy the stool or throne as reigning chiefs.[1] One such queen reigned some years ago in Daboasi, the chief town of an important district on the Lower Prah; she owned large tracts of mahogany-bearing land and exercised power through her elders and interpreter.[2] However, among all the Tshi-speaking tribes a man's heir is regularly his brother, born of the same mother, and, in default of such, his eldest sister's eldest son. Should these fail, the nephew next in order of descent is the heir, and in default of nephews the son inherits. But should there be neither nephew nor son, the principal native-born slave of the family succeeds to the property. Among the Fantees there is a variation of this general rule, for with them the slave succeeds to the exclusion of the son, who only inherits his mother's property.[3] Under native law a man may chastise his sister's children and sell or pawn them for his own debts, but under no circumstances may he do so to his own children, since they do not belong to his family, but to their mother's; and for a like reason he may neither punish nor pawn his brother's children.[4] The same rule of female descent which regulates the inheritance of private property determines the succession to the throne of Ashantee; the order of succession is the brother, the sister's son, the son, the chief vassal or slave to the stool. "This extraordinary

Women as chiefs or queens.

A man's heirs are his brothers and the sons of his sisters.

The throne of Ashantee also descends to brothers and the sons of sisters.

[1] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 399 *sq.*

[2] R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 146.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 298; E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 205. Compare R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 146: "The rightful heir in native law is the eldest nephew, *i.e.* the eldest sister's eldest son, who *invariably* succeeds to all the property and position of his uncle, including wives, children, slaves, if there be any, and who thus becomes liable for the debts of the deceased. In default of such an heir, the principal relatives of the deceased select one of their number to succeed, and the man so selected becomes the legal heir, just as if he had been the nephew."

[4] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 27 (July 1908), p. 405.

rule of succession," wrote Bowdich at a time when the wide prevalence of similar rules was unknown, "excluding all children but those of a sister, is founded on the argument, that if the wives of the sons are faithless, the blood of the family is entirely lost in the offspring, but should the daughters deceive their husbands it is still preserved."[1]

The king's sisters and women of the blood royal in Ashantee are allowed to marry or intrigue with whom they please.

In Ashantee "the sisters of the king may marry or intrigue with whom they please, provided he be an eminently strong or personable man; that the heirs of the stool may be, at least, personably superior to the generality of their countrymen."[2] The same licence is or was granted all women of royal blood in Ashantee, but leave had first to be obtained before they might gratify their passions, otherwise their lovers and all who had abetted them were put to death. When one of the king's sisters had married, with his permission, a man of low rank, the baseborn churl was expected to kill himself when either his wife or his only male child departed this life. Should the poltroon dare to survive his noble wife or noble son, a significant hint would be dropped which generally induced him to anticipate the knife of the executioner.[3]

Other and more recent totemic clans or families.

Besides the twelve principal totemic clans there are several other family divisions among the Tshi-speaking tribes; but these are all local, include comparatively few members, and are apparently of much more recent origin. Sometimes these more recent divisions preserve traditions of their origin, and in such traditions the founder of the family, from whom the name is derived, always figures as an actual animal, bird, or fish, who, however, possessed the power of assuming human shape at will. For example, in the town of Chama, at the mouth of the River Prah, there lives a family called *Sarfu-n'ennam*, which is a name compounded of *sarfu*, "horse-mackerel," *n'*, a negative, and *ennam*, "fish," that is, "the flesh of fishes," and means literally "no *sarfu* flesh." The foundress of this family is

The Horse-mackerel family.

[1] E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 185, 205. Compare E. Perregaud, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 140 *sq.*

[2] E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 205.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 287.

believed to have been a horse-mackerel (*sarfu*), and the following tale is told about her.[1]

Tale of the origin of the Horse-mackerel family. It is descended from a man who married a horse-mackerel wife, till they quarrelled and she returned to her kinsfolk the horse-mackerels in the sea.

A man of Chama, whose wife had lately died, was walking disconsolately by the seashore when he met a young woman, who asked him why he walked alone and looked so sad. He told her why, and at last, captivated by her beauty, he begged her to be his wife. She consented, and lived with him in his house. All went well for a time, but after some months she grew restless and uneasy and told her husband she must go away to see her folk at home. He made no objection, only stipulating that he should go with her. To this at first she would by no means agree, saying that alone she came and alone she must return. But he pressed her. They were walking on the seashore and she said, "I will not let you go with me, because you would laugh at me when we came back." But when he vowed and swore that never would he laugh at her or speak of her home and her folk, at long and at last she told him that her home was in the sea, and that her folk were fishes and she herself a fish. If he would go with her, he must count the breakers, as they burst in foam on the strand, and dive with her under the third. He did so and together they passed under the water to the home of her people the fishes. They welcomed her joyfully, and she told her tale, and made known her husband to them. A house was prepared for him, and he was warned not to stray outside of it. For a time he kept to the house, but one day he ventured out and as he rose towards the surface, some fishermen spied him shimmering with a phosphorescent light through the green water. They took him for a fish and speared him and would have dragged him out of the sea if a shark had not bitten the line and released him. His friends the fishes took him back to the house, and drew out the spear, and healed his wound. But when he was made whole again, fearing that some worse thing might befall him, they sent him and his wife away, giving him as a parting gift the spear, which they charged him to keep carefully hidden. So the two went back to their old house on the land, and the man hid the spear in the thatch of the roof. They

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 207 *sqq.*

lived together for some years, till the owner of the house, renewing the thatch of the roof, in an ill hour discovered the spear. He knew it for his own, which he had lost years before by throwing it into the sea at a fish. Being pressed to tell how he had come into possession of it, the husband of the fish-wife reluctantly told the secret of his strange adventure. No harm came at once of his broken promise to his wife; but he had lately taken a second wife and she, having one day quarrelled with the first wife, taunted her with being a fish. Sore at heart, the fish-wife resolved to return to her home in the sea and to be a fish again. Bitterly she upbraided her husband for betraying her secret, and said she would leave him to return no more. In vain he tried to dissuade her; she would not listen to his entreaties, but ran to the shore and bidding him a last farewell plunged into the sea with her youngest child in her arms. But her two elder children were left behind with her husband, and from them is descended the Horse-mackerel family, none of whom may ever eat a horse-mackerel; for the lost wife and mother was a fish of that sort.[1]

The Appei family is said to have sprung from an *appei* fish, who was married to a man and bore him children.

A family called Appei, belonging to the town of Appam, tell a similar story of their origin. They say that a man named Insanna, the last of his race, was fishing with a casting-net among the rocks at night, bewailing his solitary lot and his inability to buy a wife, when he caught a fine fish of the kind called *appei*. He was about to kill it when the fish said, "Do not kill me. I will be your wife and you my husband." So he carried it home and left it there, while he returned to the beach to fish. When he came back again to his house, he found a handsome young woman busy with the household work; she told him that she was the fish he had caught, and that she had been sent by his dead parents to be his wife. Further, she warned him that neither they nor their descendants might eat *appei* fish, or else they would have to return at once to the sea. So the family strictly observed the prohibition and multiplied till

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 208-211. The story is repeated, with merely verbal differences, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. 17 (October 1905), pp. 104-107.

they occupied the whole country, which after them became known as Appei m' or Appam.[1]

Duala story of a hunter who married a palm-squirrel.

Stories of the same type are reported from other parts of West Africa. The following is a Duala tale from Cameroon. A hunter once killed a palm-squirrel, brought it home, and gave it to his wife, who hung it up over the hearth. Soon after she died, and in the hunter's absence the palm-squirrel turned into a woman, dressed his meal for him, and then changed back into a squirrel. It puzzled the hunter on his return from the chase to find his meals ready for him until, by the spider's advice, he hid in a corner and saw the squirrel turn into a woman. He caught it, stroked it on the head with his hand, and said, "Beast that now standest as a human being before me, to-day I saw everything. Be not a beast again. I love thee. Be from to-day my wife." The palm-squirrel said to him, "I give thee a command. Thou must never say to me that I was once a beast, and am now a human being. If thou sayest so, it is all over with our marriage." The two married and lived together till now.[2]

Duala story of a hunter whose wife came forth from a *mpondo* fruit.

Another Duala story from the same region relates how a hunter clove a hard brown fruit called a *mpondo* and a woman came forth from it. He asked her to marry him and she consented, but warned him that he must never say she had come from a *mpondo* or she would go back to the fruit and he would see her no more. So they married; but one day when he was out hunting, his mother twitted the wife with having come from a *mpondo* fruit. She was very angry and said, "From a *mpondo* I came and to a *mpondo* I return." At these words the absent husband felt his body quake. He returned home heavy at heart and asked his mother where his wife was. She told him what had happened. Crying "Woe! woe! woe!" he hastened away to seek his lost wife. Wherever he went he called her and she answered him, but from far away, oh so far away. He said to her, "Come back. I have just returned from the hunt."

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 211 *sq.*

[2] W. Lederbogen, "Duala-Märchen," *Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902), dritte Abtheilung, pp. 139-142.

But she answered, "I will not come back." She conjured up a great sea between them, and she stood on one side of it and he on the other. He began to weep and said again to her, "Oh make the sea to vanish away." But she replied, "No, I will never, never have you for my husband again, because your mother said I came from a *mpondo*." Then she went away. Her husband also went away. He went home and drove his mother from his house. A solitary man he lived and a solitary man he died. He never married again.[1]

West African story of a hunter who married a fairy wife in the shape of a forest-rat; how they lived happily together, and how they parted for ever.

Another West African story sets forth how a fairy woman took compassion on a solitary hunter and turned herself into a forest-rat (*ntori*), which the hunter shot and brought back to his camp. Next day, when he was out hunting, the fairy crept out of the dead forest-rat, tidied up the camp, and cooked a dinner ready for the hunter. On his return from the chase the hunter was surprised to find the table spread for dinner. The same thing happened on three successive days, and the man was puzzled. He consulted a prophet, by whose advice he lay in wait for the fairy woman, seized her at her kindly labours when she was about to turn back into a rat, and throwing a magic powder over her body he persuaded her, struggling, murmuring, and sobbing, to be his wife. They married and the world went very well with him, for ships came and brought him wealth, and his wife bore him children; now the children of a fairy mother thrive and are very wise. But one day, when ships had come in and he had been drinking with the sailors, the heart of the hunter was lifted up and he reproached his wife with having come out of a rat. Next morning, when he was sober, she told him she was about to leave him for ever. He pleaded with her, and the two elder children pleaded for him, but all in vain. She took the two younger children and walked away down the path from the town. Her husband and the two elder children watched them receding in the distance, till they came to the bank of the river and wading into the water disappeared in the depths.[2]

[1] W. Lederbogen, "Duala-Märchen," *Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902), dritte Abtheilung, pp. 142-145.

[2] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West*

Such stories belong to the same class as the tales of the Swan Maiden and Beauty and the Beast. Probably they all originated in totemism.

Similar tales have met us among the Dyaks of Borneo.[1] All such stories belong to the class of which the tales of the Swan Maiden and of Beauty and the Beast are typical examples.[2] Finding narratives of this sort told by totemic peoples to explain their totemic taboos we may conjecture that they all sprang, directly or indirectly, from the cycle of ideas and customs which centre round the institution of totemism. In some of these tales the husband, in others the wife is a fairy who shifts his or her shape from bestial or vegetable to human, and who will leave his or her sorrowing partner for ever to return to the beasts or the plants if a particular taboo relating to his or her animal or vegetable nature be infringed. Such stories are explained naturally and simply on the supposition that they referred originally to husbands and wives who, under a system of totemism and exogamy, would claim kindred with animals or plants of different kinds, the husband assimilating himself to one sort of creature and the wife to another. In such households husband and wife would naturally resent any injury done to their animal kinsfolk as a wrong done to themselves; and domestic jars would easily arise whenever one of the couple failed to respect the humble relations of the other. Among some totemic tribes, as we have seen,[3] the danger of these intestine feuds is to some extent obviated by the rule that

Africa (London, 1904), pp. 351-358. The writer says nothing as to the people or place from which this story was obtained.

[1] See above, pp. 205 *sq.*

[2] On stories of this sort, especially in the folklore of civilised peoples, see Th. Benfey, *Pantaschantra* (Leipsic, 1859), i. 254 *sqq.*; W. R. S. Ralston, Introduction to F. A. von Schiefner's *Tibetan Tales* (London, 1882), pp. xxxvii.-xxxix.; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 64 *sqq.*; S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1884), pp. 561-578; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine*, ii. 215-230; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Edinburgh and London, 1887), i. 182-191; Miss M. Roalfe Cox, *Introduction to Folk-lore* (London, 1895), pp. 120-123. The classical fable of Cupid and Psyche (Apuleius, *Metamorph.* iv. 28-vi. 24) belongs to the same class of tales. Such stories have been rightly explained by Mr. Andrew Lang (*op. cit.*) as based on savage taboos, but so far as I know he does not definitely connect them with totemism. One of the oldest and most beautiful tales of this kind is the ancient Indian story of Pururavas and the nymph Urvasi. See the *Satapatha Brahmana*, translated by J. Eggeling, Part v. pp. 68 *sqq.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliv.). I shall recur to these stories and illustrate them further in the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.

[3] See above, pp. 27, 30, 53.

husband and wife must each pay due respect to the totem of the other, but such mutual obligations appear to be rare; so far as we can judge from the accounts, the usual custom of totemic peoples is that men and women revere each their own totem, but are not bound to shew any reverence for the totems of their spouses. In these circumstances husband and wife are constantly liable to quarrel over their totems, and it would be natural enough that such bickerings should often result in a permanent separation. Totemism may have embittered many lives and broken many hearts. A reminiscence of such quarrels and estrangements is apparently preserved in the sad story of the fairy wife or the fairy husband who lives happily for a time with a human spouse, but only in the end to be parted for ever.

Legendary origin of the Parrot clan among the Fantees.

A story of a somewhat different type is told by the Parrot clan of the Fantees to explain why they revere parrots. The original ancestor of the clan is said to have been a woman who went to a far country and was there married. But she quarrelled with her husband and left him to return to her own land. On her way home she met a man who would have killed her if a parrot had not screamed at the moment, and her assailant, mistaking the cry of the bird for the voice of people coming to the rescue, fled and left her. Hence all the descendants of that woman respect parrots, because a parrot saved their ancestress from death.[1] In this narrative the reverence for the totem is explained, as often happens, by a service which the totemic animal is said to have rendered to the ancestor of the clan; yet a reminiscence of the other and probably more primitive explanation appears to be contained in the quarrel of the wife with her husband.

Seven principal totemic clans among the Fantees.

The totemic system of the Fantees, one of the principal tribes of the Tshi- or Twi-speaking peoples, has been examined by Mr. Arthur ffoulkes, District Commissioner of the Gold Coast Colony. He finds seven principal totemic

[1] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 397. The name of the Parrot clan is here given as Agona. But elsewhere (p. 395) the writer, in agreement with A. B. Ellis, gives Annona as the name of the Parrot clan and Agona as the name of the Palm-oil clan. Perhaps in the present passage Agona is a mistake for Annona or Annono, as Ellis spells the name.

clans or septs, as he calls them, namely, the Bush-cat, the Parrot, the Leopard, the Buffalo, the Plantain, the Dog, and the Silurus (*Adwinadzi*). Each of these principal clans, he tells us, has its branch or branches, and in some tribes the branch is regarded as the principal clan. For example, the Bush-cat clan is the principal one at Cape Coast Castle, Denkera, and Fanti Yankumase, and at Cape Coast Castle it has a branch called *Dwimina*, the name of which is derived from a plant. The Parrot clan has a Red-earth branch and a Palm-oil branch at Cape Coast Castle; but at Fanti Yankumase the Red-earth clan is the principal one and the Parrot clan and the Palm-oil clan are both subordinate. Further, at Fanti Yankumase there is another branch, namely, the Kite or Hawk (*Osansa*) clan. At Denkera, again, the Palm-oil clan is the principal one, and the Red-earth clan and the Parrot clan are both subordinate. At Cape Coast Castle the Leopard clan has a branch called the Corn-stalk (*Eburutu*) clan.[1]

The fetishes of the negroes are not always clearly distinguishable from their totems, especially when the fetishes are hereditary.

Amongst the negroes of Guinea, with whom we are here concerned, there exist many other superstitious practices and beliefs concerned with plants and animals which do not strictly fall under the head of totemism. Such customs and beliefs are commonly classed under the vague name of fetishism. How precisely the fetishes of the negroes are related, if indeed they are related, to their totems is by no means clear, nor is it always easy to draw a sharp line of distinction between them. On the one hand, totems commonly give their names to exogamous groups or clans of people and have been hereditarily revered by them time out of mind. On the other hand, fetishes do not give their names to persons or families, need not be hereditary, and do not regulate the marriage of the people who revere them. Yet these distinctions are not universally present; for many things, which seem entitled to be called totems, do not give their names to groups or clans of people and do not regulate marriage. The relation of totemism to fetishism in West Africa is one which requires further investigation. To discuss it here might lead me too far from my immediate subject.

[1] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 395 *sq.*

I must content myself with briefly noticing those hereditary fetishes of families or of districts which most nearly resemble totems. Among the negroes of the Gold Coast the common names for a fetish seem to be *bossum* (*bohsum*, *bosoum*, *boossum*, *busum*) and *suhman* (*souman*, *sumang*), the distinction between them apparently being, that whereas a *suhman* is the fetish of an individual, the *bossum* is the fetish of a family, district, or town.[1] Yet when a *bossum* or fetish becomes hereditary in a family, it is obvious that, superficially at least, it approximates to a totem. Amongst the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast such hereditary fetishes are often deliberately adopted as a mode of maintaining the tie of kinship between members of a family who are about to part from each other. The mode in which the bond is in such cases cemented has been thus described by Colonel A. B. Ellis:—[2]

Hereditary fetishes adopted as a means of maintaining the bond of kinship.

"Besides the abstention from the flesh of certain animals, birds, fish, etc., by different families, such as has been already described, and which is a complete abstention at all times, one also finds upon the Gold Coast amongst certain families a fixed occasional abstention, as for instance, on one day of the week from a particular kind of food. This abstention originates in quite a different manner to the foregoing. When a family finds it necessary to separate, and perhaps to become split up into two or three sections, as the tutelary deity of the family can only remain with one section, and that the one to which the head of the family belongs, it is usual for all the members to assemble together, and a priest, after rinsing the tutelary deity in water in which he has placed some herbs, gives each member some of the fluid to drink. While they are so doing, the priest announces that it is the will of the god, that henceforth no one of the family shall ever partake of a certain article of food on a certain day or days, so that in years to

Mode in which an hereditary fetish of a family is instituted.

[1] W. Bosman, "Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 348, 420; Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* (London, 1853), ii. 129 *sqq.*; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 17 *sqq.*, 79 *sqq.*, 176 *sqq.*; R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 150; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 270, 275.

[2] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 212 *sq.*

come, the remembrance of their being under his protection shall not be lost. Usually it is only on one day out of the seven that the article of food mentioned by the priest is prohibited, and the ordinary day for such an abstention is Tuesday. Thus one continually meets persons, some of whom will not on Tuesday eat eggs, others fowls, others plantains, and so on. In some cases, though but rarely, people are found who have to abstain from two kinds of food or more. This is due to a second family separation; but more generally, with the adoption of the second variety of abstention, the first is discontinued."[1]

Fetish animals on the Gold Coast, as hyaenas at Accra, crocodiles at Dix Cove, and vultures at Coomassie.

Amongst the *bossums* or hereditary fetishes which approximate to totems and might easily be confused with them, a conspicuous place on the Gold Coast, as in other parts of Guinea, is held by the sacred animals which are revered in particular districts. Thus, for example, hyaenas are sacred at Accra and crocodiles at Dix Cove. A native who should kill a hyaena at Accra would incur a serious penalty.[2] At Coomassie vultures are sacred to the royal family; in former days they might not be molested under pain of death. Hence the birds grew so bold that they would pounce upon the fish or meat which people carried

[1] It may be worth while to compare B. Cruickshank's account of this deliberate institution of an hereditary fetish. He says: "There is one peculiar form, which the Fetish worship of a family about to be separated takes, which deserves to be recorded, as in it we have no external representation of an idol. In view of a separation which will most probably prevent them from ever again worshipping the Boossum, to which they have made their devotions hitherto, they repair to the priest, or sofoo, and having explained their wants, he pounds up some Souman or Fetish substance, and mixes it with water into a drink, which the whole family swallow together. While partaking of this strange communion, the priest declares to them that his Boossum commands that none of this family shall ever after partake of such and such an article of food, naming, perhaps, fowl, mutton, beef, pork, eggs, milk, or anything which he may choose to mention at the time. The Fetish edict, once pronounced against a particular article of food under such circumstances, no one of the family ever tastes it more; and thus we find one who will not taste a bit of chicken, another an egg, a turkey, and so on; and this abstinence from a particular species of food descends to the children, who are under the necessity of observing a similar abstinence. In this case the parties are supposed to have swallowed their idol, and to have him existing in their own persons, and the abstinence prescribed forms a continued act of worship" (B. Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii. 133 *sq.*).

[2] E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 216 note[4]; J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 210.

on their heads.[1] These instances and others of the same sort[2] should warn us of the danger of hastily assuming that the hereditary worship of certain sacred animals in particular districts is identical with totemism. It is premature, for example, to conclude that the ancient Egyptian reverence for different animals in different towns and districts was necessarily totemic.

Indications of the classificatory system of relationship among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.

So far as I know, we have no exact account of the system of relationship prevalent among the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, but there are some slight indications that the system is classificatory. For the term "father" (*egya*) is applied also to the father's brothers;[3] and the following notice of the family system, though loose and vague, points in the same direction. "On the Gold Coast," says a Catholic missionary, "now as in the time of the patriarchs, the word family is understood in a much wider sense than that which is generally current in Europe. At Elmina the family is not composed only of the father, the mother, and the children; included in it are also the cousins, often very distant cousins, the uncles, the nephews, and even the slaves. You will hear all male cousins calling each other brothers, sometimes also the uncle and the nephew if they are about the same age, and more than that the children of the master and those of the slave. If there is too great a disparity of age between uncle and nephew, the latter calls the other his father. Similarly a Fantee applies the name of mother to his aunt, his grand-aunt, and his old female cousins. At first sight one is rather surprised on learning that a single man has so many children, and especially that a child can have so many fathers and so many mothers. If you would know of any one who is his father and who is his mother, you must put the question to him in these terms: 'Who is the father that begot you? Who is the mother that bore you?' If you ask him simply, 'What is the name of your father? What is the name of your mother?' it may be that he will give you

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 213 *sq.*

[2] See below, pp. 583 *sqq.*, 590 *sqq.*

[3] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 405.

successively four or five fathers and as many mothers without including the authors of his being in the number. Those whom he will give you as his fathers will be his uncles and his old male cousins who live in the same house with him, and his mothers will similarly be his aunts and old female cousins."[1]

§ 4. *Totemism on the Slave Coast*

The Slave Coast of West Africa.

The Slave Coast of West Africa extends from the Volta River on the west to the delta of the Niger on the east. Unlike the hilly and densely wooded region of the Gold Coast, the country is low, flat, and open, with but little true forest. Along the coast stretches a line of broad, shallow lagoons divided from the sea by a ridge of sand, which varies in breadth from a few yards to two or three miles. The valleys of the rivers are wooded, and the mangrove flourishes along the shores of the lagoons, but the prevailing feature of the landscape is a sandy grassy plain, dotted with clumps of trees and euphorbia. The climate is damp, hot, and very unhealthy.[2]

The Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast.

For a distance of some hundred and fifty miles along the coast and some two hundred miles or more inland the country is inhabited by negroes who speak a copious and expressive language called the Ewe, which differs both from the Tshi language spoken by their western neighbours and from the Yoruba language spoken by their eastern neighbours the Yorubas. The best known and most powerful of the tribes speaking the Ewe tongue are the people of Dahomey, till lately a warlike and aggressive kingdom, which acquired an infamous notoriety from its system of human sacrifices. That kingdom has now passed under the dominion of France; and the Togos, another Ewe-speaking tribe of the Slave Coast, have given their name to the German colony of Togo-land. According to native traditions the Ewe-speaking peoples

[1] Father Gallaud, "A la Côte d'or," *Les Missions catholiques*, xxv. (1893) p. 284.

[2] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 1-5. Compare P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey* (Paris, 1885), pp. 2 *sqq.*; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme, Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 12* *sqq.*

are not aborigines, but migrated into their present territory from the north-east at no very distant period.[1] They support themselves chiefly by agriculture, raising crops of maize, yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, rice, beans, earth-nuts, and cotton. The staple food is maize. Men, women, and children share the labour of the fields. They turn up the soil with hoes, for the use of the plough is unknown. As a preparation for the crops the grass is burned every year, and the ashes serve to manure the ground. But the cultivation is shifted annually from place to place; and ten or twelve years commonly elapse before the same field is again planted and reaped. The oil-palm also plays an important part in the life of the natives; large tracts of country are covered with groves of this useful tree, and the natives turn every one of its products to account. They make pottery without the use of the wheel, spin cotton thread, weave excellent hanging mats of grey stuff shot with blue or red threads, and work iron, copper, and gold with a skill which is remarkable when we consider the rudeness of their tools. The people, both men and women, are keen traders and haggle over every penny.[2]

Their agriculture and arts.

The government of a Ewe-speaking tribe is in general aristocratic, resting in the hands of chiefs and a king. The chiefs acknowledge the supremacy of the king; but he is controlled by them, and can neither make peace nor war nor enter into any engagements or negotiations which affect the interests of the tribe without their consent. Such matters are always debated by the king and chiefs in council. The populace have no voice at all in the government. Each chief is a petty king in his own domain. But the government of Dahomey differed from that of other Ewe-speaking tribes in being an absolute monarchy. The king was a despot; his will was law; he was subject to no control whatever. Property of every kind, including land, belonged theoretically to him, and he might lawfully confiscate it to

Government of the Ewe-speaking tribes.

Absolute monarchy of Dahomey.

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 5 *sqq.*; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp. 11*, 53* *sq.*, 56* *sqq.*; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 452.

[2] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp. 28*, 55* *sq.*, 298 *sqq.*, 319 *sqq.*, 356 *sqq.*, 706, 762 *sqq.*, 780; J. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 53 *sqq.*, 195 *sq.*; H. Klose, *Togo unter Deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 258 *sq.*, 262 *sq.*

his own use. Whatever a man had he had only on sufferance so long as the king chose to let him remain in possession. The theory was pushed so far that parents were held to have no right to their own children; these, like everything else, belonged to the king, and their fathers and mothers were permitted to retain them only during his pleasure. All the women of the country, both native-born and captives, were his absolute property, to be disposed of by him at his discretion. No man might have a wife unless she was purchased from the king or conferred upon him as a reward of bravery. The king's person was sacred; his subjects affected to believe that he neither ate nor slept; it was criminal to say the contrary. He always ate in secret, and any man who was so rash or unfortunate as to see him in the act was put to death. When he drank in public, which he did on extraordinary occasions, every one turned his head aside and the women held up cloths to screen the monarch from the gaze of his subjects. In his presence there was no distinction of ranks: all were slaves before him. Even the highest chiefs had to prostrate themselves and grovel on the earth at his feet. For centuries the kings of Dahomey waged wars of aggression on their neighbours for the purpose of capturing slaves and human victims for sacrifice. The surrounding countries were desolated and exhausted by their ravages. In these wars a conspicuous part was taken by regiments of stalwart Amazons, armed and disciplined like regular soldiers, who fought with desperate valour. These viragos were considered to be the king's wives and were sworn to celibacy. Any one who proved to be frail was put to death with her paramour.[1]

Sanctity of the king's person.

Wars of Dahomey.

Totemic clans of the Ewe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast.

The Ewe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast, like the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, and every community is heterogeneous, comprising members of several or even of all the various clans. Unfortunately our information on the subject is scanty; for Colonel A. B. Ellis, almost the

[1] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 202-206; P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 343 *sqq.*, 353 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 161 *sqq.*, 182 *sqq.*

only writer who appears to have observed and recorded Ewe totemism, lost a portion of his notes. The following are all the totem clans which he was able to remember:—

(1) The Leopard clan (*Kpo-do*, compounded of *kpo*, "leopard," and *do*, "people, clan, or tribe").

(2) The Snake clan (*Ordañh-do*, from *ordanh*, "snake").

(3) The Lion clan (*Dzata-do* or *Jahnta-do*, from *dzata* or *jahnta*, "lion").

(4) The Yam clan (*Tehvi-do*, from *tehvi*, a variety of yam).

(5) The Crocodile clan (*Elo-do*, from *elo*, "crocodile").

(6) The Monkey clan (*Eddu-do*, from *eddu*, a monkey with long black hair).

Respect shewn for the totems.

"The usual reverence is paid by the members of a clan to the animal or plant from which the clan takes its name. It may not be used as food, or molested in any way; but must always be treated with veneration and respect. The general notion is that the members of the clan are directly descended from the animal or plant—eponymous."[1]

Totemism among the Anglos.

The Anglos are a Ewe tribe who inhabit the country between the delta of the Volta River and the Keta lagoon. One of the twelve subdivisions of the tribe is named Adsoviawo, after a species of fish (*adsovia*), which is never eaten by its namesakes, because they think that a fish of that sort once stuck in the throat of one of their ancestors and choked him. The Adsoviawo people are mostly fishermen.[2]

The totemic clans of the Ewe tribes are exogamous with descent in the female line.

The totemic clans of the Ewe tribes are exogamous and the descent appears, at least among the common people, to be reckoned in the female line; that is, a man may not marry a woman of his own totem clan and the children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But our information on this subject is scanty. The late Colonel Sir A. B. Ellis says: "As is usual with people who are divided into totem-clans, the Ewe tribes are exogamous; marriage between members of the same clan being forbidden. This restriction is, however, not now always scrupulously observed by the sea-board tribes. Kinship is

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 100.

[2] H. Seidel, "Der Fischfang in Togo," *Globus*, lxxxii. (1902), p. 112.

traced through females, and the order of succession to property, etc., is brother, sister's son. The eldest brother is the head of the family, and his heir is the brother next in age to himself; if he has no brother, his heir is the eldest son of his eldest sister."[1] However, in default of brothers and of sisters' sons the firstborn son succeeds to his father's property.[2] "In all cases of separation the children accompany the wife, who pays to the husband a sum to reimburse him for what he has paid for their maintenance. The general custom of regarding children as related to the mother and not to the father, does not apply, it must be observed, to the upper classes of Dahomi, in which the father is regarded as having the greater claim."[3]

But amongst the upper classes of Dahomey descent is traced in the male line.

The same writer suggests that among the Ewe tribes the transition from mother-kin to father-kin, so far as it has taken place among the higher classes, may have originated in an example set by the despotic kings of Dahomey, whose power enabled them to guard their wives so closely that they could be fairly sure of the paternity of their children. "Amongst the upper classes of Dahomi we find, as has already been stated, a different system of kinship existing, it being there traced through males. This, which carries with it a proprietorship of a father in his children not recognized elsewhere, has very probably been brought about by the exercise of arbitrary power. Owing to the manner in which the actual wives of the king are immured in palaces, hedged in by various restrictions, and guarded by women soldiers who are the king's wives in name, the paternity of the children borne by the king's wives would no longer be doubtful; and an autocratic ruler might well set aside custom and declare that his son should be his heir and successor, instead of his brother or nephew. The upper classes might follow his example, but, unless the new system were imposed by law, the masses would hardly do so; and in Dahomi we find that this system is confined to the upper classes, the

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 207.

[2] G. Zündel, "Land und Volk der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 206.

masses still retaining kinship through females only. That universally in Dahomi descent used formerly to be traced through females, the existence of such words as *no-vi-nutsu*, 'brother,' literally 'mother's son,' and *no-vi-nyonyu*, 'sister,' literally 'mother's daughter,' seems to show. The fact that the king's sons have no rank during the lifetime of their father may also be a survival of such a system." [1]

Cousin marriages.

Amongst the Ewe people first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, may not marry each other; but on the other hand marriage is allowed between two first cousins who are the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.[2]

The levirate.

"When a man dies, his widows devolve upon his heir, whose wives they become, in name at all events, for it is not incumbent upon him to consummate the union. When a brother succeeds a brother it is more usual for the union to be consummated than when a nephew succeeds an uncle." [3] It appears to be only a younger brother who is entitled to marry his deceased brother's widow.[4] But while a man may marry his deceased brother's wife, he is not allowed to marry his deceased wife's sister.[5]

Avoidance of a wife's parents.

Amongst some of the Hos, a Ewe tribe in German territory, when a woman lives in her husband's house, he may not eat in the house of her parents and they may not eat in his. A breach of this rule is shameful; many people say it would prevent the wife from bearing children.[6]

License allowed to women of the blood royal in Dahomey and other African kingdoms.

In former times the women of the blood-royal of Dahomey were permitted to intrigue with any man they pleased; but in the latter half of the nineteenth century this custom was put down by King Galele on account of the scandals which it caused; since his reign women of the blood-royal have contracted ordinary marriages.[7] Similarly among the Yoruba-

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 209 *sq.*

[2] G. Zündel, "Land und Leute der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 205.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 212.

[5] G. Zündel, "Land und Leute der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

[6] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 744.

[7] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 204, 211 *sq.*

speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the daughters of kings or chiefs are free to live with or marry whom they like, and they may change their partners as often as the whim takes them.[1] The license thus accorded to princesses in many African kingdoms, including Ashantee, Uganda, and Unyoro[2] as well as Dahomey and Yoruba-land, may possibly be a relic of sexual communism, which survived in royal families after it had become extinct among the common people.

Traces of communism in land among the Ewe tribes.

Traces of a primitive communism may perhaps be detected among the Ewe tribes in other departments of social life than in the relations of the sexes. "By native law and custom there is no private property in land, but a family in occupation of land cannot be disturbed; and land so occupied only practically reverts to the community when it is abandoned or thrown out of cultivation. When once land has been allotted to a family, the usufruct belongs to that family for as long as it chooses to cultivate it; but the land cannot be sold by the occupiers or assigned to any third party. Amongst the inhabitants of the sea-board towns, however, the decisions of the colonial law-courts have fostered the notion of individual property in land, in so far as the land on which houses are built is concerned, and there are indications of its extending still further."[3]

A family responsible for the misdeeds of its members.

Again, the common responsibility of a whole family for the misdeeds of any of its members is almost certainly among the Ewe peoples a survival of a former time when the rights and interests of the individual were merged still more completely in the rights and interests of the community. On this subject we read: "The family collectively is responsible for all crimes and injuries to person or property committed by any one of its members, and each member is assessible for a share of the compensation to be paid. On the other hand, each member of the family receives a share of the compensation paid to it for any crime or injury committed against the person or property of any one of its

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 187.

[2] See above, pp. 471 *sq.*, 523 *sq.*, 565.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 217 *sq.*

members. Compensation is always demanded from the family instead of from the individual wrong-doer, and is paid to the family instead of to the individual wronged. In respect to this custom of collective responsibility and indemnification, the Ewe family resembles the old Welsh 'kindred': the practice in Wales, however, has generally been regarded as being connected with the tenure of the family lands, whilst, amongst the Ewe-speaking peoples there is no private property in land, which all belongs to the tribe.

Trace of the responsibility of a whole community for the deeds of its members.

"It seems that this system of family responsibility was, amongst the Ewe and Tshi-speaking peoples, preceded by one of community responsibility; under which each member of a village, or other community, was assessible for a share of the fine to be paid in compensation of injuries committed by one of the community upon others not belonging to it. This wider responsibility only now survives amongst the Ewe tribes in the liability of any member of a village or town to be seized and held as a hostage for the payment of a debt owing by another member of the same community; and amongst the Tshi-speaking peoples in the right which every creditor has to seize, in payment of a debt, the goods or person of any third party who belongs to the same community as the debtor. This custom seems to show that the community preceded the family, which one would certainly expect to be the case, when it is remembered that men must have dwelt together in groups, long before any such notion as that of kinship had been formed." [1]

Local sacred animals on the Slave Coast.

Distinct, apparently, from the totems of the clans are the local sacred animals which are revered in different districts of the country; for it would seem that while a totemic animal is respected only by the members of its particular clan, who form merely a fraction of the population of any one district, the local sacred animals in question are respected by all the inhabitants of the district without exception. Yet the local sacred animal is sometimes a beast of the same species as the totemic. Thus in Dahomey the leopard is regarded as sacred and is especially worshipped by the royal family. Theoretically a man who killed a

Leopards sacred in Dahomey.

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 208 *sq.*

leopard was put to death; according to Forbes, he was sacrificed to the offended deity, but in reality the culprit escapes by paying a fine and performing certain ceremonies to propitiate the god. The leopard is thought to be animated by an indwelling spirit, so that he who slays one of these beasts does not destroy the object of his worship, he merely deprives the spirit of its bodily tabernacle, a serious offence which calls for a costly atonement. Shrines containing rude effigies and drawings of leopards are common in Dahomey, and at these the people pray and sacrifice to the leopard-god. Leopard's claws are deemed amulets and are highly prized. At the court of Dahomey some of the king's wives, usually the youngest and handsomest, bear the honourable title of Leopard Wives (*kpo-si*), and on state occasions wear striped cloths.[1]

Crocodiles sacred at Whydah, Porto Novo, etc.

The crocodile is worshipped at Bageida, Porto Seguro, Savi, Porto Novo, and Badagry. In the days of the former kingdom of Whydah there were two pools near the royal palace at Savi where crocodiles were bred, and a numerous priesthood was set apart for their service. But nowadays offerings to the crocodiles are as a rule made only by members of the Crocodile clan, or by persons whose business obliges them to sail on the lagoons. There are no longer temples and priests dedicated to the worship of crocodiles. The native notion seems to be that a crocodile is the abode of a spirit who, in default of a human body, has taken up his abode in the carcase of the reptile. Spirits in these reduced circumstances are believed to be generally malignant and to vent their spite on mankind by entering beasts of prey. However, opinions differ on the subject, and there is no well-established standard of crocodile orthodoxy. In districts where the animal is worshipped it may not be molested.[2]

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 74 *sq.* Compare F. E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* (London, 1851), i. 160 *sq.*, 171-174. A Ewe hunter who kills a leopard has to observe many curious ceremonies. He is painted with red and white earth on the left side of his body in imitation of a leopard's spots, and he has, amongst other things, to make a funeral feast for the animal and to tie up its head carefully; for the upward look of its eyes is believed to retard the rain. See H. Spieth, in *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, ix. (1890) pp. 17-19; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 29*.

[2] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 71-74.

Worship of the python at Whydah.

Again, the python is worshipped as a sacred animal in Dahomey, especially at Whydah, also at Agweh, at Great and Little Popo, and in the kingdom of Porto Novo. Its Ewe name is *dangbe*, which means "life-giving snake" (*dan* "snake," *gbe* "life").[1] The worship of the serpent appears to have originated at Whydah, and thence to have spread over Dahomey. The python is esteemed the god of wisdom and of earthly bliss. He it was that opened the eyes of the first man and woman who came into the world; for our first parents, like puppies, were born blind. The temple or house of the python at Whydah is a round hut thatched with grass; it stands in a small oblong enclosure near the middle of the town. Inside the fence are a few sacred trees, a small round hut containing an image of Legba, the Priapus of these negroes, and on the ground calabashes and earthen vessels full of water, maize flour, palm-wine, cowries, and other offerings made by the worshippers. Holes are left in the walls of the temple to let the serpents crawl out and in. The sacred reptiles are free to range the town and the neighbourhood. When one of them has strayed into the house of a European, a priest goes to fetch the errant god, and having purified himself by rubbing certain fresh green leaves between the palms of his hands, he prostrates himself before the serpent, takes it up gently in his arms, and carries it home. A native of Whydah who meets a python in the path prostrates himself before it, rubs his forehead on the earth, and covers himself with dust in token of humiliation. "You are my master," he cries, "you are my father, you are my mother; my head belongs to you; be propitious to me." Amongst the Ewe tribes who worship the python, a native who kills a python, even by accident, is by custom liable to be burned alive, and formerly the punishment was invariably inflicted. But now, though a pretence is made of burning the culprit, he is allowed to escape with his life from a blazing hut, on condition of paying a heavy fine and of running the gauntlet of the python-worshippers, who belabour him with cudgels till he has purified himself by plunging into running water. In old days even Europeans have been put to death for killing a

The temple of the python.

Respect shewn for the serpents.

Formerly any person who killed a python was burned alive; but the penalty has been mitigated.

[1] Father Baudin, in *Les Missions Catholiques*, No. 779, May 9, 1884, p. 232.

The sacred serpent has his human wives.

python. The sacred serpent has many human wives, whom he marries secretly in the temple; but it is the priests who consummate the union. The wives bring water for the pythons, and make grass mats; at festivals they decorate the temple and offer sacrifices. The festivities are usually kept up all night, and degenerate into unbridled orgies of lust, in which the wives of the god play their part. It is the serpent god, they say, who possesses them and makes them act thus; it is he, too, who gets them with child.

Schools of the python-god.

Opposite the temple are schools or seminaries of the python-god, in which any child who may happen to touch or be touched by one of the reptiles must be kept for a year at the expense of the parents and taught the songs and dances peculiar to the worship. Formerly adults, especially women, were liable to be similarly treated if they had the misfortune to touch a python; even the wives and daughters of powerful chiefs were not exempt from the penalty. But the scandalous abuses of the custom, together with the decline of the priestly power, have caused it to fall into

Offerings to the python.

desuetude. Common offerings to the serpent-god are iron rods bent to imitate the coils of a serpent. These represent the male animal, and a bell-shaped image of iron represents the female. They may be seen in sacred groves near lagoons and springs of water; and beside them are placed calabashes or covered earthen vessels containing water and other offerings for the serpents.[1]

The local worship of sacred animals on the coast of Guinea

It is possible that the local worship of sacred animals on the Slave Coast, as on the Gold Coast and in the delta of the Niger,[2] has been developed out of totemism, but there is no positive evidence of such a derivation, and it would be

[1] P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 385-397; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 54-63. As Whydah is a seaport which has long been inhabited by European traders, the worship of the serpent there has often been described. For earlier accounts of it see W. Bosman, "Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 494-500; Labat, *Voyage du chevalier Des Marchais en Guinée, Isles Voisines, et à Cayenne* (Amsterdam, 1731), ii. 133-161; Astley's *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. (London, 1746) pp. 28-37; J. Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa* (London, 1847), pp. 126 *sq.*, 195 *sq.*; F. E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* (London, 1851), i. 107. Whydah is called Fida by Bosman, and Juda by Des Marchais. As to the human wives of the serpent-god at Whydah, see further my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*,[2] pp. 57 *sqq.*

[2] See above, pp. 574 *sq.*, and below, pp. 590 *sqq.*

rash to assume it. In the absence of proof to the contrary it is, therefore, better to treat as distinct, on the one hand, the worship paid to a species of animals by all the inhabitants of a district, and, on the other hand, the respect shewn for their totemic animal by all the members of a totem clan. In both cases we see a community bound together by a common reverence for a species of animals, but whereas in the former case the community is a local group, in the latter it is a kin.

may perhaps have been developed out of totemism.

§ 5. *Totemism in Southern Nigeria*

No unambiguous evidence of totemism, in the strict sense of the word, appears to have been as yet discovered among the pagan tribes who inhabit the delta of the Niger, a dreary land of fetid pestilential swamps and impenetrable forests, intersected by a vast network of turbid, sluggish streams and creeks.[1]

The delta of the Niger.

But a regular system of totemism and exogamy prevails among the Bini, the tribe which has given its name to the great city of Benin. The system has lately been investigated by Mr. N. W. Thomas, Government Anthropologist for West Africa, to whose courtesy I am obliged for the following particulars.[2] The name which the Bini use for

Totemism and exogamy among the Bini.

[1] Lieut.-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria* (London, 1902), p. 4. For descriptions of the dismal scenery of the Niger delta, see (Sir) H. H. Johnston, "The Niger Delta," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, x. (1888) pp. 749 *sqq.*; Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes* (London, 1906), pp. 13 *sqq.* The last of these writers observes: "Yet although in many localities animals and reptiles represent the ancestral or protecting deities of the clan or community, no tribe or clan that I know of is named after any particular animal or reptile" (Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 318). Lieut.-Colonel Mockler-Ferryman calls attention to "the very marked traces of totemism which are found in West Africa"; but the list of totemic clans which he gives is not said to be drawn from Nigeria, and as it coincides, or nearly so, with the lists given by the late Colonel A. B. Ellis (see above, pp. 556 *sqq.*, 579), we may surmise that he was thinking rather of the natives of the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast than of the tribes of Nigeria. See Lieut.-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria* (London, 1902), pp. 266 *sq.*

[2] Some indications of totemism among the Bini had previously been given by Mr. R. E. Dennett, from whose account we gather that certain animals and plants are tabooed as food to certain families, that these taboos (*awa* or *agwa*) are inherited by children both from their father and their mother, and, further, that in some cases, at least, a man may not marry a woman who has the same taboos as his father. Among animals thus tabooed to some people are snakes, antelopes, monkeys, and elephants; among plants are yams and

a totem or totemic taboo is *awa* (plural *awaigbe*). Each family or clan has one or more totems (*awaigbe*), which are generally animals or plants. As a rule no one may kill or eat his or her totemic animal nor use his or her totemic plant. Even food which has been touched by the totemic animal is occasionally prohibited to members of the clan. The totemic families or clans are also exogamous; that is, no man may marry a woman who has the same totem (*awa*) as himself. However, this rule is falling into desuetude. A woman may not cook nor eat her husband's totem if he is in the house; she may not even eat it after his death, so long as she is suckling his child. Descent of the totem is in the male line; that is, children belong to their father's totemic family or clan and observe his totemic taboo or taboos. Some clans tell stories to account for the origin of their totems. One clan, for example, says that the boa is their totem because it helped one of their members; another clan says that black seeds are their totem and are therefore tabooed to them, because black seeds brought disgrace on the clan. To the rule that the totemic animal or plant may not be killed, eaten, or used by members of the clan there are certain interesting exceptions, especially in connection with burial ceremonies. On the first day of the burial ceremonies some families make soup out of their totemic plant or animal with which to sacrifice to the feet of the dead man. Afterwards the soup which has been so made and sacrificed, or more usually the portion of it which remains over from the sacrifice, is either thrown away, or eaten by the family, or consumed by strangers. The sacrificed portion may also be put to the lips of members of the family and then thrown away. Further, the totemic leaf or rope may be used in various ways at the burial rites of a member of the family. Thus it may be employed to wrap or tie the body, or to wrap the yams brought by the sons-in-law; or it may be set at the feet of the corpse. If the burial rites are not properly performed, the Bini believe that the deceased will not get to heaven

A wife may not cook or eat her husband's totem while he is in the house.

Sacrifice of the totems at funerals.

a small fruit called *ihihihi*. See R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London, 1906), p. 231. Mr. Dennett's brief account has in general been confirmed by Mr. N. W. Thomas's researches.

(*ĕlīmī*); or that if he does, his sojourn in the realms of bliss will be brief, for his sainted relatives will expel him and appropriate to themselves the yams which were offered for his benefit at the funeral. "Very rarely the forbidden animal is sacrificed on occasions other than burial rites, instead of in the death customs; it is then (1) eaten by the family or (2) by strangers. The sacrifice is annual."[1]

Annual sacrifice of the totem.

The following is a list of Bini totems which have been discovered by Mr. N. W. Thomas :—

List of Bini totems.

BINI TOTEMS

1. Calabash seed.
2. Antelope (*eruhe*).
3. Tortoise.
4. Leopard.
5. Bush cow.
6. *Osan* leaf.
7. *Umeche* leaf.
8. Coco yam.
9. *Fufu* (pudding) cooked on preceding day.
10. Ants' nest as pot rest.
11. Fish.
12. *Irhielo* rope.
13. *Eboso* leaf.
14. Dog.
15. Eating in squatting position.
16. Boa.
17. All snakes.
18. Monkey with white spot.
19. Mashed yam.
20. Pumpkin.
21. *Ibugwache* leaf.
22. Porcupine.
23. Calabash top.
24. Palm wine.
25. Bush rat.
26. Calabash spoon.
27. *Arhumoto* snake.
28. Fowl.
29. *Oliwu* leaf.
30. *Oho* fruit.
31. Food touched by fowl or over which fowl has jumped.
32. Black bean.
33. Bush cat.
34. *Emile* (wild yam ?).
35. *Erhumoyi* bird (African pheasant ?).
36. *Iyege* leaf for soup.
37. *Oton* (squirrel).
38. Animals with heads cut off.
39. Rat.
40. *Ochwe* tree.
41. Kneeling on one knee.
42. Snail.
43. Kite.

The foregoing account of Bini totemism, which we owe to the researches of Mr. N. W. Thomas, suggests some observations. In the first place the prohibition laid on a wife to cook or eat her husband's totem while he is in the house seems to be a precaution to prevent domestic brawls from arising between husband and wife over their different totems, and so far the rule confirms my theory of the totemic origin of the widely diffused group of tales which conform to the type of the Swan Maiden, or Beauty and the Beast, or Cupid and Psyche.[2]

Observations on the foregoing evidence. Rule that a wife may not cook or eat her husband's totem.

In the second place the annual sacrifice of the totem is the first example of such a custom which we have met with in our survey of totemism; for the catching and killing of their totems by the Arunta and other tribes of Central

The annual or occasional sacrifice of the totem confirms

[1] From Mr. N. W. Thomas's manuscripts.

[2] See above, pp. 570 *sq.*

W. Robertson Smith's theory.

Australia is not strictly speaking a sacrifice at all.[1] Further, the sacrifice of the totemic animal or plant to a dead member of the clan, and the eating of it by his kinsfolk, or the touching of their lips with the sacrificed portion of it at a funeral, seems to be plainly sacramental; it is to all appearance a solemn communion with the totemic animal or plant, which is effected both by eating a portion of the sacred and at other times tabooed food, and also by offering it at the same time to the corpse, in order that the dead as well as the living members of the clan may partake of its blessed influence. Thus these sacrifices and this form of communion with the totem furnish a strong confirmation of the theories which the late W. Robertson Smith, with the acumen of genius, propounded as to the nature and purpose of a totemic sacrament long before any actual example of such a rite had been discovered.[2] It seems probable that further researches in this part of Africa would bring many more instances of such sacraments to light.

Totemism in Fugar.

The territory of Fugar, which forms part of the Idah District in Southern Nigeria, contains twenty compounds, each with its prohibited animal or plant. In only one case is the prohibited animal sacrificed; a dog is killed in the family of Ebozua, the head chief. In the Wepa country, opposite Idah, on the west side of the Niger, there are two great exogamous divisions named Ego and Atzikia.[3]

Local worship of sacred animals in Southern Nigeria.

The sacred leopard of Idah.

Apart from the existence of regular totemism among the Bini, the inhabitants of certain districts of Southern Nigeria revere particular species of sacred animals. Thus the leopard is held in great veneration by the Igaras of Idah, who call it "father" (*atta*), though they do not object to kill it in the chase. When a dead leopard is brought into Idah, it is dressed up in white and borne on the heads of four men from house to house, with singing and the beating of drums. Each householder gives a present of cowries or cloth to the owner of the leopard, and at last the carcase is buried with

[1] See vol. i. pp. 109 *sqq.*, 230 *sqq.*

[2] See W. Robertson Smith, article "Sacrifice," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, vol. xxi. (1886) pp. 137 *sq.*; *id.*, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, New Edition (London, 1894), pp. 295, 405.

[3] Mr. N. W. Thomas, in a letter to me dated Benin City, October 25th, 1909.

great ceremony and firing of guns. Were this custom neglected the people think that the beast's spirit would punish them. The kings (*Attas*) of Idah are buried in a place called the Grave of the Leopard.[1] Again, we are told that in the delta of the Niger "each little community had its 'totem,' or sacred animal, in whose species the ancestral spirit—the soul of the tribe, so to speak—was supposed to dwell. Thus, in Brass, they worshipped the python snake; in Bonny, the monitor lizard. Only nine or ten years ago this animal worship was so real that the British authorities in the Oil Rivers were compelled to afford it a certain amount of recognition. Europeans were forbidden to kill the sacred lizard of Bonny, or the still more sacred serpent of Brass, and were heavily fined by their consul if they infringed this prohibition. . . . At Bonny the monitor lizards became a sickening nuisance. They devoured the Europeans' fowls, turkeys, ducks, and geese with impunity; they might lie across the road or the doorways of houses with their six feet of length, and savagely lash the shins of people who attempted to pass them with their whip-like serrated tails, and if you wounded or killed one of them then there was no end of a to-do. You were assaulted or robbed by the natives, harangued by the Consul on board a man-of-war, and possibly fined into the bargain. In other parts of the delta it might be the shark, or the crocodile, or some water-bird that was worshipped, but nowhere was this zoolatry carried to greater lengths than at Bonny and Brass. For its effectual abolishment, which has been of the greatest benefit to the well-being of Europeans and natives alike, we owe our thanks, not to the intervention of naval or consular officials, nor to the bluff remonstrances of traders, but to the quiet, unceasing labours of the Church Missionary Society, who, by winning the natives from these absurd practices, have brought about such a change of affairs that now the python is promptly killed at Brass whenever it makes its appearance, and the monitor lizard is relegated to the woods and swamps. . . . Before that time, if a python seized a child in the streets in its coils, and slavered it with its viscous saliva, the mother—so far

Worship of the python at Brass and of the monitor lizard at Bonny.

[1] A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger* (London, 1892), pp. 308 *sq.*

from interfering to save it—must stand by and call out her thanks, and summon her friends and relations to rejoice with her that the god-python had so honoured her family as to devour her child."[1]

Sacred pythons at Fishtown.

Down to the year 1894 Fishtown, a town of the Brass tribe, was overrun with sacred pythons, but in that year a fire broke out which not only demolished all the houses, but destroyed so many of the divine reptiles that the new town has been comparatively free of them ever since. Formerly the penalty for killing a sacred python, or any other of the local sacred animals, was death; and even powerful and wealthy chiefs could not escape condign punishment for so heinous an offence. At present any person who by accident or design destroys one of these reptiles must report the affair to the high priest, who sits in judgment on him and imposes a fine. Moreover, the culprit must purify himself by daubing his body with sacred chalk or mud, which is afterwards washed off with water. When a python died a natural death it used to be customary to levy contributions and bury it with the funeral rites and honours accorded to a chief. A similar custom is said to be still observed in other parts of the country when any sacred animal has given up the ghost.[2] All the coast tribes are reported to revere the fish-hawk and to observe towards it all the usages which are customary in regard to sacred pythons, monkeys, and the rest of the divine menagerie. Hence these hawks have grown almost tame and allow the natives to go close up to them.[3]

Penalty for killing a sacred python.

Sacred fish-hawks.

Possible traces of totemism among the Cross River natives.

Among the pagan negroes of the Cross River, in the interior of the Niger delta, the Assistant District Commissioner, Mr. C. Partridge, has noted some customs and beliefs which may possibly be connected with totemism. At Nkimboma, a village of the Eshupum tribe, on the right

[1] H. H. Johnston, H.M. Vice-Consul for the Oil Rivers, "The Niger Delta," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, x. (1888) pp. 760 *sq.*

[2] Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, pp. 328-332. The writer's account is general and does not apply to Fishtown only. The custom of daubing the body of the python-killer with chalk may be intended to ward off the angry ghost of the dead serpent; for we are told that in Benin "evil spirits are all kept off by bedaubing oneself with chalk" (H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 61).

[3] Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 322.

bank of the Aweyong River, the head-chief's hut contains a painted board with three figures in relief representing a man, a woman, and a lizard. In answer to Mr. Partridge's questions the chiefs said: "Our forefathers said the lizard was their forefather, and they would not kill or eat it, but we do not now pay regard to that law. No, we don't punish a man who kills a lizard. Yes, we still give drink and *fufu* (yam pudding) to this juju. It is the juju of the town, not of the Eshupum tribe."[1] Further, in some of the towns of the Cross River there may be seen carved wooden poles, which Mr. Partridge compares to the totem-posts of North American Indians. These poles are carved with figures of men, women, and animals, such as crocodiles, dogs, snakes, and lizards; they may be twelve or fifteen feet high, and are sometimes surmounted by a human skull and surrounded by a circle of stones. One such great post will stand in the open square of a town. The one at Ogada, in the Eshupum tribe, is said to be the chief fetish of the place. Figures of animals are also carved on the big drums which some Cross River towns possess.[2] But there is no proof that any of these carvings are totemic.

Sacred lizards in the Eshupum tribe of the Cross River.

Carvings of crocodiles, dogs, snakes, and lizards among the Cross River natives.

In discussing the question whether totemism exists among the tribes of Nigeria, it is well to notice a remarkable belief which some of them cherish as to an intimate relation between the souls of men and the bodies of animals. They think that the souls of living people may be lodged temporarily or permanently in the bodies of animals, so that any injury done to the beast is felt by the man or woman whose soul is housed in its carcase, and the death of the one entails the death of the other. Thus among several tribes on the banks of the Niger, between Lokoja and the delta, there exists "a belief in the possibility of a man possessing an *alter ego* in the form of some animal, such as a crocodile or a hippopotamus. It is believed that such a person's life is

Belief among the tribes of Nigeria that a man may have an animal double, on which his life depends.

[1] C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives* (London, 1905), pp. 217 *sq.* Juju is the native term for fetish.

[2] C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, pp. 219-224. Mr. Partridge inclines to regard as totemic also the clay figures of men and animals modelled in low relief, which may be seen on the walls of houses and verandahs in the Cross River district. Among the animals so represented are the leopard, serpent, crocodile, lizard, dog, iguana, and rat, but never the elephant. See C. Partridge, *op. cit.* p. 176.

bound up with that of the animal to such an extent that whatever affects the one produces a corresponding impression upon the other, and that if one dies the other must speedily do so too. It happened not very long ago that an Englishman shot a hippopotamus close to a native village; the friends of a woman who died the same night in the village demanded and eventually obtained five pounds as compensation for the murder of the woman." [1]

The hippopotamus woman.

Belief in external or bush-souls among the Calabar negroes. A man's bush-soul is supposed to exist in a wild animal, such as a leopard or a tortoise; and if the animal is hurt or killed, the man will fall ill or die.

In like manner every Calabar negro believes that he has four souls, one of which always lives outside of his body in the form of a wild beast of the forest. This external or bush soul, as Miss Kingsley calls it, may be almost any animal, for example, a leopard, a fish, or a tortoise; but it is never a domestic animal, and never a plant. Sometimes when a man sickens, it is believed to be because his bush-soul is angry at being neglected, and a witch-doctor being called in will advise him to make an offering to the offended soul. Wandering in the Calabar forests you will often see little dwarf huts with these offerings in them. They are made wherever the bush-soul was last seen by the witch-doctor; for a man cannot see his own bush-soul unless he possesses the second-sight. If the angry soul is appeased by the offering, the man recovers; but if not, he dies. When a man learns from a diviner what sort of creature his bush-soul is, he will thereafter be careful not to kill any animal of that species, and he will strongly object to any one else doing so; for if the animal is killed or injured he himself will die or be ill. Conversely, when the man dies, his bush-soul can no longer find a good place, but goes mad and rushes into the fire or charges people and is killed, and that is the end of it, for the bush-soul is not immortal. A man and his sons have usually the same sort of animals for their bush-souls, and so with a mother and her daughters. But sometimes all the children of a family take after the bush-soul of their father; for example, if his external soul is a leopard, all his sons and daughters will have leopards for their external souls. And, on the other hand, sometimes they all take after their mother; for instance, if her external

[1] C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland* (London, 1896), pp. 36 *sq.*

soul is a tortoise, all the external souls of her sons and daughters will be tortoises too. Such is the account which Miss Kingsley gives of the bush-souls of the Calabar negroes.[1] Some additional particulars on the subject are furnished by Mr. Richard Henshaw, Agent for Native Affairs at Calabar. He tells us that a man may only marry a woman who has the same sort of bush-soul as himself; for example, if his bush-soul is a leopard, his wife also must have a leopard for her bush-soul. Thus it would seem that endogamy rather than exogamy is the marriage rule in regard to bush-souls. Further, we learn from Mr. Henshaw that a person's bush-soul need not be that either of his father or of his mother. For example, a child with a hippopotamus for his bush-soul may be born into a family all of whom have wild pigs for their bush-souls; this happens when the child is the reincarnation of a man whose external soul was a hippopotamus. In such a case, if the parents object to the intrusion of the alien soul, they may call in a medicine-man to check its growth and finally abolish it altogether, after which they will give the child their own bush-soul. Or they may leave the matter over till the child comes of age, when he will choose a bush-soul for himself with the aid of a medicine-man, who will also select the piece of bush or water in which the chosen animal lives. When a man dies, then the animal which contains his external soul "becomes insensible and quite unconscious of the approach of danger. Thus a hunter can capture or kill him with perfect ease." Sacrifices are often offered to prevent other people from killing the animal in which a man's bush-soul resides. The tribes of Calabar which hold these beliefs as to the bush-soul are the Efik and Ekoi.[2]

A man may only marry a woman who has the same sort of bush-soul as himself.

[1] Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 459-461. My lamented friend the authoress was kind enough to give me in conversation (1st June 1897) some details which do not appear in her book; among these are the statements, which I have embodied in the text, that the bush-soul is never a domestic animal, and that when a man knows what kind of animal his bush-soul is, he will not kill an animal of that species, and will strongly object to any one else doing so. Miss Kingsley could not say whether persons who have the same sort of bush-soul are allowed or forbidden to marry each other.

[2] John Parkinson, "Notes on the Efik Belief in 'Bush-soul,'" *Man*, vi. (1906), pp. 121 *sq.* This belief of the Calabar negroes has been briefly re-

The Ibos also think that a man's soul may during his life take up its abode temporarily in the body of an animal, and that if the animal is killed the man dies.

A similar belief in the external souls of living people is entertained by the Ibos, an important tribe of the Niger delta, who inhabit a country west of the Cross River. They think that a man's spirit can leave his body for a time during life and take up its abode in an animal. This is called *ishi anu*, "to turn animal." A man who wishes to acquire this power procures a certain drug from a wise man and mixes it with his food. After that his soul goes out and enters into the animal. If it should happen that the animal is killed while the man's soul is lodged in it, he dies; and if the animal be wounded, his body will presently be covered with boils. This belief instigates to many deeds of darkness; for a cunning fellow will sometimes surreptitiously administer the magical drug to his enemy in his food, and having thus smuggled the other's soul into an animal will destroy the animal and with it the man whose soul is in it.[1] A like belief is reported to prevail among the tribes of the Obubura Hill district on the Cross River. Once when Mr. Partridge's canoe-men wished to catch fish near a town of the Assiga tribe, the people objected, saying, "Our souls live in those fish, and if you kill them we shall die."[2]

Similarly the Cross River natives in German territory believe themselves to be so

Similar beliefs are entertained by the natives of the Cross River valley within the German province of Cameroon. Groups of people, generally the inhabitants of a village, have chosen various animals, with which they believe themselves to stand on a footing of intimate friendship or relationship. Amongst such animals are hippopotamuses,

corded by a missionary, the Rev. Hugh Goldie. He says: "*Ukpong* is the native word we have taken to translate our word *soul*. It primarily signifies the shadow of a person. It also signifies that which dwells within a man, on which his life depends, but which may detach itself from the body, and visiting places and persons here and there, again return to its abode in the man. . . . Besides all this, the word is used to designate an animal possessed of an *ukpong*, so connected with a person's *ukpong* that they mutually act upon each other. When the leopard, or crocodile, or whatever animal may be a man's *ukpong*, gets sick or dies, the like thing happens to him. Many individuals, it is believed, have the power of changing themselves into the animals which are their *ukpong*" (Rev. Hugh Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, new edition, Edinburgh and London, 1901, pp. 51 *sq.*). Compare Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 217.

[1] John Parkinson, "Note on the Asaba People (Ibos) of the Niger," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 314 *sq.*

[2] C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, pp. 225 *sq.*

elephants, leopards, crocodiles, gorillas, fish, and serpents, all of them animals which are either very strong or can easily hide themselves in the water or a thicket. This power of concealing themselves is said to be an indispensable condition of the choice of the creatures for the purpose, since the animal friend or helper is expected to damage an enemy by stealth ; for example, if he is a hippopotamus, he should pop up suddenly out of the water and capsize the enemy's canoe. Between the animals and their human friends or kinsfolk a sympathetic relation is supposed to exist such that the moment the animal dies the man dies also, and similarly the moment the man perishes so does the beast. From this it follows that the animal kinsfolk must never be shot at or molested for fear of injuring or killing the persons whose lives are bound up with the lives of the brutes. This does not, however, prevent the people of a village, who have elephants for their animal friends, from hunting elephants. For they distinguish between human-elephants and elephant-elephants, and while they take great care not to injure the former they have no objection, but rather the contrary, to killing the latter. They say that a hunter who has the elephant for his friend always knows a human-elephant when he meets him ; indeed the recognition is mutual, and animal and man go their several ways without harming each other. And to avoid mistakes the hunter regularly sacrifices to the elephant-fetish before he sets out for the chase ; after that if he meets a human-elephant, the beast will lift up one of its fore-feet and hold it before its face, which is as much as to say, " Don't shoot." This belief in the sympathetic relation between animals and men, whose lives are inseparably bound up with each other, is said to be nowhere so strongly held as among the natives of the upper Cross River, particularly in the German district of Ossidinge. This is a land of hills, covered in parts with virgin forest and dense underwood, and cleft by many deep ravines and romantic mountain glens, affording ample cover to the wild beasts with which the simple natives imagine their fortunes to be linked. Some of these shy creatures, having not been molested by man for ages, have ceased to fear him and even

sympathetically related to certain animals (hippopotamuses, elephants, leopards, crocodiles, gorillas, fish, serpents) that when the animal dies the man dies and *vice versa*.

live on a certain footing of intimacy with their human brethren. At least we are told that the inhabitants of one little village are on very friendly terms with a herd of sacred hippopotamuses which have their abode in a stream not far off. A German official, on promising not to kill any of the beasts nor to reveal their lair to others, was privileged to witness the unwieldy monsters disporting themselves in a pool, after the beams of the morning sun, striking down over the tree-tops, had dispelled the mist which lay on the surface of the water. The chief who acted as guide called to the animals, and they seemed to answer to the call and followed him as he moved along the bank like a flock of sheep following their shepherd.[1]

Similar beliefs as to animal doubles or human souls existing in animal bodies are found in other parts of Africa.

Nor are such notions confined to the tribes of the Niger delta. At the town of Paha, in the northern territories of the Gold Coast, there are pools inhabited by crocodiles which are worshipped by the people. The natives believe that for every death or birth in the town a similar event takes place among the crocodiles.[2] Among the Angass, of the Kanna District in Northern Nigeria, "when a man is born, he is endowed with two distinct entities, life and a *kurua* (Arabic *rin*). . . . When the *rin* enters a man, its counterpart enters some beast or snake at the same time, and if either dies, so also does the body containing the counterpart. This, however, in no wise prevents a man from killing any game, etc., he may see, though he knows full well that he is causing thereby the death of some man or woman. When a man dies, his life and *rin* both leave him, though the latter is asserted sometimes to linger near the place of death for a day or two."[3] The Balong of Cameroon, in German West Africa, like the Calabar negroes, think that every man has several souls, of which one is in his body and another in an animal, such as an elephant, a wild pig, a leopard, and so forth. When a man

[1] Alfred Mansfeld, *Urwald-Dokumente, Vier Jahre unter den Crossflussnegern Kameruns* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 220-223. For a description of the country, see *ibid.* pp. 1 *sqq.*

[2] *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, October 7, 1902, p. 3.

[3] Extract from a Report by Captain Foulkes to the British Colonial Office. My thanks are due to Mr. N. W. Thomas for sending me this extract and to the authorities of the Colonial Office for their permission to publish it.

comes home, feeling ill, and says, "I shall soon die," and is as good as his word, the people aver that one of his souls has been killed by a hunter in a wild pig or a leopard, and that the death of his external soul has caused the death of the soul in his body. Hence the corpse is cut open, and a diviner determines, by an inspection of the inwards, whether the popular surmise is correct or not.[1] In the Congo region some chiefs link their destiny with that of an animal. Thus the chief Bankwa of Ndolo, on the Moeko River, had conferred this distinction on a certain hippopotamus of the neighbourhood, at which he would suffer no one to shoot.[2] At the village of Ougek, in the Gaboon, a French missionary slept in the hut of an old Fang chief. Awaking in the middle of the night he saw a huge black serpent of the most dangerous sort ready to dart at him. He was about to shoot it when the chief stopped him, saying, "In killing the serpent, it is me that you would kill. Fear nothing. The serpent is my *elangela*."[3]

Relation of such beliefs and practices to totemism.

What is the relation of such beliefs and practices to totemism? When a whole family—parents, children, and children's children—believe that their external souls are in a certain species of animals, and for that reason abstain from killing, eating, or injuring the creatures, it is obvious that the relation in which the family stands to the species of animals bears at least a superficial resemblance to totemism. Elsewhere I have conjectured that the origin of totemism is to be sought in the belief of the possibility of thus depositing the soul for safety in an external object;[4] and we have seen that among the Sienas of the Ivory Coast the belief in human souls lodged in the sacred animals appears to form an integral part of totemism.[5] To that question we shall return later on. Meanwhile I will observe that probably superstitions of this sort are much more widely diffused than the evidence to hand would lead us to suppose. In particular the widespread belief in were-

[1] J. Keller (missionary), "Ueber das Land und Volk der Balong," *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, October 1, 1895, p. 484.

[2] *Notes analytiques sur les Collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo*, i. (Brussels, 1902-1906) p. 150.

[3] Father Trilles, "Chez les Fangs," *Les Missions catholiques*, xxx. (1898) p. 322.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 389 *sqq.*

[5] See above, pp. 551, 552 *sq.*

Were-wolves, were-tigers, etc.

wolves, were-tigers, and other animals of that sort, may perhaps on analysis be found to resolve itself into a belief in the external soul. For it should be noticed that, at least in some cases, the owner of a bush-soul is thought to be able to turn himself temporarily into an animal of the kind in which his bush-soul is lodged.[1] Now this faith in the temporary transformation of a man into a beast is the essence of the were-wolf superstition.[2]

§ 6. *Totemism in Northern Nigeria*

Traces of totemism among the Hausas and Fulani of Northern Nigeria.

In recent years enquiries pursued by Mr. H. R. Palmer, Resident in Charge of Katsina, among the Hausas and Fulani of Northern Nigeria have elicited a good deal of evidence tending to shew that, despite the spread of Mohammedanism in this part of Africa, many of the natives still entertain beliefs and observe customs like those which we have found widely diffused over Western Africa from Senegambia to Cameroon. With regard to these customs and beliefs a doubt may indeed be raised as to whether they should be classed under the head of totemism or not; but in many points they resemble true totemism so closely that it seems desirable to take account of them in the present work. A system of superstition like totemism is founded on modes of thought so loose and vague that any attempt to lay down its boundaries with rigorous precision would necessarily be futile; and if we wish to penetrate to its inner meaning and ultimate source, we must not circumscribe the scope of our enquiry by rigid definitions, which, however appropriate to a philosophical treatise, are out of place in the exploration of a region so hazy and indefinite

[1] See above, p. 596, with the Rev. H. Goldie's account in the footnote.

[2] As to were-wolves, were-tigers, and creatures of that sort, see W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862); W. H. Roscher, "Das von der Kynanthropie handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side," *Abhandlungen der philolog.-histor. Classe der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xvii. No. 3 (Leipsic, 1896); J. J. M. de Groot, "De Weertijger in onze Koloniën en op het oostaziatische Vastelande," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlix. (1898) pp. 549-585; *id.*, *The Religious System of China*, iv. 156 *sqq.*; A. C. Kruijt, "De weerwolf bij de Toradja's van Midden-Celebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xli. (1899) pp. 548-567; J. Knebel, "De weertijger op Midden-Java," *ibid.* pp. 568-587; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906), pp. 109 *sqq.*

as the mind of a savage. In researches of this sort it is safer to take too wide than too narrow a view of the matter in hand, since it often happens that light is thrown on the dark recesses of the subject by something which at first sight might seem to lie wholly outside of its boundaries.

For the following account of indications of totemism among the Hausas and Fulani I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. H. R. Palmer, who has very liberally placed his manuscript materials at my disposal.

The Fulani are Berbers; the Hausas are negroes or negroids. Most of the Hausas are now Mohammedans, but some communities of heathens remain.

From the earliest times apparently the northern portion of Hausaland has been inhabited by two distinct races, a nomadic people of Berber blood and a settled people of negro or negroid blood. The nomadic Berbers are now known as Fulani, the settled negroes as Hausas. Yet the Hausas themselves appear to be a cross produced by the fusion of Berber invaders with the aboriginal negro or negroid population of the country. The *lingua franca* of Hausaland is Hausa. At the present day almost all the peoples called Hausas are Mohammedans, but nevertheless there exist among them some communities which have not yet been converted to the dominant faith and still retain to a certain degree the customs of their forefathers. These communities are known as Maguzawa, a word which seems to mean "idolaters." Though they do not profess Islam, the Maguzawa have been so far influenced by their Moslem rulers and conquerors that they have abandoned many of their old ways, and what they retain of them is in fact, though not in name, a crude monotheism with some local spirit in the place of Allah. However, enough of their ancient paganism lingers to indicate roughly the nature of the beliefs which Islam has displaced and is steadily displacing. Besides these Maguzawa there are a certain number of pagan Fulani and other heathen peoples of Berber affinity, who have migrated into Hausaland at various times in the past.

Different marriage customs of the Fulani and Hausas.

In manners and customs as well as in race the Fulani and Hausas differ from each other. The Hausa is polygamous and exogamous; the Fulani is monogamous and endogamous. The Hausa buys his wife and takes her to his own house; the nomadic Fulani does not expect his wife

to come and live with him until two years have elapsed after the wedding. Indeed the sexual relations among these nomads closely resemble those which are observed by the Tuaregs, among whom the husband goes to live with his wife, not the wife with her husband. In both peoples there is the same loose morality before marriage and the same strict morality after it. The first-born son of a Fulani always lives with his mother's kinsfolk till his father dies. He is called his father's shame (*kunya*). Among some of the pagan Fulani marriage between half brothers and sisters is allowed, provided that the common parent is the father; but marriage between half brothers and sisters, the children of the same mother, is forbidden. Precisely the same rule was followed by the ancient Athenians.[1] Such a custom is probably a relic of mother-kin, that is, of the mode of tracing relationship through the mother and not through the father; for under that system in its rigid form the children of the same father but not of the same mother are not related by blood and are therefore free to marry each other. At the present day, however, the practice of tracing descent in the female line hardly exists south of the country occupied by the Kelgeres. But in Mr. H. R. Palmer's opinion it is certain that mother-kin anciently prevailed alike among the Hausas, the Fulani, and the Tuaregs. According to him, the evidence available in the Soudan tends to shew that the custom of reckoning descent on the female side only was particularly characteristic of the Berber or Hamitic peoples.

Marriage of half brothers and sisters.

Mother-kin formerly prevalent among the Hausas, Fulani, and Tuaregs.

Both the heathen Fulani and the heathen Hausas practise a rite, probably very ancient, which savours of sexual communism and is intended, if Mr. Palmer is right, to ensure the fecundity of the clan. Among the Fulani the ceremony is called *Girêwali*; it is held at the end of the year. The youths and maidens gather in the forest. When the young men have formed a line, the girls come up to them and each chooses her partner. Food is cooked and eaten and the couples pass the night together. The observance of this custom is deemed of great importance for

Traces of sexual communism among the Fulani and Hausas. The Fulani ceremony called *Girêwali*.

[1] Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus* (vol. ii. p. 303, ed. Th. Mangey). Compare my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 245.

the prosperity of the clan. Any father who prevented his children from taking part in the orgy would be expelled from the community.

Among the pagan Hausas the custom is similar in substance though different in details. It is called *Fitā Furra*. In the autumn several girls and as many boys are shut up together in an enclosure and left there for a month. Food is brought them by an attendant called a dog (*karre*). The whole expense is borne by some rich man, who thinks he thereby confers a benefit on the community. A long upright pole called *jigo* or *gansami* is set up inside of the enclosure, and sacrifices of goats, sheep, fowls, and so on are offered to the spirits Kuri and Uwagona. Of these spirits Kuri is the Hausa Pan, a woodland deity who wears a goat's skin and barks like a dog in the forest. Uwagona is a female divinity who has been compared to Cybele or Demeter. At the end of the month any of the girls who are found to be with child are considered to be the wives of their youthful partners.

The Hausa custom called *Fitā Furra*.

Traces of totemism or of something like it occur both among the heathen Fulani and among the heathen Hausas. There is only one equivalent in the Hausa language for the words totem and taboo, which we have borrowed from the savages of North America and Polynesia. It is *kan-gidda* and means "head of the house" or "that which is upon the house." The totems, if we may call them so, of such pagan Fulani as are to be found in the northern portion of Hausaland appear to be chiefly birds, as for example the partridge and the dove, but some people have an animal totem in addition to a bird. Among the animal totems is the iguana. All the Fulani believe that if they were to kill their totemic birds or animals, they would die.

Totems of the pagan Fulani.

All the pagan Hausas confess to having at least one totem or taboo. Persons who have the same totem or taboo constitute a clan, but these totemic clans bear no fixed relation to the political divisions of the country, as these divisions exist and have existed for five or six hundred years. Each political division has its badge, which is tattooed on the faces of the children without regard to their totemic clan.

Totems of the pagan Hausas.

The following examples of Hausa clans with their

totems and taboos have been collected by Mr. H. R. Palmer.

The black snake totem.

1. *The Mahalbawa, a Katsina Hausa hunter community.*—Their totem is a short black snake called *kwakia.* They believe that they are descended from the snake and that if they killed it they would die. The clan is exogamous with descent in the male line; in other words, no man may marry a woman who has the black snake *kwakia* for her totem, and children take their totem from their father, not from their mother. If the snake is friendly, it lives among the rafters, and when a boy is born, the reptile crawls down to the floor of the hut. Should the snake kill an animal, the flesh of the animal may not be eaten by any member of the clan. Thus the Mahalbawa seem to be a typical totemic clan; for the totem is hereditary, they believe themselves to be descended from the totemic animal, they will not kill it, and they will not marry women who have the same totem as themselves.

The hippopotamus totem.

2. *The Yan Dorina Hausas*, "children of a hippopotamus."—Their totem is the hippopotamus, and they sacrifice to the beast on the banks of a stream a hen which is coloured like an ostrich.

The featherless fowl totem.

3. *The Biritchi Hausas, Maguzawa called "kai na fara."*—Their totem is a featherless fowl. Mr. Palmer's informant said that this fowl (*kuduku kaza*) is sacrificed on very special occasions once a year. Members of the clan may not eat food which has been touched by iron. If fire has burnt the town, they will not eat what is left of the corn. They do not carry fire in a calabash (*kworia*) but only in an earthenware dish (*akwoshi*). These Hausas do not work on Sunday, but offer sacrifice on that day.

The frog totem.

4. *The Garubawa of Keffindukuduku, Katsina.*—They say they are of Berber origin. Their totem is a frog (*kwado*), which they will not touch. They think that after death a bad soul wanders about, but that a good soul is born again of a woman in the family, generally reappearing as a grandson of the deceased. There is a village pole at which wrestling matches take place. They say that so long as the pole stands the powers of the village youth remain unshaken. If the pole should be blown down, it will not

be set up till the next generation. The name of the pole is *gansami*, which means "son of the Queen."

5. *The Kutumbawa, Hausas of Kuzauri and Kano.*— Their totems are two trees, the black thorn (*dashi*) and tamarind (*tsamia*). They may not cut nor burn these trees. Another totem of theirs is a large green snake (*dau magurji*), which they will not kill nor touch. They sacrifice on the top of a crag near by to "the spirit that turns bones white" (*dodo ba farin kasshi*). Their prosperity was believed to be bound up with a black rock poised on the top of the crag. The rock used to warn them of coming war by shrieking thrice; when it fell, they were conquered. The blackthorn, tamarind, and large green snake totems.

6. *The Baawa.*—By race and religion they are Fulani pagans, by profession they are nomadic herdsmen. They do not kill their cattle except for a feast, and then the animals must be slaughtered at the foot of a tree which has little sap. But on the contrary trees with much sap are given to cattle to eat as a medicine. In contrast to the Biritchi, they may only take up fire in a calabash (*kworia*); if a woman with child should be so imprudent as to take up fire in an earthen vessel, she would have a miscarriage. The totem of Mr. Palmer's informant was a fox (*yanyawa*). The fox totem.

7. *The Baban Dammo.*—These are Hausas of the earliest Katsina stock. Their totem is an iguana (*dammo*), and they believe themselves to be descended from the animal. They will not eat hot food out of a calabash and they will not use a calabash to carry fire in. They think that souls live after death and kill the living, if they are not placated. In order to prevent the soul from getting out of its earthly tabernacle and doing a mischief, they lay thorns on a corpse. Unable to escape through the prickly barrier without scratching its tender substance, the poor soul perforce remains quiet in the rotting body. The iguana totem.

8. *The Romawa, Hausas of Kano.*—Their totem is a snake (*dan bida*). It descends in the male line from father to children. A woman keeps her own totem after marriage. They will not marry women who have the same totem as themselves; in other words, the clan is exogamous. Snake totem.

9. *The Kiawa, Hausas of Kano.*—Their totem is an

Elephant totem.

elephant. They sacrifice at the foot of a tamarind tree (*tsamia*) to Kuri and Uwadawa.

Iguana totem.

10. *The Darbawa Hausas of Baurenia in Katsina.*—Their totem is an iguana (*dammo*). They now marry within the clan, but say that formerly they did not do so. They think that the soul of a dead man enters into a woman and is reborn in a grandson.

Kamuchi totem.

11. *The Yan Tugamma, Hausas of Maradi.*—Their totem is *kamuchi* (?). They will not wear any clothes of a light blue colour, believing that if they did they would grow poor.

Lion totem.

12. *The Berawa, Hausas of the district of Yaudaka* (*Katsina*).—Their totem is a lion, which they dare not touch. They kill all snakes. They will not burn a silk cotton tree nor carry fire in a calabash.

Black snake totem.

13. *The Geauaskawa, Hausas of Dan Gani Katsina.*—Their totem is a black snake (*kwakia*), and they think that the soul of the snake dwells in their king.

Lion, tree, and hawk totems.

14. *The Dubawa of Wawalkaza, Katsina Hausas.*—Their totems are a lion, a tree (*kiria*), and a hawk (*shirua*). They will not take up fire in an earthen pot (*kasko*), believing that to do so would cause headache. So they carry fire on two sticks.

Partridge totem.

15. *The Sarikin Machira* (Chief of the Blacksmiths) has for his totem the partridge (*makorua*) and thinks he would die if he killed the bird. One of his ancestors killed a partridge, took it home, ate it, and died the very same night. Not only so, but the whole family were burnt to ashes in a fire soon afterwards, all but one woman, who never would eat partridge again. When people asked her why she would not eat partridge, she replied, "It is the totem (*kangidda*) of my grandfather. He ate it, and see what happened!" The blacksmiths, potters, and other industrial clans seem to have been originally servile Berber peoples. They are commonly called "slaves of the Fulani."

Python totem.

16. *The Yan Gido, Katsina Hausas.*—Their totem is the python (*kasa*). At the beginning of the year, which falls in autumn, they hold a great feast, at which they sacrifice to Kuri, the woodland deity who wears a goat's skin, and also to Uwardawa, who causes men to go sideways

like a crab. Children take their totem from their father. A man prefers to marry a woman who has the same totem as his mother; in other words, the men of this clan prefer to intermarry with the women of one particular clan only. In regard to the marriage of cousins, children of sisters or of half-sisters may not marry each other; children of brothers or of half-brothers may not marry each other; but the child of a brother or of a half-brother may marry the child of a sister or of a half-sister.

Other totemic clans.

Other Hausa and Fulani clans with their totems, as ascertained by Mr. H. R. Palmer, are as follows:—

HAUSA AND FULANI CLANS AND TOTEMS[1]

Clans.	Districts.	Totems.
17. Yan Maisa .	Metazu in Katsina	a snake (*dan bida*)
18. Tannawa . .	Kano	crocodile
19. Yan Tuga . .	Kano	lion
20. Ba Daffawa .	Katsina	black snake (*kwakia*)
21. Dâsawa . .	Katsina	black snake (*kwakia*)
22. Dogarawa . .	Remin Gado in Kano	crocodile (*kadda*) and black snake (*kwakia*)
23. Kimbawa (probably Fulani mixed with Hausas) .	...	crow (*hankaka*) and black snake (*kwakia*)
24. Tosawa . .	Jikamshi Katsina	black snake (*kwakia*)
25. Damfawa (Fulani)	Zamfara	crested crane (*gamraka*) and crow (*haukaka*)
26. Sulibawa (Fulani)	Katsina	a dove (*kurchia*)
27. Rungumawa .	Katsina	black snake (*kwakia*) and tamarind tree
28. Arawa . .	Daura	snake (*dan magurji*)

Many black snake totems.

In the preceding list the number of clans which have snakes, especially the black snake (*kwakia*), for their totems is remarkable. Mr. Palmer is of opinion that these snake people represent the negroid element in the population.

Seven Hausa kingdoms.

The Hausa states are seven in number, each of them ruled by a king. Down to the nineteenth century the daughters of the king of Daura were always married to slaves, and the king

[1] In this list all the clans are Hausa except Nos. 23, 25, and 26, which are Fulani.

Marriage of king's daughters to slaves.

was always chosen from their children, not from the children of the late king. The Queen Mother was always a most powerful personage. This shews that in Daura, as in Ashantee, royal blood was traced only in the maternal line, and that the lineage of the king's father was deemed a matter of no consequence.[1]

Death and burial of Hausa kings.

The manner of the death and burial of Hausa kings is worthy of notice. In three of the kingdoms, namely Gobir, Katsina, and Daura, the customs observed on such occasions were these. On the first signs that a king was failing in health or becoming infirm, an official who bore the title of Killer of the Elephant (*Kariagiwa*) appeared and throttled him by holding his windpipe. The entrails of the dead king were then removed and his body was smoked over a slow fire for seven days. By that time the election of a successor was complete. The king elect was conducted to the centre of the town, called Head of the Elephant (*kan giwa*), and was there made to lie down on a bed. A black ox was next brought and slaughtered over the prostrate prince, the blood being made to run all over his body. Then the ox was flayed, and the dead king, being wrapped up in the hide, was dragged along the ground to the place of burial, which was a circular pit, where he was buried in a sitting posture. After his bath of ox blood the new king had to reside for seven days in his mother's house, where he was washed daily. On the eighth day he was conducted in state to the palace. In Daura the new king had besides to cross over the body of the dead king.[2]

New Year's festival among the Hausas.

At the New Year's feast (*Wasan Wowo*) among the Hausas it is still the custom for a man to put on a mask with the horns of an ox fixed above his head and to dance in this costume. The Hausas believe that the dance promotes a good crop of corn.[3] This custom suggests that the Hausas imagine the spirit of the corn to be incarnate in an ox or a bull. A similar belief has been held by many other peoples.[4] It seems to be quite independent of totemism.

[1] As to the rule of succession to the throne of Ashantee, see above, pp. 564 *sq.*; and my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 235.

[2] These particulars as to the death and burial of Hausa kings are derived from Mr. H. R. Palmer's manuscript.

[3] From Mr. H. R. Palmer's manuscript.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 277 *sqq.*, 294 *sqq.*

§ 7. *Totemism in Congo and Angola*

The Bakalai or Bakele are a large Bantu tribe inhabiting the lower valley of the Ogowe River in French Congo, who swarmed down from some unknown part of the interior about eighty years ago. Formerly nomads, they have now become carriers and merchants. Their settlements are widely scattered; communities of them are often found living in independent towns surrounded by other tribes. They cultivate the soil to a certain extent, possess a few goats and chickens, and subsist in part by hunting and fishing.[1] Like many other Bantu peoples, the Bakalai appear to be divided into clans which are both totemic and exogamous. At least this seems to follow from an account given of their customs by Du Chaillu, who spent some time among them. His testimony is all the more valuable because, writing at a time when neither totemism nor exogamy was commonly known, he records his discovery of totemism with evident surprise. The passage runs thus: "This day I had a glimpse at another curious superstition of these people. One of the hunters had shot a wild bull, and when the carcass was brought in the good fellow sent me an abundant supply of the best portions. The meat is tough, but was most welcome for a change. I had a great piece boiled for dinner, and expected Quengueza to eat as much as would make several hungry white men sick. Judge of my surprise, when, coming to the table and seeing only the meat, he refused to touch it. I asked why? 'It is *roondah* for me,' he replied. And then, in answer to my question, explained that the meat of the *Bos brachicheros* was forbidden to his family, and was an abomination to them, for the reason that many generations ago one of their women gave birth to a calf instead of a child. I laughed; but the king replied very soberly that he could show me a woman of another family whose grandmother had given birth to a crocodile—for which reason the crocodile was *roondah* to that family. Quengueza would never touch my salt-beef, nor

The Bakalai of French Congo.

Du Chaillu's evidence as to totemism and exogamy among the Bakalai.

Belief of the Bakalai that women have given birth and can still give birth to animals of the totemic species.

[1] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 300 *sq.*; P. B. du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), p. 383; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 459.

even the pork, fearing lest it had been in contact with the beef. Indeed, they are all religiously scrupulous in this matter; and I found, on inquiry afterwards, that scarce a man can be found to whom some article of food is not *roondah*. Some dare not taste crocodile, some hippopotamus, some monkey, some boa, some wild pig, and all from this same belief. They will literally suffer the pangs of starvation rather than break through this prejudice; and they very firmly believe that if one of a family should eat of such forbidden food, the women of the same family would surely miscarry and give birth to monstrosities in the shape of the animal which is *roondah*, or else die of an awful disease. Sometimes I find that the fetich-man forbids an individual to touch certain kinds of food for some reason, or no reason rather. In this case the prohibition extends only to the man, and not to his family. It is astonishing how strictly such gross feeders as they are adhere to their scruples. It shows the power a superstitious faith has even over a lawless people as these are. I am certain nothing in the world would have induced the old king to eat the flesh of the wild bull, or even to eat out of a dish in which that had been cooked or otherwise contained."[1]

The Bakalai taboos (*roondah*) are totemic.

In this passage Du Chaillu clearly distinguishes purely personal taboos, arbitrarily imposed on individuals, from the hereditary taboos (*roondah*) which have been observed by whole families for many generations. These hereditary taboos appear to be strictly totemic. The term *roondah*, which Du Chaillu applies to them, is plainly identical with *orunda*, the form of the word employed by Dr. Nassau and Miss Kingsley. The word means "prohibited," and has been adopted by the missionaries as the nearest native equivalent they could find for "sacred" or "holy."[2] Further, the totemic families or clans of the Bakalai appear to be exogamous; for, speaking of this tribe, Du Chaillu observes again with surprise: "It is a curious fact, that, though they will take

[1] Paul B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), pp. 308 *sq.*

[2] Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 456 *sq.*; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (London, 1904), pp. 78-80, 211.

their brother's or father's wives in marriage, they will not marry a woman of the same *family* or clan with themselves. This is the case also among other tribes."[1] As he indicates in this last sentence, Du Chaillu found the rule of exogamy observed by other tribes of the Gaboon region besides the Bakalai. Elsewhere he says: "Tribes and clans intermarry with each other, and this brings about a friendly feeling among the people. People of the same clan cannot marry with each other. The least consanguinity is considered an abomination; nevertheless, the nephew has not the slightest objection to take his uncle's wives, and, as among the Bakalai, the son to take his father's wives, except his own mother."[2]

Exogamy among the tribes of the Gaboon region.

From all this we may conclude that the Bakalai have totemism of the common type; that is, that they are divided into clans, and that the members of each clan are forbidden to marry each other and to eat the flesh of a particular species of animal. With regard to the descent of the Bakalai clans we have not definite information, but since in this tribe the son inherits his father's property,[3] we may perhaps infer that the clan also is inherited by children from their father and not from their mother. In this respect the Bakalai differ from their neighbours; for among the surrounding tribes all clans are considered to descend on the female side, and a man's heirs are first his brothers and next his nephew, the eldest son of the eldest sister. Among these tribes, moreover, the headship of the clan is hereditary, and descends like property in the female line from a man to his brothers and his sisters' sons.[4] In short, the tribes among whom the Bakalai live have the system of mother-kin as opposed to father-kin.

Thus the Bakalai have totemism of the ordinary type. Descent among them seems to be in the paternal line.

The explanation which the Bakalai give of the origin of their totemic clans deserves our particular attention, for it has all the appearance of being primitive. In substance it agrees with the system of conceptional totemism which

The explanation which the Bakalai give of their totems

[1] P. B. Du Chaillu, *Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 388.

[2] P. B. Du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashango-land* (London, 1867), p. 427.

[3] P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 429.

[4] P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 429. The writer here remarks that, so far as he knows, the Bakalai are the only tribe of this region among whom a son inherits his father's property.

appears to be primitive and agrees in principle with the beliefs of the Banks' Islanders as to their conceptional totems.

prevails among the Banks' Islanders.[1] In both of these widely-separated regions it is believed that a woman can be impregnated by and bring forth an animal or plant. Among the Banks' Islanders the imaginary animal or plant so born is identified with the real child whom the woman gives birth to, and henceforth animals or plants of that sort become tabooed or sacred to the child; they are his personal or individual totem, being peculiar to him and not transmitted by him to his descendants. This is, if I am right, the absolutely primitive stage of totemism. The Bakalai have advanced beyond that stage, for among them the totems have become hereditary; but the tribe still retains the primitive belief that women can give birth to animals of the totemic species, and that they would surely do so if they ate of the totemic animal. This again confirms the view, which a consideration of the Central Australian evidence led me to suggest, that conception may often have been thought to be caused by the animal or plant which a woman has eaten of, and which accordingly becomes the totem of her child when it is born.[2]

The Fans, or Fangs, of French Congo.

The Fans, or Fangs, are a large and vigorous tribe or nation who occupy a vast region of French Congo from Cameroon on the north to about the fourth parallel of South latitude. They are estimated to number many millions, and are said to be multiplying fast. Their language, which comprises many dialects, belongs to the Bantu family, but differs considerably from other languages of that stock. It is believed that the Fans, or Pahouins as they are called by the negroes of the Gaboon, are recent immigrants into the country. Their habits are nomadic, for though they build villages they shift the sites of them from time to time. They collect ivory, make pottery and baskets, and are skilful workers in iron.[3] They possess an elaborate system of taboos or *eki*, as they call them, some of which appear to be totemic. For we are told that some

The Fans have a system of taboos

[1] See above, pp. 89 *sqq.*

[2] See vol. i. p. 159.

[3] Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 316 *sqq.*; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 458 *sq.*; Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) pp. 745 *sqq.*

individuals and some tribes bear the names of animals, such as Elephant, Panther, Gorilla, Crocodile, Eagle, and so forth; and that a man may not eat the animal whose name he bears, it is taboo (*eki*) to him. Such taboos may be common to a whole tribe, the members of which pay particular respect to a certain animal and will not kill it.[1] But details of their totemic system, if such it is, are lacking. The Fan villages are exogamous; in other words, a man may not marry a woman of the same village, she is taboo (*eki*) to him. It happens, indeed, that such marriages sometimes take place when the village is large and the relationship between the couple is distant; but persons contracting these unions are looked at askance, and any misfortune which befalls them is regarded as a punishment of their misdeed.[2] The marriage of cousins, apparently both on the father's and the mother's side, is also forbidden among the Fans.[3]

(*eki*), some of which seem to be totemic.

Marriage with cousins forbidden.

Another people of this region among whom totemism or traces of it may perhaps be detected are the Bantu tribes, which once composed the great native kingdom or empire of Congo, with its several provinces, including the provinces of Loango, Cacongo, and Ngoio to the north of the river Congo, and the province of Songo, Sonio, or Sonho to the south of it.[4] The general name which these Bantu tribes apply to themselves is Ba-fioti or the Dark-skinned People; the special name applied to the inhabitants of the Loango coast is Bavili.[5] As all these tribes were for centuries

The Ba-fioti or Bavili of the ancient kingdom of Congo.

[1] Father Trilles, "Mille lieues dans l'inconnu, à travers le pays Fang," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxxiv. (1902) pp. 287 *sq.*; Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) pp. 747-761, especially pp. 755 *sq.*

[2] Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) p. 754.

[3] Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 321.

[4] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 19 *sqq.* The dismemberment of the empire resulted in the formation of separate kingdoms of Loango, Cacongo, Ngoio, etc. Compare Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), pp. 320 *sqq.*; Astley's *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. (London, 1746) pp. 212 *sqq.*, 234 *sqq.*; Angelo and Carli, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 158; Proyart, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other kingdoms in Africa, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 549 *sq.*; J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 315; A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador* (Bremen, 1859), p. 170; R. E. Dennett, *Seven Years among the Fjort* (London, 1887), pp. 72 *sqq.*

[5] R. E. Dennett, *Notes on the Folk-*

subject to Portugal and professed the Catholic faith,[1] it is almost inevitable that their native customs and beliefs should be tinctured by European influence. However, they still possess an elaborate system of taboos (*bina*, singular *xina*), some of which may perhaps be totemic in origin. Thus the several tribes, provinces, and districts have their tabooed or sacred animals. The whole tribe of Congo has for its sacred animal the leopard; and the three subtribes of Sonio, Cacongo, and Loango have for their sacred animals respectively the cricket, the eel, and the wild ox or bull. Further, each province under the rule of its chief (*fumu*) has two sacred animals; for example, the province of Xibanga has for its sacred animals the fowl and the duiker, or gazelle. Again, each district under its headman (*Kongo Zovo*) has its sacred animal; for example, the chief district of the Xibanga province has for its sacred animal the chimpanzee. Further, families have also their sacred animals, which are forbidden to them as food. Every person with any pretensions to good birth should have four sacred animals, namely, that of his father, that of his mother, and those of two grandparents. For example, one man has the antelope and the chimpanzee as the sacred animals of his father and mother respectively, and the pig and otter as the sacred animals of two grandparents. Another has the antelope and partridge as the sacred animals of his father and mother respectively, and the pig as the sacred animal of his grandparents.[2] Sickness is often attributed to the patient's rashness in partaking of the flesh of the animal

The several tribes, provinces, and districts have their sacred animals, such as leopards, wild bulls, gazelles, and chimpanzees.

Families have also their sacred animals, such as antelopes, chimpanzees, otters, pigs, and partridges.

lore of the Fjort (London, 1898), p. 1; *id.* "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) p. 371, note; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London, 1906), pp. 3 *sq.*; A. H. Keane, *Africa*,[2] ii. 145-147 (Stanford's *Compendium of Geography and Travel*); E. Pechuël-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 1 *sq.* One of our chief informants on these tribes is Mr. R. E. Dennett, who resided for many years on the coast of Loango. He gives the tribal or national name as Fjort, Fioti, or Fiote.

[1] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 313 *sqq.*

[2] R. E. Dennett, "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 390, 395-397; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 144, 152-154. The writer's statements lack clearness and precision, and I cannot feel sure that I have interpreted them aright. He does not define the terms tribe, subtribe, province, and district; and he does not know whether the grandparents in question are the two grandfathers or the two grandmothers, or one grandfather and one grandmother.

which is forbidden to his family.[1] A man belongs to his mother's family, and he may not marry any woman who has the same sacred animal as his mother. It is believed that the deity punishes breaches of this marriage law by withholding the rains in due season.[2] Hence it would seem that the Fiot families are totemic, exogamous, and hereditary in the maternal line. A man's heirs are, first, his brothers; next, his sister's son; third, his mother's relations; and failing all these his own children.[3] The mother alone has the right to pawn her children, but she must first consult the father; he cannot himself pawn his children.[4] A man may not marry his first cousins, the daughters of his father's brothers; but he may marry his first cousins, the daughters of his father's sisters.[5] Apparently, the Ba-fioti have the classificatory system of relationship; for a man applies the same term, *tata*, to his father and to his father's brothers, and the same term, *mama*, to his mother and to his mother's sisters.[6] Besides the taboos which appear to be totemic, the Ba-fioti observe many others of various sorts. Some of these are associated with certain offices, others with sacred groves (*bibila*, singular *xibila*), others with the possession of certain sacred fetishes. Others, again, are purely individual or personal, being arbitrarily imposed on sick people by the priest or medicine-man (*ganga*), or on children at birth by the priest or the parents.[7]

A man may not marry any woman who has the same sacred animal as his mother.

Mother-kin.

Cousin-marriages.

The classificatory system.

Taboos of various sorts.

The taboos enjoined on people from their infancy appear to be very common, if not universal, and to be rigidly observed. On this subject an old missionary to the Congo writes as follows: "It is a custom that either the

Merolla's account of taboos in Congo.

[1] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-1875), ii. 166.

[2] R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 36, 52.

[3] R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 46.

[4] R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 41.

[5] R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 36.

[6] R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 35.

[7] Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 237 *sq.*; Proyart, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other kingdoms in Africa," Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 595; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-1875), i. 183-187, 356, ii. 165 *sq.*; R. E. Dennett, "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 398 *sqq.*; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 155 *sqq.*; E. Pechuël-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 455 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), ii. 672 *sq.*, quoting Bentley's *Kongo Dictionary*, *s.v.* "mpangu."

parents or the wizards give certain rules to be inviolably observed by the young people, and which they call *chegilla*; these are to abstain from eating either some sorts of poultry, the flesh of some kinds of wild beasts, such and such fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with several other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious observance these commands are obeyed. These young people would sooner chuse to fast several days together, than to taste the least bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it sometimes happen that the *chegilla* has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they shall presently die unless they go immediately to receive it from the wizards." To illustrate the superstitious respect with which these taboos are observed the missionary tells us of a young negro who, on discovering that he had unwittingly partaken of his forbidden animal (in this case a wild hen) four years before, at once fell atrembling and died within four-and-twenty hours.[1] Even such necessaries of life as manioc and bananas may be included among the tabooed foods, though the burden is sometimes considerably lightened by restricting the prohibition, for example, to certain kinds of bananas, or to bananas cooked in one particular way, as roasted or boiled, or to the eating bananas on one day of the week but not on the others, and so forth. But the range of these taboos is not limited to foods; it extends to other things, such as colours and articles of dress, or to actions of various kinds. One man, for example, may be forbidden to travel on a certain day of the week; another man may not smoke anywhere but in his hut, or he may not smoke in the presence of strangers; another man may be forbidden to see his newborn infant until the child can stand by itself; and so on.[2] It is possible that these and similar prohibitions laid on children from infancy may be ultimately derived

[1] Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 237 *sq.*

[2] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 183-185. According to Bastian, these superstitious prohibitions are called *xina* on the Loango coast, but *quixilles* further south. *Quixilles* is no doubt the same with *chegilla*, the form of the word used by Merolla.

from totemism of the conceptional kind, though the link which perhaps once united them appears now to be broken. But the evidence does not warrant us in assuming this derivation.

The Rev. J. H. Weeks on traces of totemism among the peoples of the Lower Congo.

On this subject the Rev. J. H. Weeks, who has lived as a missionary for twenty-seven years among the Bantu peoples of the Lower Congo, especially in the neighbourhood of San Salvador, writes as follows: "As regards totemism, after very careful enquiries I have come to the conclusion that, while it may very probably have been at one time in vogue in this region, the only indication of such prevalence still surviving is to be found in certain tribal names, of which up to the present I have been able to procure the following:—

"*Esi kia ntu mia nzenze*, or the people belonging to the heads of the mole-cricket (*nzenze*). The people are proud of the name, because the *nzenze* always sticks its head up, even when being cooked; but they hunt, cook, and eat the mole-cricket.

"*Esi kimfulu*, or the tortoise people, who catch and eat tortoises.

"*Esi kinanga*, or the cowrie people, who live in a town near Kitovola." [1]

Hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) transmitted from a father to his children.

Such names certainly do not of themselves afford any proof or even presumption of totemism. Traces of, or perhaps rather analogies to, totemism are to be found in the hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) observed by the people. These taboos are transmitted from a father to his sons; daughters observe them so long as they are in their father's house, but when a daughter marries she generally drops her father's taboo and adopts that of her husband. "In one family the inherited tabu was not to eat any wild animal or fish with spots on it, such as the striped antelope, certain gazelles, civet cats, leopards, shrimps, etc., and the penalty for breaking this tabu was a very bad skin disease—a form of leprosy. The idea here was simply to avoid any flesh food that had a spotted skin. The *mpangu* of another lad was not to eat hippopotamus flesh or yams, the penalty being elephantiasis; not to eat crayfish, the

[1] Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 63.

penalty being a skin disease on the hand; not to eat raw palm nuts, the penalty being an outbreak of scald head; not to eat a spotted fish called *nlumbu*, the penalty being ophthalmia and loss of eyelashes; not to eat the *ezunda* or great bull frog, the penalty being that the eyes will bulge out like the frog's. Here the penalties are in accord with the broken prohibitions;—eating hippopotamus will cause elephantiasis or a leg like the legs of a hippopotamus; eating the *nlumbu*, a fish with opal eyes, causes ophthalmia, and eating the frog causes bulging eyes."[1]

If Mr. Weeks is right, as he seems to be, in his explanations of these taboos, they are based on the now familiar tenet of sympathetic magic that a man partakes of the qualities of the animal whose flesh he eats. When these qualities are undesirable, as in the cases cited by Mr. Weeks, the flesh of the animal in question is naturally avoided, and such avoidance may be wholly unconnected with totemism. Yet the restriction of each of these taboos to a particular family and its hereditary transmission in the family are totemic in principle. However, it is somewhat remarkable that among these peoples, while hereditary taboos are inherited from the father alone, according to the custom of the country children belong to their mother's family, not to their father's, and inherit the property of their maternal uncle, not the property of their father. Hence when a lad grows up, his maternal uncle will one day bring a calabash of palm wine to the town and claim him, and the father has no power to prevent his son from going away with his uncle. However, the lad himself may refuse to go and may remain under the tutelage of his father as long as he likes. But if he elects to go with his uncle, the father's responsibility for him is at an end.[2] Moreover, the people are divided into clans called *ekandas*, which appear to be hereditary in the maternal line. "The difference between *ekanda* (clan) and *vumu* (family or dynasty, lit. stomach, womb) is that *ekanda* is the name for all the *vumu* of a clan. The tree is the *ekanda* and the branches are the *vumu*. The clan does not

But while taboos are inherited from the father only, children belong to their mother's family and inherit the property of their maternal uncle.

Moreover, the clans (*ekandas*) are hereditary in the maternal line.

[1] Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) pp. 307 *sq.*

[2] Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) pp. 414, 415, 423, 425, 427.

originate with the man, but has its origin in the woman only; and it is the same with the subdivisions of the clan into families, each division or subdivision starts from a woman. . . . Every woman with children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren would be the originator of a *vumu*, as all her descendants would be considered as coming from her womb."[1] With regard to marriages between members of different clans "it is not a hard and fast rule, but it is a rule very generally followed, for the sons and daughters of one clan to marry only the daughters and sons of one other clan, and not to intermarry with several different clans. By thus intermarrying within the limits of one clan they think better treatment is ensured for the women of each clan."[2]

Custom of marrying into only one clan.

Similarly we have seen that a Python clan of the Hausas prefers to intermarry with one other clan only.[3] Among the Australian aborigines also we have met with tribes in which men of any one totemic clan are restricted in their choice of wives to the women either of a few clans or of one only,[4] and a like restriction is observed by the Kondayamkottai Maravans of Southern India.[5] Parallel to these restrictions on marriage is "the curious way Kulin Brahmins have of marrying into only a *pālṭi* or 'corresponding' family. Hence if there are many girls in one family and only one marriageable male in the *pālṭi* family, he must marry all the girls. If there are no males in the *pālṭi* family, the girls can never be married. This has actually happened within my own experience in Jessore. The other occurrence (of only a few *pālṭi* males) is the cause of Kulin polygamy, the existence of which was angrily denied by several correspondents of the *Times* not long ago. If ever polygamy was excusable, it was this. It is a sin to allow a Kulin maid to remain unmarried, and if there is only one *pālṭi* male available, why, he has to do his duty like a man."[6]

The custom of marrying into only one or a few clans is observed elsewhere in Africa, Australia, and India.

[1] Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xix. (1908) pp. 425, 426.

[2] Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* p. 410. Mr. Weeks omits to say whether a man may marry a woman of his own clan, that is, he does not tell us whether the clans are strictly exogamous, but he implies that exogamy is the general custom.

[3] See above, p. 607.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 176, 177 note [1], 374, 387, 388, 407 *sq.*

[5] See above, p. 249.

[6] Mr. J. D. Anderson, Teacher of Bengali in the University of Cambridge, formerly Magistrate and Collector of

Such restrictions are probably late rather than primitive. This seems to be true of the marriage customs of Kulin Brahmans.

It seems probable that all such extreme restrictions on intermarriage between clans or families are late rather than primitive. There is positive evidence that this is so in regard to the marriage of Kulin Brahmans: the rule which allows a Kulin family to intermarry only with one or two corresponding families appears to have been adopted as an extension of a reform instituted in the fourteenth century of our era. On this subject Sir Herbert Risley writes as follows: "The reforms undertaken in the fourteenth century by Devi Vara, a *ghatak* or genealogist of Jessore, extended only to the Kulins. These were divided into three grades:—(1) Swabháva, or original Kulins, (2) Bhanga, (3) Bansaja. The Swabháva grade was further subdivided into 36 *mels*, or endogamous groups, each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or of his village. This restriction of the marriage of Kulins to their own *mel* was the leading feature of Devi Vara's reform. Its principle was adopted and extended, it is believed, by the Kulins themselves, in the singular arrangement known as *Pālti-Prakriti*, or preservation of the type, by which families of equal rank were formed into triple groups as it were, for matrimonial purposes, and bound to observe a sort of reciprocity. Thus Mukhuti families were bound to marry their sons to the daughters of the Chatterji and Banerji families, and *vice versâ*. All kinds of complications are said to have arisen from this understanding. If, for example, the Mukhuti had only one marriageable son and the Chatterji or Banerji ten daughters approaching puberty, the former must marry all ten, or all must remain spinsters. . . . With the spread of education among the upper classes of Bengal an advance in social, morality has been made and the grosser forms of polygamy have fallen into disrepute. But the artificial

Chittagong, in a letter to me dated 22nd December 1909. In another letter (26th December 1909) Mr. Anderson says that "the custom is, or should be, known to all Bengal civilians," and for native authority he quotes Śyāmā Caraṇ Sirkar's *Introduction to the Bengali Language* (1861), pp. 406 *sq*. The correspondence in the *Times* and the Report of a Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal on the subject of Kulin polygamy are reprinted by Sir Herbert Risley in his book *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), Appendix VII. pp. cxxxix. *sqq*. No impartial reader who glances over the correspondence and the Report of the Government Committee can doubt on which side truth lies.

organization of the caste still presses hard on a Kulin father who is unlucky enough to have a large family of daughters. These must be married before they attain puberty, or disgrace will fall on the family, and three generations of ancestors will be dishonoured."[1] But to return to Africa.

From the foregoing account we gather that the social system of the Bantu people of the Lower Congo presents some analogies to the social system of the Herero, a Bantu tribe of South-West Africa.[2] For both the Congo people and the Herero are divided into clans which descend in the maternal line; both sets of clans appear, though this is not quite certain, to be exogamous; and they bear names (Congo *ekanda*, Herero *eanda*) which closely resemble each other. Further, both the Congo people and the Herero have, quite independently of their maternal clans, a number of hereditary taboos which, unlike the clans, descend in the paternal line from a father to his children, and which are apparently not subject to a rule of exogamy; in other words, so far as the evidence goes, there is no objection to the marriage of a man and woman who have inherited the same taboo from their respective fathers.[3] Further, the two sets of taboos resemble each other in this, that both among the Congo people and among the Herero a woman regularly adopts the hereditary taboo of her husband at marriage.[4] These resemblances between the social systems of two Bantu peoples so widely separated from each other as the Herero of South-West Africa and the tribes of the Lower Congo can hardly be accidental; they point to a fundamental community of institutions, which further research may prove to be shared by many other Bantu tribes. This curious double system of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father deserves to be studied with more attention than it has yet received. We have seen that it occurs also among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.[5]

Thus in respect of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father the people of the Lower Congo resemble the Herero. A similar double system occurs also among the people of the Gold Coast.

[1] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1892), i. 147 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 357 *sqq.*

[3] I was perhaps wrong in doubting this for the Herero (above, p. 364).

[4] As to this rule among the Herero, see above, p. 364.

[5] See above, pp. 560 *sqq.* Amongst the Wagogo, also, there are two sets of taboos, one of which attaches to the clan and the other is inherited from the father. See above, p. 404.

Individual or personal taboos among the Congo people.

In addition to the hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) which descend in families through the males, the Congo people observe a number of individual or personal taboos, to which they apply quite a different name (*nlongo*), which seems to mean "medicine" or "poison." When a person is ill, the medicine-man is called in and forbids the patient to eat a certain food for the rest of his life. Thus one man will be debarred from eating cassava, another from eating pig or the snout of a pig, another from eating goat or the head of a goat, another from eating a certain kind of fish, and another from eating a certain kind of vegetable. The forbidden food is the person's *nlongo*. Sometimes the prohibition lasts only a certain time, say six months. Sometimes it is put on an unborn child and remains in force until the child's hair is cut and his nails trimmed, or until he or she marries, or until the first child is born to him or her. The choice of the forbidden thing appears to be purely arbitrary; it is determined by the whim of the medicine-man and bears little or no relation to the nature of the malady. Nevertheless to violate the taboo would, the natives think, be sure to cause the sickness to return.[1]

Club-houses for lads and unmarried men.

Down to about twenty-five years ago there were club-houses for lads and unmarried men in all important villages; on reaching the age of twelve years every boy had to take up his abode in the bachelors' club-house of the village or town. Unbetrothed girls visited the house in the dark by arrangement with the young men, but they might not reveal the secrets of the place. Their parents encouraged the girls to resort thither, believing that if they did not go they would be barren.[2]

The levirate.

These people practise the levirate; that is, when a man dies, his widow is married by one of his surviving brothers.[3]

Avoidance of a wife's mother.

A man may not speak to his mother-in-law. If it is necessary for him to communicate with her, he must employ a messenger. If he meets her on the road by accident, no fine is inflicted; but if he sees her coming and does not slink out of her way, public opinion will condemn him so strongly

[1] Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 309.

[2] Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) p. 418, xx. (1909) p. 201. The name for such a club-house is *nzo a mbongi* or *nzo a toko*.

[3] Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) p. 413.

that he will be compelled to send her a goat as a peace-offering and to beg her pardon. Mr. Weeks is probably right in thinking that this custom of avoidance was instituted, and is enforced, for the purpose of preventing incest.[1]

The Ovakumbi, a pastoral tribe of Southern Angola.

The Ovakumbi are a pastoral tribe in the extreme south of the Portuguese colony of Angola. Their country, known as Humbe, is a plateau about three thousand feet high on the right bank of the Kunene River. The language of the tribe belongs to the Bantu family. The wealth of the people is in their herds, to which they are fondly attached. Their villages, like those of many other pastoral Bantu tribes, consist of round huts arranged in a circle about the cattle pen and surrounded by a fortification of thorns and pales. The government is in the hands of a king (*sobba*) assisted by a council of nobles; his powers are very extensive, and he transmits his dignity, not to his own son, but to the eldest son of his uterine sister or, in default of such a nephew, to his uterine brother. The veneration paid to him amounts almost to worship. He is supposed to possess the power of making rain; and his subjects imagine that a breach of chastity committed by the unmarried youth would, if left unpunished, entail the king's death within the year. Hence all such offences are capital crimes. However, of late years the rigour of the law has been relaxed, and the culprits are now suffered to escape with the payment of a fine in cattle.

Traces of totemism among the Ovakumbi.

Among the Ovakumbi all families which trace their descent from a common ancestor are dedicated to a bird or beast, which they may neither kill nor injure. Any breach of this law is rigorously punished. The sacred bird of the royal family is revered by the whole tribe. A white trader who dared to kill one of these birds was brought to trial and had to atone for his crime by forfeiting almost all his stock-in-trade.[2] These facts seem to indicate that the Ovakumbi, like many other Bantu tribes, are divided into totemic clans.

[1] Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 310.

[2] Charles Wunenberger, "La Mission et le royaume de Humbé, sur les bords du Cunène," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xx. (1888) pp. 224, 235, 251 *sq.*, 261 *sqq.*, 271 *sq.*

The Baluba, a Bantu people in the Congo Free State.

The Baluba are an important nation in the southern part of the Congo Free State.[1] Their territory lies between the Sankuru and Kasai rivers. The language which they speak belongs to the Bantu family.[2] Apparently some of the Baluba tribes or clans have totemism. At least this seems to follow from the account which the missionary-traveller, Mr. F. S. Arnot, gives of their tribal divisions. He says: "Not far distant from these parts many of the Luba people have the combination *bashila* in their family name. For instance, the Ba-shilange (Kalamba's people), Ba-shilambwa, Ba-shilanzefu. M. Le Marinel and I were talking over the probable meaning of the combination. We knew that *Ba* was a plural prefix, but it was not until after some thought that I remembered that the word *shila* (sometimes *chila* or *jila*) is that which the Luba people use for 'antipathy.' If I were to ask the Yeke people why they do not eat zebra flesh, they would reply, '*Chijila*,' *i.e.* 'It is a thing to which we have an antipathy'; or perhaps better, 'It is one of the things which our fathers taught us not to eat.' The Biheans use the word *chi-kola* to express the same thing. The words *nge*, *mbwa*, *nzefu* in the above combination mean respectively leopard, dog, elephant. So it seems as though the word *Ba-shilange* means 'The people who have an antipathy to the *leopard*'; the *Ba-shilambwa*, 'Those who have an antipathy to the *dog*'; the *Ba-shilanzefu*, 'Those who have an antipathy to the *elephant*.'[3] We called a native, and after a great deal of questioning he understood what we were driving at, and we found our conclusion to be correct. He then told us how the Ba-shilambwa and Ba-shilanzefu got their names. At one time they were only known as the Ba-shilambwa because they considered it was wrong to eat the dog. But one day a number of them went across the Lubi River to hunt elephants and stayed many days, during which rains had fallen, the river became much swollen, and when the hunters returned they could not cross. While they were wondering what to do an elephant came

Traces of totemism among the Baluba.

[1] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 462.

[2] Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), ii. 830.

[3] "An alternative translation might be, 'Those who hold the elephant sacred'—F. S. A."

past, and seeing that they were troubled, asked what was the matter. They were all much surprised, of course, to hear the elephant speak. But it went on, saying they must not be surprised, for it was a human being like themselves; *they* could not cross the river, but *it* could very easily, and advised them to get on its back, which they did, and reached the other side in safety. Ever since that time they have refused to eat the flesh of the elephant, and are now known as the Ba-shilanzefu."[1] In this passage the word *shila, chila,* or *jila,* seems only another form of *kissille, keshila,* or *kesila,* which, like *xina,* means "taboo" in the Fiot language;[2] and the account points to the existence among the Baluba of at least three clans, which have for their totems respectively the leopard, the dog, and the elephant.

Totemism among the Bambala subtribe of the Bushongo or Bakuba tribe.

To the north of the Baluba nation is the Bakuba or Bushongo tribe, occupying the valley of the Sankuru River, the waters of which find their way to the Congo. An anthropological expedition organised by Messrs. E. Torday and T. A. Joyce has lately investigated the Bambala subtribe of the Bushongo or Bakuba tribe, and has discovered among them a rather decayed form of totemism. In this subtribe the totems are hereditary, and persons who have the same totem may not marry each other, though in the present generation the prohibition is being disregarded. The institution is said to be very old and to have been instituted by the Creator, the first of the hundred and twenty-three chiefs who have ruled over the nation.[3]

Totemism and exogamy among the northern tribes of the Congo area, the Ababua,

Still further to the north, in the region of the Upper Congo and its northern tributaries, a system of exogamy and of something very like totemism is reported to prevail among the Ababua, the Mabinza, the Basoko and Mougelima, the Mogbwandi, the Maele, the Bakere, the Balesa, the Upoto, the Bangala, the N'Gombe, and the

[1] F. S. Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze, or Four Years' further Work and Travel in Central Africa* (London, *n.d.*; preface dated March 1893), p. 102.

[2] E. Pechuel-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition,* Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 456. Adolph Bastian uses *quixilles* as equivalent to *xina* (*Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste,* i. 183).

[3] For this notice of Bambala totemism I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. T. A. Joyce.

Mogbwandi, Upoto, etc.

Bobangi. Each of these ethnical groups or nations is divided into a number of independent tribes, which live quite apart from each other in spite of the resemblances of language and customs which may be observed between them. Every tribe again is subdivided into exogamous subtribes or clans, each of which occupies its own well-marked geographical district, and traces its descent from a common ancestor, whose name it bears. Among these peoples every man believes that after death he will be reincarnated in the body of an animal, the kind of animal being that into which the soul of his father transmigrated at his decease; for the totems, as we may call them, are inherited by children from their fathers. The particular kind of animal is the same for all members of a tribe, though they belong to different exogamous clans. For example, the Moganzulu tribe of the Ababua nation has for its sacred animal or totem the hippopotamus; and the Molisi tribe of the same nation has for its totem the chimpanzee. The relation between a man and his totem is one of mutual help and protection. The totemic animal will not hurt the tribesman, and on his side the tribesman will not kill, eat, or touch his totemic animal nor even pass the spot where one of the species has died. The animals which serve as totems are sometimes imaginary; for the natives conceive certain natural phenomena, such as thunder, the rainbow, and the echo, to exist in the form of animals, and these fanciful beings are totems of some tribes. Sometimes, but rarely, the totem is a plant. Among the totems of the Ababua tribes are the leopard, hippopotamus, yellow-backed *Cephalophus* antelope, spiny ant-eater (pangolin *tricuspis*), jerboa, small white-bellied rat, black swallow, plant called *nzâbi*, thunder, and echo. In the Azande nation the totems of tribes include the lion, leopard, serpent, and thunder personified as an animal. In the Mogbwandi nation the totems of tribes include the leopard, elephant, wart-hog, and black serpent. Sometimes a subtribe or clan will allow fugitives from another tribe to settle on their land; and as these fugitives continue to respect their old totemic animal, it follows that two different totems may be found coexisting in the same local subtribe

Belief that the clanspeople at death are reincarnated in the bodies of their totemic animals.

Relation of mutual respect and protection between a man and his totem.

Ababua totems.

Azande totems.

Mogbwandi totems.

Sex totems or sex patrons.

or clan. Much more rarely the protector or totem of the women differs from that of the men. It seems to do so, for example, among the Bawenza and Moodungwale, two Ababua tribes, and also among the Bakango. In such cases apparently the protectors of the men and women respectively are sex totems or sex patrons, such as we have hitherto met with only in South-East Australia.[1] But details as to these African sex totems or sex patrons, if such they be, are wanting. Further, it appears that individual men or women sometimes have animal-guardians of their own, which generally differ from the totemic animal of the tribe. And apart from the prohibition to eat the flesh of the animal-guardian there exist many taboos on food which might easily be confused with totemic taboos.[2]

Personal totems.

Mr. J. Czekanowski's researches in the north-east of the Congo Free State.

The same region in the north-east of the Congo Free State was investigated in the years 1907 and 1908 by an anthropological expedition which was sent out by the Duke of Mecklenburg and led by Mr. J. Czekanowski. The object of the expedition was to explore the tribes which occupy the territory between the head-waters of the Congo and the Nile. Roughly speaking, the region in question forms a vast triangle bounded on the east by the great lakes and the Upper Nile, on the north by the Uele River, and on the south-west by the Upper Congo. Among the tribes which it embraces are (1) the small tribes of the Babembo, Babwari, Bagoma and Bahororo on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika; (2) the Bakondjo in the mountains about the western shore of Lake Albert Edward; (3) the Bakusu, Manyema, and Bakumu on the Upper Congo; (4) the Mabudu, Malika, Banyari, Mubali, Bapaye, Turumbu, and Basoko, scattered over the country which is intersected by the fourth parallel of North latitude and stretches from the great bend of the Congo eastward to near Lake Albert Nyanza. All these tribes speak languages belonging to the great Bantu family. North of them dwells (5) the group of tribes known under the general name of Mangbetu

The tribes of this region.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 47 *sq.*, 390 *sq.*, 456 *sqq.*, etc.

[2] A. de Calonne Beaufaict, "La Zoolatrie chez les peuplades septentrionales du Congo," *Le Mouvement Géographique*, 13 juin 1909, coll. 277-280; *id.* in *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, ii. (1909) pp. 193-195.

(Monbuttoo) and comprising the Balele, Bakere, Niapu, Medje, Maberu, and Mangbele. The little-known Barumbi (Urumbui) tribe, between the Tshopo and Lubila rivers, speaks a language of the Mangbetu family. The Mangbetu are the traders and fishermen of the Uele River valley. Akin to the Mangbetu in material culture, though otherwise isolated, is (6) a group of tribes including the Bangba, Mabudu, Mayogu, Mundu, Abarambo, and Madyo ; also (7) another group of tribes to the eastward, which comprises the Momvu, Balese, Bambuba, and Mombutu. (8) The Azande occupy the northern part of the Congo basin and part of the basin of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Lastly, in the extreme north-east, the coal-black Nilotic negroes of the Upper Nile fall into three groups, namely (9) the Madi group, (10) the Bari group, and (11) the Acholi group, and each of these groups includes a number of separate tribes. Thus the Madi group comprises the Madi in the narrower sense, the Kaliko, Logo, Avokaya, Moru, Lugware, and Lendu ; the Bari group includes the Bari, Fadjulu, Yambara, Kuku, and Kakwa ; and the Acholi group comprises, amongst others, the Lur or Alur, whose country lies immediately to the north of Lake Albert Nyanza.[1]

These tribes are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with paternal descent.

So far as these tribes were investigated by the Duke of Mecklenburg's Expedition they were found to be divided into totemic and, with very few exceptions, exogamous clans, variously known in different tribes as *enganda*, *ekihanda*, *tunga*, *muliango*, etc., with descent in the paternal line. The single exception to the rule of exogamy is presented by some of the Azande clans, including the Avungura clan, which is the royal clan of the reigning dynasty. In this as in so many royal African clans endogamy is customary, and sexual intercourse between fathers and daughters appears to be not uncommon. With these few exceptions the rule of clan exogamy prevails throughout the entire area visited by the expedition ; and nowhere was descent found to be traced in the maternal line. Each clan possesses its own lands and is held together mainly by the law of the blood-feud ; wherever that law is suppressed, the clan falls to pieces. If the

Law of the blood-feud.

[1] J. Czekanowski, "Die anthropologisch-ethnographischen Arbeiten der Expedition S. H. des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg für den Zeitraum vom 1 Juni 1907 bis 1 August 1908," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli. (1909) pp. 591-611, with the map.

clans live mixed up together, blood revenge assumes the form of secret murder; if the clans live apart, it takes the character of open war. Further, every clan has an object which it reveres, that is, a totem. The totem is often an animal or plant, and in such cases it may not be eaten and the animal may not be killed by members of its totemic clan. One tribe (the Balera) seems even to take blood revenge for the killing of their totems. In some tribes, such as the Azande, Abarambo, Mayogu, and Bangba, the dead are believed to turn into their totems; for example, some of the Azande fancy that at death they are transformed into Colobus monkeys, water-snakes, leopards, shrew-mice, lizards, and lightning, according to the particular totemic clan to which they belong. This belief in the transformation or transmigration of the dead into their totems was repeatedly assigned as the reason for not eating the totemic animal; in eating its flesh the people do not know but that they may be eating one of their deceased relations. The number of clans composing a tribe varies greatly; among the Bakondjo twelve or fourteen clans were ascertained by the expedition; among the Banyoro seventy.[1]

Respect shewn for the totem.

Transformation of the dead into their totems.

Thus one result of the Duke of Mecklenburg's Expedition has been greatly to extend the area of Central Africa over which totemism and exogamy are reported to prevail. It is to be hoped that full details as to the totemic systems of these tribes may soon be published.

Of their other marriage customs we know very little. Among the Babembo or Wabemba and the Wahorohoro, two tribes to the west of Lake Tanganyika, even the most distant cousinship forms a bar to marriage. More than that, among the Wahorohoro a man is bound to avoid his female cousin. He may not speak to her nor remain in her company. If she enters a house where he chances to be, he will at once depart.[2] Yet among the Wabemba a man may marry his paternal aunt (*mama ngazi*), though never his

Cousin-marriages forbidden.

Mutual avoidance of cousins.

[1] J. Czekanowski, "Die anthropologisch-ethnographischen Arbeiten der Expedition S. H. des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg für den Zeitraum vom 1 Juni 1907 bis 1 August 1908," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli. (1909) pp. 596-598. The number of Banyoro clans ascertained by Mr. Roscoe was forty-six. See above, pp. 516-518.

[2] Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethnographiques sur quelques peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 10, 35.

maternal aunt.[1] Among the Watumbwes and Watabwas, two other tribes of Lake Tanganyika, there is said to be a curious limitation of time set to marriage. When a wife has borne two children, her husband deserts her and takes a new wife, but only to abandon her in turn as soon as he has had two children by her; and so on.[2] Both the Wabemba and the Wahorohoro practise the levirate; when a man dies, his oldest brother marries the widow.[3] On the other hand, among the Wabemba when a man's wife dies he has the right to marry her younger sister, if she is still unmarried. But if all his deceased wife's sisters are married, the widower sends through his father-in-law a present to the husband of his late wife's younger sister, and the woman is ceded to him by her husband for a single day; were that not done, the widower could not get any other woman to marry him. Afterwards the widower restores his deceased wife's sister to her husband and looks out for another wife for himself.[4]

The levirate.

Right to marry a wife's younger sister.

Among the Upoto, who inhabit the banks of the Congo between 20° and 22° East longitude, a man may never look at his mother-in-law, and she may not look at him. If he meets her by chance, he must turn his head away. Were he to look at her, he would have to pay her a fine.[5] Of this common rule there is a curious variation among the Ba-Huana, one of the principal peoples inhabiting the banks of the Kwilu, a tributary of the Kasai, which in its turn flows into the Congo from the south-east. In this tribe a man must avoid both his wife's parents. He may never enter their house, and if he meets them on the road, he must turn aside into the bush to avoid them. On the other hand, the wife may visit her husband's parents, and indeed is expected to show them great respect; but she is bound to avoid her husband's maternal uncle in the same way as her husband avoids her parents.[6]

Avoidance of wife's mother.

Avoidance of husband's maternal uncle.

[1] Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethnographiques sur quelques peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), p. 11.

[2] Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 20.

[3] Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 36. It is not quite clear whether by "his oldest brother" (*son frère le plus âgé, son frère aîné*) is meant a brother older than the deceased, or merely the eldest surviving brother. Probably the latter is the meaning.

[4] Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 18.

[5] M. Lindeman, *Les Upotos* (Brussels, 1906), p. 11.

[6] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 272, 274, 285 *sq.*

CHAPTER XV

ANALOGIES TO TOTEMISM IN MADAGASCAR

THE question whether totemism exists among the Malagasy, or inhabitants of Madagascar, has been carefully discussed by Mr. A. van Gennep in a learned monograph.[1] After fully considering the evidence he comes to the conclusion that totemism in the strict sense of the word has not yet been found in Madagascar.[2] With that conclusion I agree, and, accordingly, in a treatise on totemism I might dismiss the subject without further remark. Yet if, nevertheless, I have decided to notice some of the Malagasy facts which might be interpreted as totemic, it is because a good deal of uncertainty still exists as to the distinction which is to be drawn between totemism and other systems of superstition which resemble it; and, accordingly, light may be thrown on the line of demarcation by observing some of the cases which lie on the border and, so to say, simulate totemism without really being identical with it. For a similar reason, in dealing with West African totemism I have called attention to the local worship of sacred animals and to the conception of the bush-soul, because these superstitions might easily be confounded with totemism, and may indeed be more or less remotely connected with it, though in practice it is desirable to treat them as different.[3]

Mr. A. van Gennep on the question of totemism in Madagascar.

Nowhere, perhaps, in the world at the present day are systems of taboo more rife and more elaborate than in Madagascar,[4] and as these taboos (*fady*) are often laid on

Systems of taboo (*fady*) prevalent in Madagascar.

[1] Arnold van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar* (Paris, 1904).

[2] A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* pp. 314 *sqq.*

[3] See above, pp. 574 *sq.*, 583 *sqq.*, 590 *sqq.*, 593 *sqq.*

[4] The common Malagasy word for taboo is *fady*. See W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (London, *n.d.*, preface

animals and plants, it is no wonder that some of them should pass at first sight for evidence of totemism. Thus we are told that "all the Malagasy in general regard as sacred (*fadinrazana*) some animal which varies with the family. They do not worship the animal, but they do not eat it from fear of death, because their ancestors (*razana*) never ate of it, and this *fady* is transmitted from father to son. Whence comes this belief? The most intelligent natives among the Malagasy cannot explain it. Among the sacred animals are mentioned the pig, the eel, the babacoote (a species of lemur), the dolphin, the green pigeon, the sheep, the kid, etc. But what is sacred for one family is not so for another. So when a Malagasy is invited to a strange house, he begins by asking his host whether his *fadinrazana* is in the house, in order that he may not approach it and much less eat it."[1] Among the Sakalava of Northern and Western Madagascar "each tribe, each village, each family has adopted a special *fady*; for some it is fowls, for others fish; some will never kill a crocodile, or a wild boar, or a scorpion, or a centipede; in fact, they have gone so far as to live only on rice and fresh or dried beef, and to allow all noxious animals to swarm about them."[2] Again, among the Betsimisaraka, "owing to some connection with their ancestors, certain animals are reverenced by various tribes: *e.g.* one family claims to be descended from a woman who was born of a cow, and therefore does not eat beef; another shews the greatest respect for the *babakoto* (*Lichanotus brevicaudatus*), the largest species of lemur, because one was said to have saved

All Malagasy families seem to have their sacred species of animal which they will not eat.

Sacred animals among the Sakalava.

Sacred animals among the Betsimisaraka.

dated 1838), i. 402 *sq.*; H. F. Standing, "Malagasy *fady*," *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896), pp. 252-265 (reprint of the first four numbers); and especially A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 12 *sqq.*

[1] L. Crémazy, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 209.

[2] M. Faucon, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 210. Similarly, speaking of the Sakalava, the Rev. A. Walen observes: "Each family regards certain things as forbidden to itself only, for things forbidden to one family may be allowed in another. Great differences exist in this matter; even in the self-same tribe the things forbidden to each family may be totally different. Yet there are rules regarding this that pertain to the whole clan, and even to the whole tribe, which all must obey, lest the wrath of the ancestors be excited and vengeance come upon them" (A. Walen, "The Sakalava," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896), p. 241).

an ancestor from a severe fall; the dead body of this lemur they bury with the honours paid to a human being, and any person having shot one would find it hard to get a night's lodging in one of the villages of the tribe."[1] In one village of this tribe Dr. Catat, who had killed a babacoote, was accused by the inhabitants of having killed "one of their grandfathers in the forest," and he had to promise not to skin the animal in the village.[2] The Betsileo also revere the babacoote as an ancestor of their own, and accord it a solemn funeral, digging a grave for it, wrapping its body in a shroud, weeping and sobbing over it, and making it offerings of their hair.[3] The Betanimena tribe likewise believe the babacoote to be an embodiment of the spirits of their ancestors, and they look with horror on the slaughter of one of these pretty and engaging animals.[4] Hence both they and the Betsimisarakas ransom the animals, alive or dead, in order to set them at liberty or give them an honourable burial.[5] The name *babacoote* means "the old man"; and the grave aspect and sedate manners of the creature, which is found only in the densest parts of the forest, give him a venerable appearance.[6]

The babacoote (a large lemur) is regarded as an ancestor by several tribes.

Again, some tribes in the south of Madagascar claim to be descended from wild boars and will not kill or eat these animals. Accordingly wild boars swarm in their country and ravage the crops without any attempt being made to destroy them. Every man prefers to watch his fields day and night rather than assassinate his grandfather the wild boar.[7] Others of the Malagasy boast of being

Some tribes claim to be descended from wild boars, and others from sheep.

[1] G. H. Smith, "Some Betsimisaraka Superstitions," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 10 (Antananarivo, 1886), p. 239.

[2] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 215.

[3] Abinal and La Vaissière, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 215 *sq.*; Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880), p. 526.

[4] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island* (London, 1880), p. 270. As to the large ruffed lemurs (babacootes?) see W. Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar* (London, 1858), pp. 437 *sqq.*, who describes one of them in captivity as "gentle and sociable, seemingly grateful for any trifling notice or kindness."

[5] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 215; H. W. Little, *Madagascar, its History and People* (Edinburgh and London, 1884), p. 321.

[6] H. W. Little, *Madagascar, its History and People* (London, 1884), p. 321.

[7] Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) p. 527; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 228.

akin to sheep, and they have a horror of eating mutton. They say that all their illnesses and misfortunes come through inadvertently touching the flesh or fat of sheep, or treading on the wool which has fallen from the backs of their woolly fathers. The missionary who reports this tells us that once at a picnic which he gave to his pupils, some sly youths dressed up a stew of mutton and called it veal to amuse themselves at the expense of one of their companions, who was descended from a sheep. The sheepish victim of this practical joke ate heartily of his kinsman and sported about for an hour afterwards, but on being told what he had eaten he broke out into a cold sweat, fell down, vomited, and had to be carried back to the village, where he was sick for three days.[1] Again, "the serpent is honoured by the people in some parts of the island with a superstitious awe, founded upon the extraordinary belief that the spirits of their fathers often inhabit the forms of the reptiles after they leave the body. This horrible idea is very strong among the Betsileo. . . . Many of the Betsileo families have small enclosures near their dwellings, where they maintain numbers of these reptiles, and regard them still as being in a way family connections." One of these serpents used to come daily from the forest to be fed with milk by a family who addressed it by name and treated it as one of themselves. A Catholic priest killed it and had to flee for his life; the whole country rose against him.[2] The Betsileo, we are told, believe in the transmigration of souls, and think that dead Hovas change into a harmless and beautifully marked species of serpent which they call *fangany*. When one of these serpents is found, the people assemble and ask if it is the serpent of So-and-So, mentioning in succession the names of various chiefs who are dead, and the reptile is said to nod its head when the right name is mentioned. The relations of the deceased chief then carry the reptile carefully to his house, where oxen are killed and a funeral feast given. A little of the blood is

Belief of the Betsileo that serpents contain the spirits of the human dead.

[1] Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) pp. 527 *sq.*; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 236.

[2] H. W. Little, *Madagascar: its History and People* (London, 1884), pp. 86 *sq.*

presented to the serpent, after which the creature is set free near the chief's grave. Chiefs of lower rank are thought to turn into crocodiles.[1] In one Betsileo town the eel is tabooed (*fady*). Once when a stranger had caught an eel and cooked it in the town, the natives threw away the cooking-pot and all the spoons and plates which had come into contact with the animal.[2] According to Father Abinal, the souls of plebeian Betsileo are supposed to transmigrate into eels, and in order to facilitate this spiritual transformation they open the corpse, extract the inwards, and throw them into a sacred lake; the eel which swallows the first mouthful becomes the domicile of the soul of the departed, and it may not be eaten by the Betsileo.[3] Again, the curious nocturnal animal called the aye-aye (*Cheiromys madagascariensis*) is supposed by many Betsimisaraka to be an embodiment of their forefathers; hence they will not touch it, much less do it an injury. It is said that when they find one of the creatures dead in the forest, they make a tomb for it and bury it with all the forms of a regular funeral. They believe that if they tried to trap it they would die.[4] Again, a species of falcon (*Tinnunculus Newtonii Gurn.*) is deemed sacred by certain families in the neighbourhood of Anorotsangana; a naturalist having killed one of these birds was told by a native that he had committed a sacrilege, and was asked to give up the body that it might be buried in a sacred place.[5] Another species of falcon (*Falco minor*) gives its name (*Voromahery*, "powerful bird") to a tribe which inhabits Antananarivo and its neighbourhood; hence the Malagasy Government has adopted this bird as its crest. They stamp its image on the seals and affix it to the pinnacle of the great

Souls of the dead in eels.

Souls of the dead in the nocturnal animal called an aye-aye.

Sacred falcons.

[1] G. A. Shaw, "The Betsileo, Religious and Social Customs," *Antananarivo Annual ana Madagascar Magazine, Reprint of the First Four Numbers* (Antananarivo, 1885), p. 411. See, further, Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) pp. 550 *sq.*, who speaks of the revered serpent as a boa.

[2] H. F. Standing, "Malagasy *fady*," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896) p. 263.

[3] Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880), p. 551.

[4] G. A. Shaw, "The Aye-aye," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896) p. 203. See, further, A. von Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 223 *sq.*

[5] A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 261.

Sacred dolphins.

palace.[1] Lastly, the dolphin is deemed sacred by the inhabitants of the Isle Sainte Marie, off the eastern coast of Madagascar. They never chase the dolphin, kill it, or eat its flesh, because a dolphin is believed to have rendered a service to one of their ancestors.[2]

Mr. van Gennep thinks that the characteristics of true totemism are lacking in Madagascar.

Evidence of the same sort could be multiplied, but the foregoing examples may suffice. Their superficial resemblance to totemism is obvious; yet various considerations seem to shew that the facts do not suffice to prove the existence of totemism proper in Madagascar. Among the considerations which have weighed with Mr. van Gennep in coming to this conclusion are the following:—

(1) The Malagasy have no general word like *totem*, *kobong*, and *siboko* for a tabooed animal.

(2) Apparently the group of people to whom a species of animals or plants is tabooed do not as a rule among the Malagasy bear the name of the forbidden animal or plant.

(3) The tabooed animal is not regarded as the protector of the family or clan who are bound to respect it.

(4) Whereas totemic clans are generally exogamous, among the Malagasy, on the contrary the clans are in the immense majority of cases endogamous.

(5) Among really totemic peoples rites of initiation commonly play a great part; but such rites apparently are and have always been unknown among the Malagasy.[3]

Rather we should say that some of the

For these and other reasons Mr. van Gennep concludes that "none of the characteristics of true totemism are to be found in Madagascar."[4] I should prefer to say that, while

[1] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 261.

[2] G. Ferrand, *Contes populaires Malgaches* (Paris, 1893), pp. 145 *sq.*; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 257.

[3] A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* pp. 306 *sqq.* With regard to endogamy, the Malagasy in general are divided into three social classes, the nobles (Andrians), the commoners (Hovas), and the slaves (Andevos); and these three classes do not marry with each other. Further, the nobles and commoners are again subdivided into clans, each of which as a rule marries within itself and not with another clan. See J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 47 *sq.*; *id.*, *The Great African Island*, pp. 180-185; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 125 *sqq.*, 130, 136 *sq.*, 160 *sqq.* The rule that totemic peoples practise rites of initiation is subject to large exceptions. Such rites are not found, for example, among the Baganda in Africa, nor among many tribes of North American Indians.

[4] A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 314.

some characteristic features of totemism, such as the hereditary respect for certain species of animals, together with traditions of descent from them, or of help given by them to their human kinsmen, are certainly found among the Malagasy, other characteristic features are apparently lacking, and that in their absence it is safer not to assume the existence of totemism in Madagascar.

Some characteristics are present, but not all.

While marriage in Madagascar is regulated by endogamy rather than exogamy, certain degrees of kinship are nevertheless commonly recognised as bars to marriage. Thus among the Betsimisaraka we are told that marriage is only permitted between persons of entirely different stocks; the union of even ninth or tenth cousins with each other would create a scandal.[1] With regard to first cousins the general Malagasy rule is that the children of two brothers or of a brother and a sister may marry each other, but that the children of two sisters may not. The rule is thus stated by Mr. Sibree: "Marriage between brothers' children is exceedingly common, and is looked upon as the most proper kind of connection, as keeping property together in the same family (the marriage of two persons nearly related to each other is called *lòva-tsi-mifindra*, *i.e.* 'inheritance not removing'); and there does not seem to result from such marriages any of those consequences in idiocy and mental disorder of the offspring which are frequently seen in European nations as arising from the marriages of first cousins. . . . Marriage between brothers' and sisters' children is also allowable on the performance of a slight prescribed ceremony, supposed to remove any impediment from consanguinity; but that of sisters' children, when the sisters have the same mother, is regarded with horror as incest, being emphatically *fady* or tabooed, and not allowable down to the fifth generation, that is, to the great-great-great-grand-children of such two sisters."[2] Among the Sakalava of the south and the Mahafaly the children of two sisters

Certain degrees of kinship are recognised as bars to marriage.

Cousin-marriages. The children of two brothers, or of a brother and a sister, may marry each other, but not the children of two sisters.

Avoidance of cousins.

[1] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 162.

[2] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 248 *sq.*; *id.* "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 39. As to cousin-marriages, see, further, A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 162 *sq.*

Avoidance between brothers and sisters and between mothers and sons.

may not even sit together on the same mat, much less marry each other.[1] Among the Betsimisaraka, with whom, as we have seen, any degree of kinship is a bar to marriage, a brother may not speak with his sister alone in the house nor sit beside her; and the same rule of avoidance applies to a mother and her son.[2] We have met with similar rules of avoidance between brother and sister, mother and son, in other parts of the world;[3] and, as I have already pointed out, it is probable that all such customs of avoidance have been adopted in order to prevent incest between near relations. The instinct, superstition, or whatever it was which led men to observe these rules, lies at the root of exogamy. It is interesting to observe that instinct, superstition, or whatever it is, operating among a people like the Malagasy, who have not applied the rule of exogamy to their clans.

Incest between brothers and sisters among the Antambahoaka.

On the other hand, the incest of brother with sister is said to be common among the Antambahoaka, a tribe of cruel and savage manners in South-eastern Madagascar; indeed, such criminal intercourse is believed by the people to lead to fortune. But, apparently, it is nevertheless illicit and practised only in secret.[4] We cannot, therefore, infer from its frequent occurrence that there was a time in the history of the tribe when the marriage of brothers with sisters was legitimate, as it was, for example, in ancient Egypt.[5] But a trace of an older custom of sexual promiscuity, or of something like it, may perhaps be detected in the orgies of shameless licentiousness which formerly celebrated the birth of a child in the royal family. On such an occasion, we are told, the streets and lanes of the Malagasy capital resembled one vast brothel, and the days during which the debauchery lasted were called *andro-t*

Trace of sexual promiscuity in the orgies at the birth of a child in the royal family.

[1] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 163, 164.

[2] A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 164.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 542, 565; vol. ii. pp. 77 *sqq.*, 124, 131, 147 *sq.*, 189.

[4] Gabriel Ferrand, *Les Musulmans à Madagascar et aux Iles Comores*, Deuxième Partie (Paris, 1893), pp. 20 *sq.*; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 161. In cases of hard labour, Mr. Ferrand tells us, the sorcerer often declares that the expectant mother cannot be delivered unless she confesses any frailty of which she may have been guilty; and in one such case the woman, after a long silence, confessed at last to an intrigue with her brother. This anecdote clearly implies that commerce with a brother is criminal.

[5] See my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 395 *sqq.*

maty, literally "days not dead," by which was meant that the law could not condemn nor the penalty of death be inflicted for any offence committed at this time. The practice was abolished in the reign of King Radama at the earnest remonstrance of Mr. Hastie, the British agent in the capital, who threatened to expose the king and his government to the disgust and contempt of England if similar scenes should be repeated.[1]

The levirate among the Malagasy.

The custom of the levirate is observed by the Malagasy. To die without posterity is reckoned by them as a great calamity; so when a man dies childless, his next brother must marry his widow in order to keep the deceased in remembrance. The children of such a marriage are counted the heirs and descendants of the dead elder brother.[2]

Indications of the classificatory system of relationship among the Malagasy.

There are some indications that the Malagasy have the classificatory system of relationships. Thus we are told that among them "the words for 'father,' *ray*, and 'mother,' *reny*, are used with a very wide signification, and are applied not only to the actual father and mother, but also to step-father and step-mother (who are also called *raiki* and *reniki*, 'little father,' and 'little mother'), and to uncles and aunts, with their wives and husbands; so that it is almost impossible to get to know the exact relationship people bear to one another without asking, 'Is he the father who begat him?' or, 'Is she the mother who bore him?' (It may not be unworthy of remark here that the same word, *miteraka*, is used both for begetting and for bearing children.) Consequently there are no single words in Malagasy corresponding to our 'uncle' and 'aunt'; one must say 'father's brother,' or 'sister,' or 'mother's brother,' or 'sister,' as the case may be. And so it naturally follows that there are also no single words for 'nephew' or 'niece'; these are all *zanaka*, 'children,' and if more minutely described are distinguished as children of their father's or mother's brothers or sisters. . . . Then the word for 'child,' *zanaka* or *anaka* (the latter is a more affectionate and

[1] W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i. 180 *sq.*; J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 253.

[2] J. Sibree, *op. cit.* p. 246; *id.* "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 37.

respectful word used in direct address), is used in an equally wide sense, for children actually borne or begotten, for step-children, and for nephews and nieces, for which last relationship, as already remarked, there are no distinct words.[1] But precise information on this subject is wanting.

[1] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 243 *sq.*, 245; *id.* "Relationships and the Names for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 35 *sq.*, 37.

END OF VOL. II

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh.

00083140

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018